

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

Vol. V., No. 254.]

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1914.

[PRICE 1d.
Registered as a Newspaper.

LAW-ABIDING.

NON-PARTY.

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(NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN THE UNION 476).**

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Notes and Comments.

A Sensational Week.

The Albert Hall Demonstration, a National Union Council, and a crop of by-elections, has been our record for the last week. It is to be hoped that this "will not occur again"! The by-elections will, most of them, be mercifully short, but the work is tremendous while it lasts, and all who can are asked to help. They will see how to help, and where to help, in another column.

The Great Demonstration.

The Albert Hall Meeting was magnificent. A large space had been reserved for men, and it could have been filled again and again. The Hall itself was sold out, and every ticket returned was sold as fast as it came in. Up to half-past nine on Saturday night people were clamouring for tickets, and it was only when the meeting was nearly over that people abandoned the effort to get in! The sum raised amounts already to over £6,150, and promises are still coming. The collection in the Hall was £278 7s. A valuable collection of antique coins, a very beautiful old Japanese costume, a collection of stamps, and some jewelry were also given.

Suffragists and the Prime Minister.

Mr. Asquith refused to receive a deputation from this vast meeting. He is of opinion that he has already made his position sufficiently clear. He does not appear to realise that our supporters want to make their position clear to him! He received one deputation—that from the Trade Union Congress—and told them that he had fulfilled all his pledges to Mrs. Fawcett. Mr. Asquith asserted that his colleagues all agreed with him on this point. We hope, for the sake of their own honour, that they will make it clear that they do not. It is scandalous enough that the Prime Minister should make a statement so remote from the facts. He might have argued that he could not fulfil his promise; to argue that he has done so, is grotesque.

The Scottish Deputation.

Mr. Asquith was asked to receive a Scottish deputation also, representing trade organisations, public bodies, and political organisations, from all parts of Scotland, even the County Council of far off Shetland having appointed a delegate. He has refused—again on the ground that his views are well-known. The Federation of Northern Men met the same fate, being offered an interview with Mr. Asquith's private secretary, and permission to put their views in writing. It is not easy to bring evidence of the strength of feeling in the country before a man who persistently refuses to hear it, but the Prime Minister of a country supposed to be democratically governed, must surely find this business of refusing to see those to whom, after all, he is finally responsible, a little awkward.

In the House of Commons and Outside.

The extent to which the House of Commons sometimes fails to reflect the feeling outside is glaringly evident this week. Whatever one may think about the Suffrage question, it is impossible to ignore the fact that everyone is thinking about it. Even now, when no Bill is before the country, and no political action seems possible; when at least one other tremendous problem—that of Irish Government—is trembling in the balance; when many and grave problems of industrialism clamour for consideration, it is still possible for Suffragists to claim, and to prove, that they can secure attention, and fill the greatest hall in the country, and raise the largest sums of money, of any agitation now in progress. Yet Parliament reflects nothing of all this! You would not know if you read the King's Speech that there was a "Woman's Question." Indeed, Mr. Asquith, in the last debate on the subject practically said that there was not!

Will Women Use the Vote?

News from America comes that the recently enfranchised women of Chicago are registering in thousands. Nearly 200,000 have already done so, and over 700 women are acting as election officials. A fact which will interest many English visitors to Chicago is that Hull House, the famous settlement of which Miss Jane Addams is Principal, is to be a polling-station, and Miss Addams herself is one of the election judges. One of the great objects of the newly enfranchised women has been to get the polling-stations out of "bad places" into better ones, and a distinct change for the better has been effected. Women voters will not go to "bad places" to vote, but neither will they abstain from voting. Hence the change.

The Vigilance Association and Women Police.

We hope the suggestion made by Sir Samuel Chisholm at a recent meeting of the Vigilance Association in Glasgow will be taken up. He urged the appointment of women police for the purposes of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and kindred legislation. Girls who are questioned on such subjects as these by male officers "are too frequently not only humbled and ashamed, but hardened and degraded." This is certainly true. It is also true that from lax administration laws passed with a great show of righteous indignation in the House of Commons run the risk of becoming a dead letter. The *Vigilance Record* republishes a letter from Mr. Arthur Lee to the *Portsmouth Evening News*, pointing out the "amazing leniency" shown by magistrates in the case of a woman convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which, unless explained by extenuating circumstances which did not appear and certainly required to appear, will make promoters of the Act feel that "its main purpose has been frustrated and almost ignored." Mr. Lee goes on to argue that if the law is to be administered in this way, there is grave risk of the traffic being merely transferred into the hands of women, whom public opinion will not allow to be flogged. This grave risk many reformers foresaw from the beginning. It is deplorable that women cannot get sane and sober legislative reform on the subject of morals, but must alternate between complete indifference and the kind of hysteria which forced the flogging clauses through the House of Commons.

Education and Sex Hygiene.

Dr. Helen Wilson, in her evidence given before the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases this week, spoke of the education of the general public on matters of sex hygiene as one of the first importance. She did not advocate any teaching of a pathological kind in elementary schools, but commended a plan which is being tried in some schools in America, where instruction is given first to mothers, and afterwards to girls in the presence of their mothers.

The Failure of Compulsion.

Dr. Wilson strongly deprecated all attempt at compulsory treatment for disease, and did not think compulsory notification likely to be useful. We are glad to read her plea for a more humane attitude towards patients. The names "Lock Hospital" and "Magdalene Hospital" ought to be abolished, and patients should be treated with the same consideration and given equally good and skilled attendance with the other patients.

The Plumage Bill.

As we believed would be the case, opposition to the Plumage Bill is coming not from women but from men. Women are greatly to blame for the cruelty that comes from thoughtlessness, but we think there can be few who would actually oppose reform for the reason put forward by Mr. Bensusan, "that it would only divert the trade from England to France." If the trade is a cruel one, let us wash our hands of it, and let France look to herself. There is no more obstructive attitude possible than that of the person who will not move till the whole world moves in step. At the same meeting we can hardly believe that Dr. Chalmers Mitchell is correctly reported. He is made to say that "much was said about the cruelty of killing birds during the breeding season, and leaving the young ones to die, but he was inclined to think such young birds did not suffer." This seems a really incredible form of argument, and we hope Dr. Mitchell will contradict it.

Signs of the Times.

A remarkable sign of the times appears in the *Wallasey News*, a paper which always gives a considerable amount of space to news of interest to women. Under the heading "The Ladies' Column," the first item is concerned with the dismissal of the pitbrow women at Charlston Colliery, and the second with the question of teaching children the facts of life. Others are on women's employment, the Children's Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Committee, the admission of women to the legal profession, and so on. It is a remarkable list for a "Ladies' Column," and we congratulate the editor and his public. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that the ecclesiastical should keep pace with the secular press. The *Guardian* begins its "Churchwoman" column with "Puddings for all Seasons," which seems a sufficiently curious subject to be put first in order as the one most likely to interest women reading a Church paper.

In Parliament.

Thursday, February 12th.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

DR. CHAPPLE (Stirlingshire, Lib.) asked the Secretary for the Home Department whether his attention had been called to instances of the abuse of nurses' uniforms during the past few months; and whether he would give his support to a Bill for the State Registration of Nurses in order to meet this and other evils that were leading to the security of nurses in the ranks of the profession.

MR. MCKENNA (Monmouth, N.).—During the past few months my attention has not been called to any case of the kind. The police will make inquiry, but so far as they are aware such cases are of very rare occurrence. Recent Bills on the subject of the registration of nurses have not touched on this matter, and there would be serious difficulties in framing any provision of the nature suggested. I cannot make any promise with regard to a Bill.

Friday, February 13th.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

Among the private Members' Bills presented on Friday, February 13th, the following are of special interest to women:—

Bill to provide for the better application and enforcement of the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, and to amend the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899.

Bill to amend the provisions of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, and the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906.

Bill to amend the law in respect of the employment of children.

Bill to regulate the use of underground workrooms.

Monday, February 16th.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

Bills to consolidate and amend various enactments relating to offences against the person, to the protection of women and girls, to prostitution, and to brothels and other premises; to amend the law relating to the extradition of criminals and to vagrancy; and otherwise to make further and better provision with respect to offences against morality; and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid; and to make further and better provision with respect to illegitimacy and maternity.

TREATMENT OF SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS.

MR. CHANCELLOR (Haggerston, Lib.) asked the Home Secretary whether any and, if any, what principle was applied to the differential treatment of Suffragist prisoners, several of whom had been released within a few days of being sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, whilst Miss Rachel Peace was forcibly fed in November, December, and January, and was still undergoing sentence.

MR. MCKENNA.—Since the passing of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act the general rule has been to release those prisoners who have refused food to the point of endangering their health if the offences were of a minor character or if they were not likely to repeat their offences while at large; but I have not released under the Act persons guilty of arson or other serious outrages and whose fixed determination to repeat such crimes rendered them a danger to the community. It is true that in one case where a prisoner was able to reject all the food given her, and in another case which was complicated by appendicitis, I have found it necessary to use the Act in the case even of determined criminals; but there was no such exceptional necessity in Rachel Peace's case. She had been guilty of arson and her demeanour before the justices and at her trial showed that she was prepared to repeat her offence. If she will promise not to commit further crimes, I should be glad to advise the remission of her sentence.

MR. CHANCELLOR asked why Miss Peace was forcibly fed on remand before trial, and whilst, therefore, presumed to be innocent in the eye of the law.

MR. MCKENNA.—The justices had refused to admit this prisoner to bail as they had reason to believe that if at liberty she would commit offences similar to that with which she was charged.

LORD R. CECIL (Hitchin, U.).—May the House feel quite sure that there has been no differential treatment of any of these prisoners arising from social position or anything of that kind?

MR. MCKENNA.—Yes; most certainly.

SALARIES OF TEACHERS.

MR. E. JONES (Merthyr Tydvil, Lab.) asked the President of the Board of Education whether he was aware that, of the adult teachers employed in schools under his department, there are 858 paid under £25 as full salary for full-time employment for a whole year, 4,872 less than £35 a year, and 10,434 less than £45 a year; and whether he will approach the Board of Trade to have a Wages Board set up to deal with these sweated labour conditions, or will endeavour to have these teachers, who are expected to keep up a certain

standard of dress and appearance, included in the proposed minimum wage proposals for rural labourers.

MR. PEASE replied that the figures quoted seemed to relate to the salaries of women supplementary teachers, the number of whom had declined from 15,732 to 13,473. He was not prepared to take the action suggested in the second part of the question, but hoped that the legislation which he proposed would be to improve the remuneration of the teaching profession.

Tuesday, February 17th.

In the debate on an amendment to the King's Speech urging "the restoration of credit and security of land and house property, Mr. Macpherson said: "The real reason for this campaign is—"

SIR F. BANBURY.—"Votes!"

Our Case Against the Government.

II.

Last week we explained why we hold the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government, responsible for the failure to pass a Women's Suffrage Bill through the House of Commons since the Liberals came into power. We brought the record of our case against the Government up to the end of January, 1913, when Mr. Asquith found himself unable to fulfil the promises he had made owing to the Speaker's ruling that the Government Franchise Bill, as drafted, did not admit of Amendments to include women. As we pointed out, this ruling of the Speaker would not have been fatal to our chances of enfranchisement in this Parliament had not the Government postponed the Committee stage of the Bill till so late in the Session that there was no time to re-introduce it in a form which the Speaker would have accepted.

The Government felt that under the circumstances it would not be honourable to proceed with their Bill, minus the Women's Suffrage Amendments, or to substitute Mr. Harold Baker's Plural Voting Bill, which had passed its second reading earlier in the Session. To do so would have been to save from the shipwrecked Franchise Bill (shipwrecked through their own mismanagement) just that part which most closely affected Liberal party interests, whilst leaving their promises to the women still unfulfilled.

But this course, rightly felt in January to be discreditable, was precisely the course which the Government adopted three months later. They introduced a Government Bill to abolish Plural Voting, with all the safeguards which a Government measure enjoys, and with the sure prospect of being able to pass it into law under the Parliament Act, despite the opposition of the Lords, if they remained in office for the necessary two years. To the women they offered only "facilities for a private Member's Bill"—facilities which would have been invaluable two years earlier for the Conciliation Bill, but which were useless now that all chance of passing a Private Members' Bill had been destroyed owing to the policy pursued by the Government and their supporters, as we explained last week.

Mr. Asquith had himself admitted, in his speech in the House of Commons on January 27th, that such a proposal would be dishonourable. He has never vouchsafed any explanation why what was dishonourable in January was no longer dishonourable in May. Suffragists had from the first seen that the new Bill was foredoomed to failure, and had refused to work for it. But the Liberal Party, not satisfied that its defeat was sufficiently certain, took further steps to damage its chances. The Bill was drafted by a group of Liberal members, without consulting the Conservative Suffragists in the House, and in terms known to be unacceptable to them, although, being a private Members' Bill, it could have no chance of passing even a first time without the support of Suffragists of all parties.

The Government made a parade of scrupulous fairness in arranging to take the Second Reading of the Dickinson Bill (as the new Women's Suffrage Bill was called) in the same week as the Second Reading of their own Plural Voting Bill, professing that the two Bills would then have an equal chance of becoming law under the Parliament Act. As it was quite certain that the Dickinson Bill, even if it passed, could not obtain the benefit of the Parliament Act without Government support, this solemn pretence deceived no one.

A further effort was made, to give an appearance of fairness and impartiality, by the announcement that only one member of the Government would speak on each side in the Second Reading debate, Sir Edward Grey supporting, and Mr. Asquith opposing. This arrangement was calculated to give the entirely false impression that the Government were equally divided on the question, whereas the large majority, and all

the most influential Ministers, with the exception of Mr. Asquith himself—were in favour of Women's Suffrage.

Mr. Churchill subsequently voted against the Bill, but his last public statement of his position on Women's Suffrage had been his famous: "Trust me, ladies, I am your friend, and I will be your friend in the Cabinet."

This arrangement was a breach of the Prime Minister's pledge that Ministers should be free to act in accordance with their personal convictions on the Suffrage question, and was yet another proof of the worthlessness of the new promise. As the National Union pointed out, in a leaflet issued at the time, Mr. Asquith had offered the Suffragists a shilling in the pound in discharge of his debt; and the conditions under which the Dickinson Bill was introduced and defeated showed that the shilling was not even a good one.

That is how the situation stands to-day. The Liberal party has in turn prevented the passage of an "equal terms" Bill, of a Conciliation Bill (a compromise agreed to by Conservatives to meet Liberal objections to equal terms for women on the present franchise basis), and of a Women's Suffrage Amendment to a Government Reform Bill. The Government promised facilities for the Conciliation Bill, and then "torpedoed" it. They promised that the Franchise Bill should be drafted to admit of Women's Suffrage Amendments, but they did not succeed in so drafting it. They promised that such Amendments should have the benefit of a "free vote" of the House of Commons, and Anti-Suffragist members of the Cabinet were then allowed to make such a vote an impossibility. They promised that Suffragist Ministers should be allowed to act in accordance with their personal convictions on this question, and then they made an arrangement which weighted the scales heavily against the Suffragist Ministers in the debate on the Dickinson Bill. They promised Government protection and support in all its future stages for a Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Franchise Bill after it had once secured a majority in the House of Commons; but when the Bill on which this promise depended fell to the ground, they went back on that promise, and offered us instead merely "facilities for a Private Members' Bill."

In face of these facts, when a deputation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress waited on Mr. Asquith last week to protest against his failure to redeem his repeated promises to women, Mr. Asquith replied:—"All those pledges have been literally carried out."

The series of events reviewed in these two articles, and Mr. Asquith's statement to the Trade Union Congress deputation, should be brought forward on every Suffrage platform in the country; the electors must be asked whether they are satisfied with a Prime Minister who has such peculiar views as to what constitutes the keeping of a promise.

MR. ASQUITH'S DEMAND FOR EVIDENCE.

Speaking in the debate on the Second Reading of the Dickinson Bill, on May 6th, 1913, Mr. Asquith said that Suffragists had "no producible evidence of the authority and declaration of the electorate" in support of their demand.

During the summer and autumn a large number of resolutions in support of Women's Suffrage were passed by men's organisations of all kinds throughout the country.

When Mr. Asquith visited Leeds in November, a deputation of West Riding working men belonging to different Trade Unions asked for an interview with Mr. Asquith in order to lay

before him evidence of the electors' demand for Women's Suffrage in that part of the country. The request was refused.

When Mr. Asquith visited Manchester in December, a similar request was made by the Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, and other bodies of organised labour in Manchester (representing over 40,000 electors). The request was refused.

The National Union decided that its meeting in the Albert Hall on February 14th should take the form of a great national demonstration of the support which our cause obtains from men, and especially from the organisations of working men. Over 1,000 men attended as demonstrators from all parts of the country, representing 342 organisations, and hundreds of thousands of electors. Mrs. Fawcett wrote to Mr. Asquith asking him to receive a deputation of delegates from the meeting.

The request was refused.

The Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies then asked Mr. Asquith if he would receive a representative deputation of men from Scotland. No fewer than fifty-nine public bodies of men's organisations were prepared to send delegates, including the Town Councils of Inverness and Glasgow (the latter to be represented by the Lord Provost and the Chief Magistrate); the Trades and Labour Councils of Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, Perth, and others; at least twenty Trade Union branches, including the miners and railwaymen; the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress; the Labour Party branches of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee; thirteen branches of the Independent Labour Party; six Men's Liberal Associations; and the National Council of Young Scots. Their request to be received by Mr. Asquith was refused.

Dr. Elsie Inglis, Hon. Secy. of the Scottish Federation, wrote again on behalf of the deputation, urging that its object was not to elicit the views of the Prime Minister, which were, as he had pointed out, well known; but to lay before him—

"the very evidences of popular support which you asked for in August, when you received a deputation from the National Union. It seemed to the Committee impossible that you should ask for the evidence, and yet refuse to receive it. . . . They cannot believe that you would intentionally offer such an affront as a refusal to meet a deputation comprised of *bona fide* representatives of Labour, Political, and Representative bodies of male electors would imply."

The only answer was a repetition of Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive the deputation, though he said he would "give careful consideration to any further evidence or views which Dr. Inglis might wish to put before him in writing."

Thus Mr. Asquith not only refuses to admit women's claim to be allowed to speak for themselves when the "will of the people" is consulted; he refuses even to listen to the men who would speak for them. Yet he "has still to be convinced" that there is any neglect of the women's point of view in politics!

"THE INTEGRITY OF STATESMEN."

One of the Trade Union delegates to the Albert Hall Meeting wrote as follows, before the decision of Mr. Asquith not to receive a deputation was made known:—

"I see that a deputation from the Trade Union Congress has met Mr. H. H. Asquith, and he states that all his pledges have been carried out. Now, anyone who has followed this movement at all knows that this is false, and I hope that the deputation elected at Saturday's meeting will be a strong one and composed of men who will not be afraid to inform him that it is not only the opinion of the people, but he himself must know that by adopting such methods, he has lowered the integrity of statesmen to a byword, and if the women had been entitled to vote, he would not have dared to have slighted them in this manner."

THE NATIONAL UNION

Is the great Non-Party, Non-Militant, Women's Suffrage Society. If you approve of our methods and objects, please fill in the accompanying Form and send it to the Secretary.

I approve of the objects and methods of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and desire to be enrolled as a member of the affiliated Society in my district, and to receive their organ "The Common Cause."

I herewith enclose cheque for £ s. d., the amount of my annual subscription. Plus 6s. 6d., one year's subscription to "The Common Cause."*

Name

(Mrs., Miss, Esq., or other Title.)

Address

(in full.)

To the Secretary, Society for Women's Suffrage,

Or the Secretary, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

* Please cross out if not required.

THE ALBERT HALL DEMONSTRATION.

"The Best Yet."

The feeling in all our minds last Saturday evening was that the Albert Hall meeting broke all records. It was not only that the Hall was full—it has been full before—or that the speeches were on a high level; it was the extraordinary sense of a great spiritual force through it all that belonged as much to the audience as to the speakers, and made the meeting *one* in a sense that is rare, and inspiring beyond the inspiration of speaking or speakers alone.

It may seem strange to those who have read the accounts of the meeting elsewhere, and know that one speaker was interrupted by an almost continuous shouting and uproar throughout his speech, that the impression left was one of extraordinary unity. But so it was. Perhaps an account of what actually happened will best convey the impression of that unity.

Mrs. Fawcett and the speakers entered at the far end of the Hall from the platform and walked right through the great audience to their seats. Mrs. Fawcett's appearance was the signal for all to rise, and she went up the hall amid a continuous roar of applause, which died away as she took her seat and burst out again when she rose to address the meeting. Her speech was very distinctly heard, and was listened to with intense eagerness, punctuated with applause. Her allusion to the fact that we had hitherto "appealed to women and women's organisations, but were now appealing as well to men and men's organisations," met with a great reception, and there was equal enthusiasm when she moved the first resolution of the evening from the chair.

Mr. Barton was a very welcome figure on a Suffrage platform, and he made his first hit when he complimented the organisers of the meeting on their "astuteness" in getting a supporter of Mr. Asquith's to second a resolution protesting against Mr. Asquith's conduct! Mr. Barton began very quietly, but warmed to his work, and seemed to enjoy the friendly interruptions which broke in on his argument now and then. When he sat down and the resolution was put, there seemed to be hardly an "abstainer" in the Hall, and there was certainly no dissentient!

Mrs. Creighton's speech reached at once and kept throughout a noble level of thought and utterance. She is not (yet!) a familiar figure on a purely Suffrage platform, but to her speech as much as to any made that evening was due the feeling of spiritual earnestness which is the true inspiration of the Woman's Movement. One of the finest moments in a singularly impressive demonstration came near the close of her speech when she appealed for only the noblest weapons to be used in so noble a battle as ours. A great burst of applause was her answer, and her words will be remembered when the scene which followed has been forgotten.

Mr. Henderson came next. He had hardly risen from his seat when shouts and roars burst out from a group of men and women sitting behind him, high up in the orchestra. Mr. Henderson waited for a moment, then began, and then again waited. Evidently he hoped the shouters would get tired first. They did not, and when it became evident that they would not, the Labour Member simply set to work, pitched his voice at its loudest, and gave us his speech, unshortened, clear, to the point, without losing the thread or taking the slightest notice of the riot. How many people heard him, one cannot know; but there was not a person in the hall who did not know that they were witnessing one of the pluckiest things they ever saw. When Mr. Henderson stopped to draw breath, we clapped and shouted our admiration; and when—without once losing his head or his nerve or his temper—he finished his speech and sat down, the whole audience rose at him. We clapped and shouted and waved, and when the organ began, "For he's a jolly good fellow," we sang at the tops of our voices. Mr. Henderson must have seen, as we all saw, that that huge audience was with him heart and soul, and the interruptors, though they had made such a noise, seemed conspicuous only by their insignificance.

The music that followed—a song by Miss Alice Millest—was a happy inspiration, especially as we were all considerably excited! The collection, splendid as were the results, was dull, as collections are apt to be. People are getting accustomed to seeing huge sums raised by Suffragists, and contented themselves with an occasional cheer when some well-known name or large sum was announced.

Speeches are often good for a few or appropriate for some, but Miss Royden's was quite uncommonly apt for all. One heard, during the bursts of applause which punctuated her

speech, hearty cries from men, "That's it! You've got it! True!" and from women, "Oh, it's right!" It must be good for her to feel that in uttering what was noble and witty and true in her own mind she was striking notes which thrilled response from so many other minds and hearts of men and women. Her banter of Members of Parliament who solemnly debate whether a woman shall or shall not be a person "within the meaning of the Act"; her plea for the humanity of woman; her clear and just apprehension that though women are not a class, men have made them so; her generous understanding of the idealism which underlies the Labour movement and her pitying reference to the "sharp eyes and short sight" of those Suffragists who are more alive to the human faults of Labour than to its aspiring and heroic idealism, were expressed in language informed, it is true, with passion, but with so clean a passion that only left thought the clearer for it. The printed word is always so different from the spoken word, yet one cannot but regret that those who were not present to hear this fine plea will get only such very inadequate reports of it as have appeared in the papers. It is a queer adjustment of relative values which fills these papers with the Rugby match, and records that "Miss Royden also spoke"; that shows us the Prime Minister present at the match on the very day on which this great meeting censured him for refusing to receive the evidence it had to offer of the demand whose widespread existence he denies.

Mr. Fenner Brockway had a hard task in speaking last, but he held the meeting, and his speech was one to be remembered. He looked very young, and reminded us (though not in words!) that the spirit of youth is ours and the hope that belongs to it. "Good old Labour Leader," was the shout when he finished. The great Hall emptied more rapidly than one would have thought possible, and in a few minutes we were all out and on our way home.

Our Men Supporters.

An enormous number of men must have been represented on the platform, judging by the list of organisations on the programme; and even so, the list was not complete, as names of delegates kept coming in up to the last moment. The programme is in itself a splendid piece of "propaganda," showing as it does such a huge list of supporters. Trades and Labour Councils and I. L. P.'s were strongly represented, and there was a specially large number of delegates from Unions of Engineers and Railwaymen. Among the individual men in the arena were:—

Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Mr. Goldfinch Bate, Mr. Reginald Bray, the Rev. Dr. Bussell, Mr. Cecil Chapman, J.P., Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, Mr. Archibald Christie, the Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson, Mr. Tom Gallon, Professor Galdart, Professor C. H. Herford, Mr. Henry Holiday, Mr. Roy Horniman, Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, Mr. Kneeb, Sir Henry Lee, Mr. Sidney Low, Professor Margolouth, Mr. John Masefield, Mr. Aylmer Maude, Mr. Mirrieles, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. Felix Moscheles, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. E. D. Morel, Mr. John R. Raphael, the Rev. Canon Rawnsley, Mr. P. Rose Innes, K.C., J.P., Professor E. de Selincourt, the Rev. Hudson Shaw, Mr. Harold Spender, Mr. F. T. Swanwick, Mr. Fisher Unwin, and Mr. Lucien Wolf, a member of the N.U.

THE SPEECHES.

Enthusiastic Welcome to Mrs. Fawcett.

Mrs. Fawcett received an enthusiastic welcome on rising to explain the purpose of the meeting and to move the first resolution. After referring to the demonstration as unprecedented in the history of the women's movement, she said:—

"Formerly we have asked for and have received demonstrations of the support and sympathy of women and women's organisations. Now we have asked for and are receiving the demonstration of the support and sympathy of men and men's organisations. We have here with us to-night groups of professional men and men of business; they are attending in their individual and personal capacity. We have also with us many hundreds of men who are here not in a personal, but in a representative capacity—members of town and city councils sent by their councils to represent them; members of trade councils, and, above all, members of trade unions, deputed by their members to represent them at this great meeting. (Cheers.) This is a great political fact, for it represents an important political force. The presence of large numbers of trade unionists here this evening is a following up of the resolution adopted practically unanimously at the last Trade Union Congress, representing nearly 2,000,000 working men. We ask all the men who are here whether in a personal or representative capacity to lend us their aid; they will be listened to when we are not. They may be put off with false statements, as the trade unions were last Thursday, but all the same they can help us in a way in which we cannot help ourselves. They can use their votes in our support. We had hoped to send a deputation from this great meeting to the Prime Minister, to lay before him evidences we have lately

received of the rapidly growing support of our cause in the country. He refuses to receive that deputation. He has also, though he is a Scottish member, refused to receive a Scottish deputation headed by the Lord Provost and Chief Magistrate of Glasgow; and I from the chair move the following resolution, expressing our indignation that the Prime Minister should have refused to receive both these deputations:—

"That this meeting expresses profound indignation at the refusal of the Prime Minister to receive a deputation from the 662 men representing 342 organisations, and from the many hundreds of men in their individual capacity attending this meeting. Mr. Asquith has declared that he has yet to be convinced that there is a demand for Women's Suffrage in the country, and this meeting protests against his refusal to inform himself of the demand by hearing the views of these men who represent all shades of opinion in every part of the country."

Mr. Asquith Not Hopeless.

Mr. William Barton, Liberal M.P. for Oldham, stated, in seconding the resolution, that he was convinced that despite appearances the cause was making steady and certain headway. It had become a real and live issue in practical politics. He continued:—

"The resolution deals with Mr. Asquith. Your organisers are exceedingly astute. I am quite sure that it was not without purpose that they chose a supporter of Mr. Asquith to second this resolution. I have been re-reading Mr. Asquith's speeches on this question, and I cannot find it possible to regard him as by any means a hopeless case. I do not believe there is a man living with a brain who is hopeless for this cause. There is a way to impress Mr. Asquith, and all politicians are alike. This meeting will greatly serve the women's cause if every man here goes back home determined that he will impress the politicians in the only way that politicians as such can be impressed—by the use of his vote. In the next general election this must be the first issue to be dealt with, and not the last." (Cheers.)

Underlying Principles of the Women's Movement.

Mrs. Creighton spoke of the great principles underlying the woman's movement. The demand for the vote was due to the knowledge that the vote was the symbol of full citizenship, and this was what women so earnestly desired. There had been in the past a demand for rights; there was now far more a demand for duties. Women wanted freedom to serve, and to serve without restrictions on their natural powers. Florence Nightingale was an example of what a woman could do for the world in the most womanly way; and yet she was opposed and criticised by people who thought she was going outside the "woman's sphere," in leaving her home and volunteering for service in the Crimea. Perhaps it might be said there could not be many Florence Nightingales. (A Voice: "Why not?") Well, whether there be many or few, they wanted to have freedom to bring all their powers to the service of the State. Where women had been given the vote it had been shown that it was for service that they ask and use it. Splendid evidence came from America to show that the forces making for civic righteousness and good government were enormously strengthened by the women's vote. Women were insistent on a high standard of character in those men for whom they voted, and no candidate of bad character had a chance of election.

Wider Responsibility Increases Devotion at Home.

At the same time, women had not lost their interest in and devotion to their homes. On the contrary, that interest had increased and quickened with wider responsibility. Far more homes were ruined by love of pleasure than by interest in politics, and the political responsibilities of women had deepened their sense of duty, and thus improved rather than destroyed home life. Opposition to Women's Suffrage had been found to come, not from the best but from the worst elements in the State—from the saloon-keepers, and gamblers, from organised vice, and from the idle rich. When our opponents realised this they would surely not wish to work hand in hand with such as these.

Battle of the Spirit Against the Forces of Evil.

The whole movement, Mrs. Creighton continued, was one from the lower to the higher plane. It was part of the great struggle that had been going on throughout the ages between the forces of brutality and the forces of the spirit, in human nature. The women's movement was winning the world from the dominion of physical force, and bringing about the reign of the spirit. In such a battle we should all be desirous above all to fight with worthy weapons. Only the best and worthiest were fit to be used in this great battle of the spirit against the forces of evil, and let women see to it that only such were employed. Then it might still be possible that the franchise would be granted, not after a further prolonged and bitter struggle, but as the glad gift of those who desire our contribution to the common service. It was her hope, Mrs. Creighton said in conclusion, that it might indeed be in this way that the freedom of women was won.

Need for a Government Measure.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. for Barnard Castle, in moving a resolution demanding a Government measure, reviewed the leading facts of the history of Women's Suffrage in Parliament, and showed conclusively the futility of trusting to a private member's Bill. The resolution, he said, was a brief, plain, straightforward, and definite request. The question arose whether they were justified in making such a demand on the Government. His reply was an emphatic "Yes." They were justified, first of all, because of the promise made by Mr. Asquith; they were justified also because of the expectations which the Government had created. He had not lost sight of the accident due to the ruling of the Speaker, but he wished to say emphatically to that meeting, as he had said on the floor of the House of Commons at the time, that no ruling on the part of the Speaker discharged the debt that the Government had incurred. Neither of the divisions on women's suffrage taken in the House of Commons was taken in the circumstances that gave the question the fair play to which it was entitled. Had women's enfranchisement been in the same position as Home Rule the Government would never have been able to get out of their pledge.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, who was to have seconded the resolution, was unable to attend the meeting, owing to the illness of one of his children.

A Great Human Movement.

Miss A. Maude Royden described the women's movement as a great human movement towards democracy. The claim of women to be regarded as human beings first and as women afterwards was the claim which aroused the most furious indignation in the heart of the true Anti-suffragist. (The gist of Miss Royden's speech is given in the article "Our Common Humanity," appearing on page 884.)

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Smillie was unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting, but sent a letter of regret and good wishes.

Mr. Fenner Brockway emphasised the need of men for the help of the women's point of view. It was impossible to imagine that women, the mothers of the race, would ever put property before life, or willingly allow the sacrifice of the latter in the interests of the former. Their point of view was not opposed to, but in some respects different from that of men, and we should never arrive at a truly humane State till both were represented.

SOME MESSAGES.

DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,—I hope to be with you at the Albert Hall Demonstration on the 14th inst. I want to come to London as soon as Parliament meets, in order to interview personally all my friends in the Ministry, as well as some few other M.P.'s, in the interests of our women's cause.

Surely, our long labours will even now secure the end we have in view. What a disgraceful fact it is that there should now be eight millions of male electors, and not one woman yet entitled to vote. When we began to work, there were only some 700,000 male electors. The disgrace lies, and will for ever lie, on those professed friends, especially those who are in either House, and more especially on those who are, or have been, in the Cabinet, for this long and shameful delay.

I formed the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee in October, 1866, when my friend, Miss Emily Davies, formed the first London Committee; and for forty-eight years we have continued asking for this act of justice, and still we are not free citizens of this professedly free country.—Affectionately yours,

E. C. WORSTENHOLME ELMY.

Heartly wishes for the success of your demand for a Government measure during the present Session.

MRS. HASLAM
(President, The Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association).

January 27th, 1914.

DEAR SIR,—Though I am prevented from being present at your meeting I wish to accord to you my whole hearted sympathies with its aims, so keen am I on the grant to Women that, though I have been a Liberal ever since I had a vote, I voted Unionist at the last election in order to mark my disapproval of the Government touching this subject.

May your gathering prove both successful and fertile.—I remain, Yours faithfully,
WALTER H. DIXON.

Letters of regret for absence were received from the Earl of Selborne, Earl Russell, Lord Aberconway, Lord Newton, Lord Courtney of Penwith, Lord Rayleigh, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Hertford, the Bishop of St. Asaph's, the Bishop of Birmingham, the Bishop of Liverpool, the Bishop of Kensington, the Bishop of Knaresborough, the Bishop of Southampton, the Dean of Limerick, Prof. Hartopp, Prof. Patrick Geddes, and many others.

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will be held at the

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On Friday Evening, February 27th, 8 p.m.

The Chair will be taken by
THE COUNTESS OF DUNDONALD
supported by Vice-Presidents of the Association.

Speakers:

The LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P.
Miss ANNA MARTIN.

and others.

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(Further details will be announced in the Daily Press.)

THE ANNUAL DINNER
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will take place at the

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The President, The EARL of LYTTON, will be in the chair and will receive the guests
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Chair: The Hon. Mrs. SPENCER GRAVES (Treasurer, L.S.W.S.).
Speakers: Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK (President, Women's Industrial Council); Miss CATHERINE MARSHALL (Hon. Parl. Sec. N.U.W.S.S.) on "The N.U. Council Meeting"; H. CAWBY, Esq., M.P.; A. F. WHYTE, Esq.
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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and all ADVERTISEMENTS must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday. Advertisement Representative, S. R. Le Mare.

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Friday. If any difficulty is found in obtaining it locally, please communicate with The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE.

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.

Our Common Humanity.

There were many men at the Great Demonstration in the Albert Hall on February 14th. The organising of a meeting on this vast scale, when men and women came together in the women's cause, was an outward and visible sign of the great inward principles which animate and drive the movement—the principle of co-operation between men and women, carried out not only in the home but in the whole of life. And there was in consequence a complete absence of any note of bitterness and antagonism in the speeches; and a sense of unity in speakers and audience to which the senseless opposition of a tiny minority only gave opportunity of expression. In spite of political difficulties, in spite of long and cruel strain, the "sense of the meeting" was one of hope and joy and spiritual exaltation.

The presence of so many men at what people are apt to regard as a women's meeting, brought out the fact that the claim of women to enfranchisement is not based upon their sex, but on their humanity. They demand the vote in order that their special point of view may be brought into the service of the State, but they found their demand on the fact that they are, equally with men, human beings. It is a claim which at once unites all Suffragists, whatever their political party. Whether they seek the electoral qualification in property, or in intelligence, in service given or in need felt, all Suffragists are at one in holding that the qualification which is right for a man is also right for a woman, because she is, equally with him, a human being.

The denial of this claim, however gracefully veiled, carries with it the implication that those to whom it is denied are not equally human with those to whom it is granted. For the "difference of function" which Anti-suffragists urge as a reason for denying women the vote without insisting on their inferiority, has no reality in the facts of life. The "functions" of men and women are not divided into political and domestic, for women do (and are urged to do) political work of the most difficult and arduous kind; and men, far from admitting women's supremacy in the home, themselves claim to exercise that supremacy. They are not divided into legislative and administrative work; for though women are not allowed to legislate, men can and do administer the law far more generally than women do. There is, in fact, no work that is not shared. The only "difference of function" is that men are to govern and women to obey. And this difference has always persuaded the rulers that they are on a higher level and more entirely "human" than the ruled. The "Divine Right of Kings" was the inevitable result of giving to one man absolute power. The divine right of men to absolute power has convinced them that they are "human" and women—a sex. It was against this narrow view that the meeting in the Albert Hall protested. It was the assertion by men and women that men have no divine right to absolute power over those who are equally human with themselves. And in the unanimous passing of the Women's Suffrage resolution by that vast concourse was expressed the belief that women are henceforth to be regarded as human first and women afterwards.

No one, however, could fail to realise that the most significant element in the great Demonstration was the serried ranks of men on the platform, representing the organisations—and chiefly Labour organisations—which are supporting the demand for Women's Suffrage; as perhaps the finest moment in the meeting

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was that when, at the close of Mr. Henderson's speech, the vast audience rose and relieved their feeling of indignation against those who had tried to prevent the speech being heard, in cheer after cheer.

There are those to whom the friendship between the Woman's Movement and the Labour Movement is either inexplicable, or explicable only as a political manoeuvre, like other political manoeuvres. It is a greater, deeper thing than that. Not long ago Mrs. Fawcett wrote of the Suffrage Movement that it would be the greatest movement in the world if it were not that it was part of a still greater movement—the rising of the people all over the world. Perhaps only those who are at the heart of this great cause—those who have lived themselves into it—can quite realise how true this is. Those to whom it is "merely a political agitation" cannot do so: nor can those to whom it is merely a woman's question. The interrupters last Saturday no doubt thought themselves justified in denying to Mr. Henderson the right of free speech they claim for themselves, because the whole thing is to them one of political manoeuvring, and they believe they could manoeuvre so much better themselves. It is a common illusion. One could not help being reminded of a phrase used by Miss Ellen Terry in speaking of the attitude of certain critics towards her fellow-worker, Sir Henry Irving. They perpetually criticised his voice and his gait and his manner, says Miss Terry, "looking at him with such sharp eyes and such short sight!" So do our critics look at our great movement. They look, with the politician's eyes, at the surface of things. They mark the eddies and foam of the water, and its breaking waves. It takes the statesman to watch the flow of the river itself. Perhaps only a statesman with something of prophetic vision sees it. The task of finding fault is so much easier; and critics of the Labour Party, like the critics of the Suffrage movement itself, prefer this easier task, looking at us all with such sharp eyes and such short sight. Look deeper, and see a little beneath the surface.

The different political parties all over the world stand for different political reforms. The "Conservative" of one country claims the programme which is "Liberal" in another. The Labour Party is for Free Trade here, and for Protection elsewhere. For different circumstances men will desire different measures of reform. And in the National Union are men and women of different political creeds, against whom the charge of disloyalty to those creeds is sometimes brought.

But, for all these things, there is one principle underlying all, for which Labour all over the world is fighting: it is the one thing for which every Suffragist also stands, the one bond of union between us all—the one point at issue with our opponents. It is the refusal to let any class or sex exploit another class or sex; it is the assertion that every human being is an end in himself, and none shall be merely the means to another's end.

It is certain that where a section of the community has complete and arbitrary power over the rest, that section will exploit the rest. It is not always—perhaps it is very rarely—deliberate, but no one can read history and deny that it is a fact. The possession of arbitrary power intoxicates those who hold it into the belief that they are different from the rest of the world. It creates a division, deeper than any other division of class, between governing and governed, and ends in the exploiting of the governed. No one is good enough to be trusted with such power. "Put women in the place of men," said Miss Jane Harrison, "and in six months' time there would not be a pin to choose between them."

This great principle lies at the heart of the Woman's Movement. It is at the heart of the Labour Movement also. It is for this reason that Labour has not waited to become Suffragist until Women's Suffrage looked like a popular move. For Women's Suffrage is an essential part of their programme, whatever Suffragists themselves may do and think. Our ideal is the same—it is the refusal to allow any part of the community to exploit another; it is the indignant rejection of a social scheme which allows to any human being less than a human life, or puts him to less than a human purpose. It is the consciousness that such will always be the fate of any class or sex left wholly outside all share in government; and, consequently, the refusal to leave any class or sex thus completely outside. Above all, it is the realisation that none are truly free till all are free, and none can be exploited without putting all in bondage. It is said that we are free already if we desire it. No—we are not free, nor will we accept freedom, alone. Let every part of the community—all classes, both sexes—be free, and have a share in the Government which all must obey. Then, at last, we shall have a right to call ourselves free. And if this is indeed a far-off hope, let us the harder toil for its realisation nor be ashamed to be called visionaries, since where there is no vision the people perish.

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THE NATIONAL UNION COUNCIL.

The N.U.W.S.S. delegates met in Council on February 12th, 13th, and 14th. An enormous amount of business had to be worked through, and the delegates were kept hard at it all the time. Mrs. Fawcett was in the chair at the first meeting, and afterwards Mrs. Rackham (Chairman of the N.U. Executive Committee).

An urgency resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in Council assembled welcomes the action of the Labour Party in moving an amendment to the address in reply to the King's Speech, regarding the omission of any promised legislation to enfranchise women, and calls upon all advocates of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons, by voting for this amendment, to support its demand for a Government measure."

Another resolution declared that:—

"This meeting, while strongly protesting against methods of violence employed by some advocates of Women's Suffrage, equally condemns such methods as practised by the Government in the forcible feeding of prisoners, and urgently demands that such practices be discontinued."

Several alterations were made in the Rules, the most important being that admitting the London Society to the status of a Federation, with all its rights and responsibilities, though, owing to the special character of its work and organisation, the Society does not adopt the ordinary federation rules. Two very important pieces of work on new lines were undertaken; the formation of an Active Service League, on the lines suggested by Mrs. Harley; and of Women's Citizens' Associations, on the lines adopted by the Liverpool Society with such success.

The ballot for the Executive Committee resulted in the election of the following:—

Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss Atkinson, Lady Frances Balfour, Dr. E. Sloan Chesser, Miss Clark, Mrs. Cross, Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Harley, Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Leaf, Miss Macmillan, Miss Mathieson, Mrs. Osler, Miss Palliser, Mrs. Rackham, Councillor Eleanor F. Rathbone, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Stanbury, Mrs. Swanwick, and Miss Tanner.

All the honorary officers were re-elected.

LONDON GRADUATES AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The London Graduates' Union sent a petition to Mr. Asquith asking that the promise of a Women's Suffrage Bill should be included in the King's Speech, on the ground that, while men alone have the vote, the government of the country does not rest on the consent of the governed, and the authority of the law is weakened. The petitioners further represented that experience has led women to the conviction that they should claim the vote so that they may help to improve moral and social conditions; that the moral tone of the nation is lowered by the indiscriminate application to them of a disability humiliating in the case of men; that women need the protection of the vote more now that the male franchise has been vastly extended; that the payment of members emphasises the grievance of taxation without representation; and that, the Suffragist majority in the Commons being ineffective owing to its division into various groups, the Government itself should introduce the reform.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Scottish Anti-suffrage League has sent out memorials to the Established Church Presbyteries asking them to take no action on the subject of Women's Suffrage, because it is a political question. The Suffrage Societies have replied asking the Presbyteries to receive a deputation of women who will lay their views before them. It will be interesting to hear what answer they will receive. Suffragists have always held that their movement is a moral one. Anti-suffragists claim that it is (1) a question of morals, when they want to horrify people; (2) a question of politics, when they want to keep them quiet.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

The Congregational Union at its autumn meeting last year considered the "Position of Women in our Churches." This year, in May, the "Present Day Responsibility of Women in Church Life" will be dealt with.

"COMMON CAUSE" SELLERS.

Sellers are specially asked to keep time free during the *Daily News* Exhibition (Woman's Kingdom), beginning on April 11th, and lasting two and a-half weeks. We propose to publish next week particulars for the reorganisation of the street sale of THE COMMON CAUSE in London in our next issue. Volunteers, please note!

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

LEITH BURGHS.

Electorate, 17,743.

Liberal Majority, 1,785.

Candidates: Mr. J. N. Bell, Labour.
Mr. G. W. Currie, Unionist.
Provost Malcolm Smith, Liberal.

Organiser-in-Charge: Miss Lisa M. Gordon. Central Committee Rooms: 102, Leith Walk, Leith.

Speakers and Workers.—Miss Margaret Robertson, Mrs. Chew, Mrs. Annot Robinson, Mrs. Shaw McLaren, Miss Alice Low, Miss St. John, Miss Sheard, Miss Hillston, Miss Westwood, Miss Pressley-Smith, Miss Sayer, Miss Moody, Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Airlie, Miss Alice Smith, Mrs. Cameron, and many other local helpers.

Polling day has now been fixed for Thursday, February 26th, and sighs of relief were heaved by our workers when they realised that this—our third E.F.F. by-election within three months—was to be only a ten days' fight. Though short, it will be none the less strenuous, and at the time of writing, our organisers and workers are hard at work in every part of the division. The plan of campaign adopted with success in N.-W. Durham is to be followed here also. Miss St. John, Miss Sheard, and Miss Westwood have taken Committee Rooms, and are acting as Labour Sub-Agents in Musselburgh, Portobello, and Leith respectively. We have also enlisted the services of a large band of voluntary workers, who are canvassing, working-up and stewarding at meetings, as well as doing the thousand-and-one things which are always waiting for any willing helper. An extensive canvass is being carried out, and between twenty and thirty meetings have already been arranged in co-operation with Mr. Arthur Peters, the Organiser for the Labour Party. We intend also to hold some afternoon women's meetings, and others in the open air. Considerable assistance is being rendered by members of the Edinburgh Society, who are providing hospitality for most of the election contingent.

All three candidates have received deputations from members of our Society. Mr. G. W. Currie, the Unionist, professes himself a Suffragist, and is a member of the C.U.W.F.A., but he refused to give us any pledges or to answer our questions.

Provost Malcolm Smith made no secret of his views, but told us frankly that Women's Suffrage was not a question that he had ever considered very deeply. He acknowledged the excellent work that had been done in many places, including Leith, by women members of Town Councils and School Boards, and consequently believed that women should vote for Home Rule Parliaments. As far as the present is concerned, however, he is not prepared to help us by bringing pressure to bear upon his party, though he naively admitted that if they took up the question he might see reason to change his mind.

Mr. J. N. Bell has long been a believer in the women's movement, and has answered all our test questions in the affirmative. His election address states his conviction that the women's vote would do much to help towards the abolition of sweating and other social evils. A story has been circulated in the daily papers that Mr. Bell is not prepared to press for a Government measure giving votes to women. This is probably due to a printer's error, the exact opposite being the truth, as is proved by Mr. Bell's clear and definite replies to our questions. Mr. Bell is a Justice of the Peace, and for the last twenty-five years has been connected with the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, of which he is now the General Secretary. Backed by many of the most prominent speakers in the Labour movement, including Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., we feel sure that the fight which he is making in the constituency will lead to success.

In many respects, Leith Burghs is a less difficult division to work than some we have known. It consists of the Burghs of Leith, Portobello, Musselburgh, and the little fishing village of Newhaven. Its seventeen thousand voters thus cover a comparatively small area, and the over-crowding which exists in some of the old tenements must be seen to be realised. In Leith, a great many of the men are dockers, whose work is necessarily somewhat irregular, and there are also large shipbuilding works employing many hundreds, and in Portobello the railway men are organising and working for Bell. During the whole of last summer Leith was in a state of ferment owing to the prolonged strike of the dockers, which, of course, also affected many other workers; and the dissatisfaction and discontent then aroused by a fuller realisation of their bad social conditions will probably do much in this fight for Labour representation.

Every kind of women's work is to be found, much of which is badly paid. The work that we have already done, and the meet-

ings that have already been held have prepared the ground well, and the women are coming forward with enthusiasm to help in the contest. Leith possesses a strong Branch of the Women's Labour League, whose leading spirit is Miss Clarice McNab, the newly elected Town Councillor, and these women are giving all their spare time to help with the canvassing.

The only people who have secured shops in the main street are the Suffragists, and competition for Committee Rooms has been very severe. Had we not been very early in the field it would have been impossible to secure premises. As it is, we have a large shop, the envy of the Home Rulers, who, treading on our heels, would have been glad of the chance of out-bidding us.

The local Labour forces are well organised, owing to the recent municipal elections which resulted in the return of four of the Labour nominees, and hopes are high that Mr. Bell will double the poll of the last Labour candidate, Mr. Walker, and be returned triumphantly as Member for Leith Burghs.

[A photograph of Mr. Bell, which we had hoped to publish, unfortunately had not arrived at time of going to press.]

SOUTH BUCKS BY-ELECTION.

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

Polling Day: February 18th.

In the early part of the week, before the Council took away most of our workers, we held indoor meetings at Core's End, Gerrard's Cross, Lane End, Beaconsfield, and Marlow. Mrs. Whalley and Miss Sylvia Clark were then left to carry on the campaign on village greens.

There is no doubt that the population of S. Bucks is keenly interested in the question of Women's Suffrage. We have held eleven indoor meetings, and, except on two occasions, when there were rival meetings, the halls have always been full. Only once has there been anything approaching a disturbance, and, with one exception, the resolution demanding a Government measure has been passed with practically no dissentients, a remarkably large proportion of the audience voting. Out-of-doors our speakers have met with an equally good reception, whether in Wycombe itself, or in the villages, or at the various mills and factories. A society has been formed at Slough, and about fifty members and eight hundred "Friends" have been enrolled in the constituency. Twenty dozen copies of THE COMMON CAUSE have been sold, to say nothing of dozens of badges.

Those indefatigable workers, Mrs. Berney and Mrs. Robie Uniacke, have been splendidly supported by members of the S. Bucks and neighbouring societies, and we have to thank many friends for hospitality, especially Mrs. Scott and Dr. Eva Meredith, who gave homes to organisers for the whole period of the election. The work in the outlying districts was facilitated by a most welcome gift of £10 from Miss Courtauld for motor-cars.

Polling is taking place as THE COMMON CAUSE goes to press.

LONDON BY-ELECTIONS.

SOUTH-WEST BETHNAL GREEN.

Candidates: Mr. John Scurr, (Independent Candidate), Labour.
Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, Liberal.
Major Sir Mathew Wilson, Unionist.

London Society's Committee Rooms: 270, Bethnal Green Road,

E. Organisers in Charge: Mrs. Foulkes, Miss Deverell. By the simple expedient of visiting practically every house in Bethnal Green Road, and inviting it to give up its front room, Mrs. Foulkes accomplished the impossible and secured a central and showy footing. The questions asked the candidates on behalf of the N.U.W.S.S. were:—

- (1) Will you pledge yourself in your Election Address to support Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons?
- (2) Will you urge your Party to make Women's Suffrage a part of its programme, and to introduce a Women's Suffrage Bill?
- (3) Will you oppose any further extension of the franchise to men so long as women are excluded?

In answer to (1) Sir Mathew Wilson replied (in effect) that if he had been seen earlier he would have put W.S. in his address.

(2) (Verbally) Wait for a General Election, and put it to the country.

(3) Should it be proposed, I would be in favour of not "extending" the franchise until the women had been dealt with.

(NOTE.—For about two months, the Society's Organisers have endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain an interview with Sir Mathew.)

Table of names and amounts for the Mandate Fund, organized in columns with names and monetary values.

MANDATE FUND.

I enclose a donation of £ s. d. (Signed) Name..... (Mr., Mrs. or other Title) Address.....

Donations may be earmarked for the Election Fighting Fund and for any special purpose if donors particularly desire it, but the main object on this occasion is the raising of a large central fund for Headquarters, of which 20 per cent. will be devoted to the work of the London Society in the London area.

The REGENT STREET House of PETER ROBINSON Ltd



Annual Exhibition & Sale of White Goods

LADIES fail in a duty to themselves if they neglect to visit our REGENT STREET House during the month for, until the termination of this Great Sale on February 28th, we are offering UNPRECEDENTED VALUES in beautiful Lingerie, Blouses, Baby Linen, and other kinds of dainty white goods.

- R.S. 22.E. Corset Cover composed entirely of fancy net and Val. lace insertions 12/6
R.S. 23.E. Nainsook Corset Cover for evening wear, trimmed Val. lace & insertions & threaded ribbon. 5/9
R.S. 24.E. Sheer lawn Corset Cover, trimmed fine Val. lace & insertions with tucks between. Hand-made. 6/6
R.S. 25.E. (On figure). Fine nainsook Corset Cover, hand-made, trimmed Val. lace edging and insertions; Swiss centre deax threaded ribbon. 8/11
R.S. 26.E. (Shown folded). Corset Cover in nainsook, trimmed Val. lace edging and insertions. Neck cut square. Hand-sewn. 7/6
R.S. 27.E. (On figure). Corset Cover entirely of lace, giving a charming effect when worn under fine lingerie or nainsook blouses. 13/6
R.S. 28.E. (Shown folded). Cambric Corset Cover, trimmed Cluny lace edging and insertions, and embroidered insertions in spot design. Hand-sewn. 5/9
R.S. 29.E. (On figure). Corset Cover in fine nainsook, trimmed embroidery & lace insertions, hand-made. 13/6
R.S. 30.E. (Shown folded). Lawn Corset Cover, trimmed strong lace and threaded ribbon. Hand-made. 4/6

Peter Robinson of Regent St.

Table of names and amounts for Secretaries and Correspondents, organized in columns.

SECRETARIES AND CORRESPONDENTS PLEASE NOTE!

The following are the dates on which the reports of the various Federations are due to appear in the "C.C." They should be sent to the Sub-Editor, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, not later than the Monday morning previous to the date of issue. It is urgently requested that reports shall only be sent through the "C.C." correspondents, whose names and addresses are printed below.

- First Friday in the Month: London Society: Correspondent, Miss Ward, London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.
Manchester and District Federation: Mrs. J. E. Tomlinson, Byfield, Knutsford, Cheshire.
South-Western: Miss E. Mathieson, Otterbourne, Budleigh Salterton, East Midland: Miss E. J. Sloane, M.A., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.
South Wales and Monmouth: Dr. Eric Evans, 23, Dumfries Place, Cardiff.
Second Friday: North-Western Federation: Miss A. Graham, 9, Vicarage Terrace, Kendal.
West Midland: Mrs. Harley, Conover House, near Shrewsbury.
Central Counties: Miss L. Dickens, Cherington, Shipston-on-Stour, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants: Miss J. W. Powell, Munstead Rough, Godalming, Surrey.
Scottish: Miss Latta, 2, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh.
Bournemouth Society: Miss Kemp Turner, Calluna, 4, Westcliff Road, Bournemouth.
Third Friday: London Society: Correspondent, Miss Ward, London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.
North and East Riding of Yorkshire Federation: Mrs. A. M. Daniel, 14, Royal Crescent, Scarborough.
West Lancs., West Cheshire, and North Wales: Miss E. F. McPherson, 16, Newland Drive, Liscard, Cheshire.
Oxford, Bucks., and Berks: Miss L. C. Jones, Jesmond Hill, Pangbourne, Berks.
Fourth Friday: North-Eastern Federation: Dr. Mabel Campbell, 2, Graingerville, South, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Kentish: Mrs. Davies, 1, Napier Mansions, Mt. Ephraim Road, Tunbridge Wells.
West of England: Miss J. Baretta, 49, Royal York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
Eastern Counties: Miss E. Place, 24, Quilter Road, Felixstowe.
West Riding of Yorks.: Mrs. H. F. Hall, Oaklands, Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield.

Report of Literature Department.

The revised and enlarged edition of Miss Royden's Votes and Wages, A. 78, price 3d., is now ready, and was in much demand at the Albert Hall demonstration.

The judgment delivered in November, 1913, on the action brought by members of the Hastings N.U.W.S.S. against the Mayor and Corporation of Hastings, has now been published in pamphlet form, and is stocked in the Literature Department, price 2d. The claim made under the Riot Damage Act referred to the occasion in May, 1913, when members of the N.U.W.S.S. had to take refuge from a mob in an hotel at Hastings, and to get this protection had to sign an agreement to pay the cost of damages done to the hotel. It was held that the damage done by the mob was owing to the police arrangements being inadequate. The case was won by the Suffragists. The pamphlet is very interesting reading.

There are still some programmes of the Albert Hall meeting left. These can be had from the National Union, price 3d. each, post free.

TO CORRESPONDENTS, SECRETARIES, AND OTHERS.

You are urgently requested to address reports and notices of meetings to the Sub-Editor, and advertisements and orders for copies of THE COMMON CAUSE to the Business Manager (address in both cases, 2, Robert Street Adelphi). There seems to be a widespread misconception that the Editor busies herself in spare moments by typing up parcels of copies of THE COMMON CAUSE for despatch, while the Manager collects "copy" for the next issue. The editorial and business departments are entirely separate, and matter addressed to the wrong person is often delayed by some hours.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS and mention THE COMMON CAUSE when ordering goods.

