

The Common Cause,

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Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

The News of the Week.

Shall We Pay to be Misrepresented?

Rumour is busy with talk about a Bill to be introduced early next session for the payment of Members, and it is said that the Bill will be retrospective, and apply from the opening of this Parliament. Various sums from £300 to £500 a year are mentioned. It never seems to dawn upon the men who talk so freely of this possibility that if they mulct women in order to pay these Members for whom not one single woman will have had a chance of voting, they will perpetuate on an enormously increased scale the very injustice which the Osborne judgment has brought to light, and which Mr.

Asquith and the rest of the Cabinet admit. We hope that women will enter a very serious protest against such inequitable discrimination.

Insulting Motherhood.

Feeling in Ireland has become very heated lately over the recent Papal decree against mixed marriages. This decree and the influence of priests seem to have induced a Roman Catholic man, who was married according to the law of the land in a Presbyterian Church, to desert his wife and take the two children with him. Feeling seems to be mainly exercised upon the theological quarrel, but there is the mother's point of view, which, surely, is of some importance. Now, if the man is not married to the woman he has no right to the children, and if he is married to the woman he has no right to desert her, though he alone, according to our beautiful and humane lay, can say what they shall be taught and where they shall live. At a demonstration in Belfast on January 5th, the Rev. John Pollock waxed very eloquent on the "insult to all Protestant denominations"; why does not someone find rhetoric wherewith to paint the "insult to motherhood."

Women at German Universities.

"The Times" educational supplement of January 3rd described the long struggle that women have had to obtain admission into German Universities. At first learned professors argued about the "physiological weak-mindedness of women"; they then admitted them as "hearers," not "students." Now at last the Prussian Universities have given women equal rights with men,

except that the Minister of Education may refuse a woman admission to certain lectures.

Catholics and Quakers.

Nothing has been more remarkable than the fact that many deeply religious women feel that political freedom will increase their power for social service. We have already a Church League and a Free Churches League. There is now in process of formation a "Friends' Council for Woman Suffrage," and friends who wish to work in this connection should apply to Miss Seekings, 6, Brookfield, West Hill, Highgate, N. It is also proposed to form a "Catholic Women's Suffrage Society," and those in sympathy should apply to Miss M. E. Kendall, 22, Wilberforce Road, Finsbury Park.

Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A.

On January 4th Miss Margaret Ashton, of the National Union Executive, was given an M.A. degree *honoris causa*, in the University of Manchester. Professor Alexander, in presenting her, spoke of her as one who had "deepened the conception and widened the possibilities of civic service." Having alluded to her municipal work as showing "the regulated sweep and sane audacity of her ideals," he continued: "Of her still greater and more absorbing endeavours to secure for women the extension of their citizenship from the local community to the State—(cheers)—I dare only speak with the severe neutrality befitting the spokesman of a University which knows no distinction of politics, and no distinction of sex—(cheers),—but which is free to render homage to courage, wisdom, and devotion displayed on behalf of a claim put forward not unreasonably for practical consideration, and above all to the union of enthusiasm and solid judgment which half persuades the unwilling of the goodness of the cause in which those qualities are engaged."



DOCTOR ELIZABETH BLACKWELL.

Mrs. Auerbach in Paris.

Another member of the Executive, Mrs. Auerbach, has been visiting Paris, and has been most warmly welcomed by French Suffragists, to whom she gave an address at the house of Madame Léon Philippe on the work of the National Union. This was most favourably reported in "La Petite République" of the 2nd January.

Madame Curie.

Heated discussions have been going on in Paris since Madame Curie put up for election to the Academy of Sciences. No one doubts that if she had been a man she would have been elected. But she has committed the heinous offence of being a woman, and so, although she is one of the first of living physicists, there is some doubt as to her eligibility.

Last week the "Institut," to which are affiliated five Academies, discussed the question of the admission of women, and decided by 90 votes to 52 that though it would not dictate to the Academies, there was an "immutable tradition" against the election of women, "which it seemed eminently wise to respect." We should have rather more respect for the wisdom of the 90 if they had not wildly hazarded "immutable." When 52 of their own number are ready for change, it savours of recklessness to pledge the future.

Meanwhile it will be interesting to see whether the Academy of Sciences will prove itself less hide-bound than its sister Academies. Of course, the usual thin-end-of-the-wedge objection is being made, and people fear lest the admission of Madame Curie might be "opening the way" to the election of a woman as President of the Institute. One can only ask why, if they wish to have a woman President they should not be allowed to have her! It is like the silly old "women-will-be-wanting-to-be-Members-of-Parliament" bogey. Surely many candidates must now be ruefully saying, "It's not what the Candidate wants, it's what the Elector wants!"

Meanwhile Madame Curie has received the Albert Medal, presented to her by the Royal Society of Arts in recognition of the services rendered to the world by her discovery of Radium.

Hull Town Council declares for Suffrage.

On the reading of a letter from Mrs. C. Merivale-Meyer, on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Alderman Hanger moved on January 5th "That in the opinion of the Council there should be passed into law a measure for the enfranchisement of women upon the lines of the Conciliation Bill of 1910." Mr. Bower seconded this. An amendment in favour of Adult Suffrage was ruled out of order, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

A Step On.

"The Anti-Suffrage Review" of January has an article on "Women in Local Government," by Miss Markham, and we congratulate the League on having added some positive propaganda to their negation. We do not regard this article as a fair statement of the case, because although the writer remarks on the fact that the great majority of women in local government are Poor Law Guardians, she does not point out the almost insuperable difficulties that most women find in standing for Councils: naturally, because this would bring her face to face with the need for altering the law, and with this she holds women have no concern.

Again, she reproaches the "Suffrage Party as such" with having done little to promote the work of women in local government. But this is to reproach a body of women associated for one purpose with not branching off to other purposes. As Suffragists, we are banded together to obtain the Parliamentary franchise, and for nothing else. But if Miss Markham would conduct a canvass among those 1,230 women in local government (who do not include education committees) she would find the percentage of Suffragists a high one. We are not afraid of the second string to the Anti-Suffrage bow. The more women they can interest in local government the more Suffragists they will make.

Unconscious Humour.

A really comic article on "Arguments for use in poor districts" is gravely inserted and puffed "as the result of much and varied experience." The unfortunate "poor"

are taught by this "experienced" person that Parliament has only to do with "India, and the Army and Navy, and all those outside things"; the poor women are asked, "Don't you think we might leave fighting and Imperial politics to the men?" They are told "men have made England the greatest nation in the world," and invited to agree that it is "impertinent of these women to say they will do men's work"—a fine instance of question-begging. "One slip just now," says the orator, "might ruin England for ever, and how do you know they [women] wouldn't make that slip?" Ah! how, indeed? Finally, this deluder of the poor and deceiver of the ignorant is recommended to wind up as follows: "If women do their own work, they have not, most of them, time to go to meetings and study politics. And if they have time, they can be town councillors, and borough councillors, and Poor Law inspectors, and factory inspectors, and school inspectors, and enough other things to keep all the unmarried women busy without voting and getting into Parliament—which they must do if they get the vote."

No, dear reader, this is not our malicious caricature of the enemy! It is quoted, italics and all, from their own organ. The conception of the vote as a device for "keeping people busy" is truly exquisite; and we revel in the picture of a poor householder recommended to become a school or factory inspector should time hang heavy on her hands or the hunt for a husband have proved fruitless. One hopes some of the "poor" inquire how it is that the seven millions or so of male electors manage to keep out of Parliament; weak woman, it seems, could not accomplish the feat, but would be sucked in by that strange and awful whirlpool.

Making Criminals.

The newspapers have been philosophizing about the moral wreck which Russian mal-administration makes of a large part of the population of Russia. The subject has arisen out of the fact that the murderous burglars in Stepney were Letts, and our papers have been busy congratulating ourselves that we are not as Russia is. No. We are not so far. But it might be more profitable, perhaps, for us to inquire whether our criminal law really makes crime less, and whether it helps those who have fallen to rise again. Our complacency may be roughly jerked when, in one week, we read two of the most passionate indictments of "justice" from those who have suffered it. One was published in Saturday's "Daily News," and was made by a Cardiff man, aged 28, who had been ten times in prison, and who, after declaring that his only object in life was to revenge himself upon society and "get his own back," ended by telling the court, "You have contributed towards the ruin of my life. I declare before all people in this court that you cannot possibly acquit yourself of that."

The other terrible accusation is even more disquieting, for it comes from a man who was a physician and surgeon, and who seems to have made every effort to retrieve his position, but to have been thrust down again into destitution and despair by the senseless application of a cast-iron law. It was well said by Tolstoy that, unless you can deal with your fellow-creatures in love you must not deal with them at all. The most abominable cruelty and futility always accompany efforts to treat human creatures as though they were not sentient.

Our Cartoon.

We publish this week a portrait of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell at the age of 38. It was drawn by the Countess Clarice de Charnacé in the year 1859, which was the year Dr. Blackwell was placed on the British Medical Register. In her work for the advancement of women in the medical profession and in support of Mrs. Josephine Butler, Dr. Blackwell showed herself a steadfast and ardent pioneer. She died last year at an advanced age.

The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

When we claim for duly qualified women the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections, we are often asked such questions as these:—

ARE WOMEN IN FAVOUR OF CONSCRIPTION?

Would WOMEN vote for Home Rule?

How would WOMEN vote on the Education question?

We can only reply with counter questions:—

ARE MEN IN FAVOUR OF CONSCRIPTION?

Would MEN vote for Home Rule?

How would MEN vote on the education question?

The absurdity of the questions is at once apparent. You will laugh and say: "Of course, some men think one way and some another; some would vote for these measures and some against. How could we expect them—

ALL TO AGREE?"

Yet men continue to expect one uniform opinion from women as women. When it suits the purpose of either party they will profess to think that all women agree with THEM. Who did not see at the election last year the poster representing a woman with a child clinging to her skirts—her hands pathetically outstretched—above her the inscription,

"THE WOMAN'S REPLY,"

and below, "Don't let them tax our food!" But on the other hand who did not see the similar poster headed

"THE WOMAN'S CRY,"

with the words: "Give Tariff Reform, then my husband will have work, and I shall have plenty of money to buy food for myself."

Doesn't it ever strike them that, instead of the Tariff Reformers saying "Women are all Tariff Reformers," and the Free Traders saying "Women are all Free Traders," it would be more sensible to

ASK THE WOMEN THEMSELVES?

Of one thing we may be certain—they will not find ALL WOMEN TOGETHER wherever they find them.

"But," our opponents now retort with triumph, "you are giving your whole case away. If women don't vote together, but just take different views and different lines like men, what difference will it make to give them the vote? Supposing a majority of men were in favour of a bill, it would become law; and if women voted, and there were some women on both sides, and still a majority in favour of the bill, it would STILL become law, and

WHAT DIFFERENCE WOULD THE WOMEN'S VOTE HAVE MADE?"

That would be a pretty fair statement of the case supposing that bills dropped ready-made from the skies, and all the country had to do was to accept or reject them. But by whom, and how, are bills made? They are made, as a rule, by

POLITICIANS WHO WANT TO GET VOTES,

and they are formulated in accordance with the supposed wishes of the electors. Sometimes a great Statesman tries to educate and lead the public; but generally Ministers aim at finding out

"WHAT THE PUBLIC WANTS."

They are assisted by organised bodies of men interested in the question, who send up statements, questions, suggestions, and demands, by the help of which the bill is modified and hewn into shape. Take, for example, the Shop Hours Bill, in relation to which hundreds, if not thousands, of resolutions and letters have been sent up to Parliament by the employers and the employees.

The bills, then, which are introduced into Parliament are passed to please the electors—the electors are all men, therefore they are

FRAMED TO PLEASE MEN.

Were women electors they would be framed with an eye on the women too, and many injustices might be remedied which are due simply to the fact that in trying to please the men they forget the women.

THE WEEK'S STORY.

A lady once asked a Cabinet Minister what had made him in favour of Women's Suffrage? He replied: "I thought of the case of an ordinary M.P. who receives two letters one morning. One is from a group of workmen in his constituency, asking for the redress of a grievance and the postscript to this letter is: 'Our vote in your constituency is 150 strong.' The other letter is from a group of women also with a grievance; but this letter, of course, has no such postscript. Well, the first he would probably attend to at once; the other he would put aside till a more convenient season. And that," the Cabinet Minister said, "is my reason for advocating Women's Suffrage."

THE WEEK'S MOTTO.

"O King, art thou so simple as to think that the Creator, who in making all flowers equally flowers, nevertheless gave to each its own peculiarity, was so left-handed as to make all women identical?"—A HEIFER OF THE DAWN,

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

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday.

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

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

3 MONTHS	...	1	9
6 MONTHS	...	3	3
12 MONTHS	...	6	6

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

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

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Australian Experience.

(1) That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliament has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal elections the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defence and imperial concern they have proved themselves as farseeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

(2) That a copy of the foregoing resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister.

The above is the text of two resolutions which were debated on November 17th, 1910, in the Australian Senate. The first was passed unanimously; the second with four dissentients.

We do not know whether these resolutions have appeared in our English daily press; if they have, they have been so well tucked away that they have escaped us, and will certainly have escaped those who are not on the look-out. Such treatment of a matter of such grave importance to more than half the kingdom—and that half totally unrepresented in the so-called "People's House"—is a fine object-lesson in the need for direct representation. It is impossible to conceive that any party possessing political power would have had to endure such a monstrous censorship as is at present being exercised by those who have political power.

For, look what this declaration of the Senate means to us suffragists. Anti-suffragists dig up here and there an obscure or anonymous Australian or New Zealander who asserts that the women's vote has done no good, or, bolder still, that it has done harm; they have even secured one anti-suffragist who was not obscure, but who left the Antipodes very soon after the enfranchisement of women, and who has no first-hand knowledge of its working. Against these shifting, misty folk we can set a fine array of men of first rank in both New Zealand and Australia who are not ashamed of owning up to their names, and the fact that last year both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament passed a strong resolution approving women's suffrage from their own experience, and that the Senate has repeated the resolution in view of the struggle now going on in all countries having so-called "representative institutions." It is useful and interesting for us to consider what these resolutions show and what they do not show.

These Senators say that the women's vote has "brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied." Of course, it is open to anyone to say that, after all this is only their opinion. True. But is not the opinion of a picked body like the Australian Senate likely to be of considerable value? Again, do not all sensible people rate more highly the opinion of those who judge after experience than the mere vaticinations of those without experience?

There was no sign in these debates that the women's vote had introduced "dissension in the House" or "sex war in the State." If this had been the case, is it conceivable that there would have been no echo of it in an assembly composed, at present, of men only? We English women look with yearning eyes to these assemblies of robust men who have learned to respect their women and to treat them as comrades; we wish to draw aside the curtains and open the windows and let the sun and the fresh airs of heaven blow into the women's quarters; we hate the dark and the seclusion and the prudery and *mauvaise honte* which still hang about the English ideal of women, and we think that if the journalistic use of the word "chivalry" is still to obtain, we prefer this frank equality to a "chivalry" which permits such debates as used to be led by Mr. Labouchere in the House, and which fosters the sweating of women's labour, the traffic in women's bodies, and the suppression or distortion of all women's struggles for liberty.

These antipodean cousins of ours are not less "manly" than our home-grown brothers; no one has ever ventured to hazard such a flagrant lie. So the enfranchisement of their women has not made them "effeminate"; why should the enfranchisement of ours?

They say that the vote has educated their women in public affairs, and has overcome what the Anti-Suffragists call "women's invincible ignorance." They say that the women's vote has increased interest in domestic and social legislation, but that it has not diminished interest in matters of "wider significance." The women have been "as far seeing and discriminating as men." Of course, our opponents again will say that this is only an "opinion," and that naturally those who have been elected will think the majority who voted for them more discriminating than the minority who voted against them. But there is nothing to show that the majority was composed of a larger proportion of women than the minority, and everything goes to show that on the whole the women's vote acts, not in opposition to the men's, but as peacefully permeating the men's and having a growing and developing rather than a cataclysmal effect. This experience is in accord with our expectations, from what we know of the general nature of women, and we are glad to think experience supports the expectation. Women are true conservators, tenacious, patient; their experience of life shows them the necessity for slow growth, for steady nourishment and discipline; constructive work will always appeal to them more than revolution, glory, or gain.

What these Australians show, then, is that the great argument of a supposed antagonism between the sexes is really chimaerical. Doubtless there is some bitterness in

the hearts of Englishwomen of the present day against the men who have the power to enfranchise them and who admit they ought to do so but do not. But this is the natural and righteous resentment of wrong, and will disappear when justice is done. The only persons at present who exhibit real "sex antagonism" are the men who say "if every woman in England wanted the vote, it would make no difference to me."

It is only fair to say that there is only a section of anti-suffragists who take this frankly brutal and totally uncivilized line. The greater number of our opponents say that women don't want the vote, and would not use it if they had it. But then they proceed to give away their whole case by saying, "of course these Australians aren't tell the truth about women's suffrage because women are among their electors"! If Australian women really found the vote an "intolerable burden," would not the best way of currying favour with them be to offer to remove the burden? If the vast majority of the people of England are against women's suffrage, why should Members of Parliament be so extraordinarily anxious to do the unpopular thing and pledge themselves to do not only what no existing party has put forward, but what is against the wishes of the electorate and the women? Why, if only a contemptible handful of "wild women" want the vote, should it be necessary to veil in anonymity the raising of £100,000 wherewith to combat this contemptible handful? The truth is that it is very difficult indeed to know what people really want when they are not allowed to speak, and we shall never know for certain what women want till they are given the vote. Before the Divorce Commission men (and women too) were found to say what working women wanted, but the working women who spoke for themselves said something very different. Before there were any women factory inspectors it was said that women workers "never complained, and women inspectors were not needed"; in the first year after their appointment, some thousand cases were brought and proved. We may not yet know what women want, but we may be pretty sure that they need one thing, and that is representation, and experience shows that even where they have not asked for it very insistently they gladly use it when it is given to them.

The last refuge of the Anti-Suffragists is to say that since Australia and New Zealand have no foreign affairs and very little concern with army or navy, their case has no bearing upon the centre of a world-wide Empire such as England. Even if we admit that this is much more true than it is, can we really say that any but a minute proportion of voters have any knowledge of diplomacy or finance, the army, navy, and foreign affairs? Do we not delegate all these matters, not even to Members of Parliament, but to specialists? And has the voter anything to do but to choose between two, or at most four, candidates on general grounds of the broadest principle? Unless and until the Referendum is brought into constant use, not only for legislation but for the exercise of executive functions and the conduct of negotiations (which is manifestly absurd) we may dismiss as irrelevant the statement that most women know little about India, the fleet, and the army. Most men know little and are not expected to know, because they are not expected to decide.

Women's Suffrage and the Press.

In the article by Mr. J. Y. Kennedy which we published last week under this title, allusion was made to a manifesto published "in December last" by the W.S.P.U. It should have been "December, 1909." The mistake arose from the fact that the article was sent to us late in December, 1910, but was not published till the New Year.

The Death Vigil.

Her eightieth birthday gathered round a woman all Austria, all Germany, and many thousands from countries speaking other tongues. *Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach* (born September 13th, 1830), whom the

University of Vienna ten years ago created doctor *honoris causa*, was the object of all this admiration. A rare unanimity of appreciation! Astonishing for the older generation that, with the mature and experienced, the crude and rebellious youth of the present day should crowd around Marie Ebner. Whence this influence?

Neither in choice of subject nor in style is there anything dazzling or sensational in this authoress. Her greatest success began when she turned to *Heimatkunst*—her own native soil. The skies of Austria and Moravia are spread over all her tales. Reared on the borders between two races, she spoke a Slavic tongue before she learned German. Born as a Countess Duboki, she describes all that she has inhaled from youth upwards and observed with her poet's eyes: Austrian aristocracy in all its variety, especially the Vienna of half a century ago. Serene and full of humorous tolerance for the foibles and peculiarities of her set, she is at the same time the merciless denouncer of the specific sins of her caste—*i.e.*, indolence, superficiality, heartless exclusiveness, and a sad want of social conscience. There is yet another world where Marie Ebner is at home: the dwellings of the small officials, the miserable cottages of the peasantry. What human problems for her masterhand! From the heights and fateful errors of passion to the incomparable social study of the *Gemeinde-kind*.

"The cry of eternal servitude," as she once expresses it, has sounded in her ears. If we, the fortunate, let our minds feed on art and science, we owe our privileges only to the unceasing toil of the nameless masses. And passionately does the poetess, like the early Christians and the reformers of all nations and ages, like Saint Simon and Tolstoy, and Ruskin, claim light, air, and existence fit for human beings, for these neglected ones.

I will describe especially a most remarkable story, *Die Totenwacht* (The Death Vigil). Last year it was read in Berlin by Baroness von Bülow, the widow of Hans von Bülow, to an audience of hundreds of working-men and working women, and met with intense interest and great applause. *Die Totenwacht* treats of one of the most vexed questions of the present times: the emancipation of woman through her economic independence; the breaking away at the same time of a noble nature from inner bonds.

The storms of an October night are raging round one of the most wretched huts of a Moravian village. The watchman has just sounded midnight, and yet there is a faint glimmer from within. It comes from a tallow candle burning at the foot of a coffin, not yet closed. The light flickers over the peaceful features of an old woman, lying within; close by on a stool cowers a young woman, a slim, elastic figure with a fine, dark face. She may be about thirty years old—according to village ideas, an old maid. Her head low over her knees, Anna, the daughter, keeps the death vigil, murmuring prayers, thinking and thinking: "One last sad journey early tomorrow, and then good-bye, home! Good morning, dear new country, where there is no Huber-George over the way with his fine house and sleek cattle!"

Hark, the house door is cautiously opened—a heavy tread, a tall, broad-shouldered man in town clothes steps in—a so-called handsome man.

The first cold question of the girl gives us a feeling of fateful threads that have been woven to and fro between those two lives.

He would like to share her vigil, he stammers, to say his last farewell to old mother there, for she had forgiven him.

"Who says so?" the girl starts up, the colour mounting to her face.

"The priest himself. And you, too, will forgive me when you hear with what thoughts I come."

A contemptuous smile answers him. Silence again.

And again Anna presses her temples with her hands, for out of the depth where it lay, half-buried, rises the past: the typical childhood and youth of thousands. The mother working her fingers to the bone, while the drunkard father beats wife and child, or in the tavern drinks away their house and home—even their clothes. O heartrending Christmas Eve, when he seized that

pretty little red frock given her by the kind Countess! Did she not try to defend it with her fists, teeth, and tears! And he from over the way mocking at it! And well he might! Life had been different for him, choked with good things as he was, while she feels ashamed to this hour to think how famished she always has been. How she watched him eat his bread and butter at school, and how he threw her the last bit as he would to a dog! And that summer evening when he threw the stone and she lay for dead—had he but killed her then—better far than the other thing—the other thing!

The girl breathes with difficulty. "Thou, Lord Jesus, hast suffered for us all? Thou hast not suffered for me! All my share has been left to me."

"What sinful talk," mutters the man.

Oh yes, she will speak, speak out at last to her dear little old mother, now when it can no longer break her heart—the old story. She comes back tired from her day's work. He speaks kindly to her up there in the lonely wood. After all he does not seem so bad, she thinks. What matter children's quarrels? She is almost sorry for him on account of the saying of the camel and the rich man. He tells her of the wedding he comes from. And then—then—

"Curses on your cursed strength! That one should struggle as I struggled, and in vain! By the Holy Mother of God, I did not know what you meant. Had I ever known you care for me?"

"I have always cared for you more than for the rest," murmurs Huber-George.

"And when my misery was complete you denied it all."

He had been in fear of his father he says. But now he is going to make up for it. "I'm going to marry you," says Huber-George. "Next Sunday we'll have the banns put up. It's time that you should leave this crazy old hovel."

She only catches the last words. "I'm taking my mother to her grave, then I'm going."

"Where?" sneers the man. "You have not a friend in the world."

At this the unsophisticated defender of the rights of women in a village calmly says: "You are mistaken. I have two true friends. Here they are. I am not forsaken as long as they do not forsake me." And she stretches out her two strong arms.

Impossible! The lion of the village thus baffled! The woman not at his beck and call? Yet she has never seemed more fascinating to him. Clearly he must make her see that he is the master.

"Have done," he thunders. "You ought to be thankful, that's what you ought to be. I take you as you are."

This time she understands. O fate, too brilliant for the poor servant! To be the richest woman in the neighbourhood! And all those busy poisonous tongues stopped at last! Yet she has not a minute's hesitation. A woman of the upper class might consider longer. She cannot sell herself, not even to be provided for, for life. The purest and deepest feeling of the woman and the mother recoils from him. Slowly she says: "When the poor child of misery was born, I meant to live for her and make her the joy of my life, in spite of all. When she died, I raved against an unmerciful God. I thank him on my knees that I'm free to-day to tell you! I'd rather go to hell than to your fine house."

George stares at her. He had spoken truth; he had always loved her in his brutal way. "Mother," he breaks out, falling down beside the coffin, "pray for me! Give her a token that you are willing that she should marry me."

There is a moment of hush, and then Anna's voice softly and in sad triumph: "Hark, how still she is, my dear mother. She well knows what is good for me. Leave us two alone. Do not force me to say it again."

At last George grasps the whole truth. The game is lost. Convulsed with sobs he puts out his hand: "Good-bye."

"Good-bye," she says, turning away from him as she touches his hand.

A cold grey morning steals in. The light of the candle goes out, and with it disappears the last flicker of life on the dead face. Bearing her head high the solitary girl steps out on the path of freedom, of hard but redeeming work.

ANNA HENSCHKE.

The Matrimonial Preceptor.

Passing a second-hand bookshop the other day, I picked up a little old brown volume called "The Matrimonial Preceptor: A Collection of Examples and Precepts Relating to the Married State from the most Celebrated Writers, Ancient and Modern." The writers proved to be not all so celebrated as they might have wished, but it was compensation to study the Preceptor's ingenious ideas on marriage, for the greater part of his extracts and articles were taken from his contemporaries. The date is 1765.

Most of them "claim the attention of the ladies," who are advised with much simplicity how they may please men. Harriot—clearly a gentleman in disguise—can "direct the fair sex" most correctly. "I am married," she says, "and have no other concern but to please the man I love; he is the end of every care I have; if I dress, it is for him; if I read a poem or a play, it is to qualify myself for a conversation agreeable to his taste; he is always the end of my diversions; half my prayers are for his happiness. I love to talk of him, and never hear him named but with pleasure and emotion. . . . As for your wild raillery on matrimony (she addresses a modish friend), it is all hypocrisy. You and all the handsome young women of your acquaintance show yourselves to no other purpose than to gain a conquest over some man of worth in order to bestow your charms and fortune on him. There is no indecency in the confession. The design is modest and honourable, and all your affectation cannot disguise it. . . ."

Harriot is almost a Turk. "The vicar, madam, is so kind as to visit my husband, and his agreeable conversation has brought him to enjoy many sober, happy hours, when even I am shut out, and my dear master is entertained only with his own thoughts."

"A single lady's scheme of happiness" is in the same strain, and also pretty clearly "man-made." With such a companion as her Florio, Portia vows that "every shrub, every bush, every flower of the field, must all become objects of the highest pleasure. With my principal wish thus fully gratified (i.e., by marrying Florio), what an inexpressible lustre must be thrown on every outward object, while I place my delight in my husband's friendship, esteem his understanding, make his will a law of liberty" and so forth.

The direct style of exhortation is less ecstatic. "A woman's first care ought to be to win the heart of her husband, and the second to preserve it. She should study his character, tastes, and defects. . . ." and if she should be "under a necessity of thinking and acting different from him," she must "seem at first to fall in with his sentiments, and then mildly demonstrate to him that his resolutions are liable to some inconveniences, giving at the same time a few hints of other means to satisfy them; in short, let her, if possible, make him fix on those very means, that he may think he follows his own will while he is directed by hers. This conduct seldom fails of being attended with success."

"A very good-natured lady married to a very ill-natured man" is informed that "the most necessary thing for a married woman to make herself happy is to endeavour to please her husband. . . . With a proper observation you may come in time to discover every bent of his temper, and to open all the more hidden folds of his heart. Now, when one is well aware of everything that may displease, it is easy to avoid it, and when one knows what is pleasing, scarce anything can be wanting but the will to please. . . . The best way for a married woman to carry her point often, is to yield sometimes. Yielding in a married woman is as useful as flying in an unmarried one; for both of these methods most naturally obtain what they seem to avoid. . . . I do not mean by

this to set you on a life of artifice and dissimulation. I rather think that such methods as these, and such a scheme of pleasing, would in time grow pleasing to yourself."

Our eighteenth century Preceptor on the whole seems to think that to be "a good wife and a good woman" is not only "the highest character a female can attain," but the only ambition she need have. There is a certain Semandra, indeed, who had an elegant but virtuous education, and there is one essayist who admits education among the minor merits, pointing out that "almost the whole of the modern female education consists in a few trifling accomplishments that concern the person merely, and which usually grow out of character on marriage." "Happy is the man" he exclaims, "who meets a wife that is not stupidly silent, nor always prattling nonsense, whose mind is enriched with all useful knowledge, and who has a taste for polite literature. A woman thus accomplished will be always drawing sentences and maxims of virtue from the most judicious authors." Such perpetual founts of elegant extract were no doubt rare. There is more truth to ordinary nature in the sketch of Laetitia, who drinks in wisdom from her husband's lips.

"Laetitia is pretty, modest, tender, and has sense enough. She married Erastus, who is in a post of some business, and has a general taste for most parts of polite learning. . . . When they take the air together, Erastus is continually improving her thoughts, and with a turn of wit peculiar to himself, giving her an insight into things which she had no notion of before. Laetitia is transported at having a new world thus opened to her, and hangs upon the man that gives her such agreeable information. Erastus has carried this point further, as

he makes her not only more fond of him, but infinitely more satisfied with herself. Erastus finds a justness or beauty in whatever she says or observes that Laetitia herself was not aware of; and by his assistance she has discovered an hundred good qualities and accomplishments in herself which she never before once dreamed of. Erastus, with the most artful complaisance in the world, by several remote hints, finds the means to make her say or propose almost whatever he has a mind to; which he always receives as her own discovery, and gives her all the reputation of it.

Erastus has a perfect taste in painting, and carried Laetitia with him some time ago to see a collection of pictures. I often visit this happy couple. As we were one day walking in the long gallery before dinner, 'I have lately laid out some money in paintings,' said Erastus. 'I bought that Venus and Adonis purely upon Laetitia's judgment; it cost me three score guineas, and I was this morning offered an hundred for it.' I turned towards Laetitia, and saw her cheeks glow with pleasure, while after some time she cast a look upon Erastus, the most tender and affectionate I ever beheld."

But behind the quaint artificialities, and the attempts at elegant but virtuous manners, peers an ugly face—the real coarseness of the eighteenth century—and after. How could it be otherwise than coarse with women put so low? Yet it is a shock when the Preceptor sits down to open arbitration between the polite surface and the unmentionable underside. "Men," he lays it down, "cannot live so happily without women as with them; but how, and on what terms, whether in or out of matrimony, is the question."

R. N.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries:
MISS EDITH DIMOCK.
MISS BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary).
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

President:
MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Treasurer:
MISS BERTHA MASON (Pro Tem.).

Secretary: MISS T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A.

Telephone: 1960 Victoria.

Executive Committee.

The Committee considered the report of the general election work, and drew up recommendations for discussion at the forthcoming Annual Council Meeting.

They also considered the agenda for the International Congress, to be held at Stockholm in June.

One new society, Widnes, had joined the Union since their last meeting.

The societies have not yet, with one or two exceptions, ordered the big poster in the colours of the Union, "Read 'The Common Cause.' One Penny Weekly," which is now on sale at the office. Every society should have at least one to put up at meetings and to display wherever possible. The price is one shilling each to societies.

EDITH DIMOCK.

Annual Council Meeting.

The Annual Council Meeting will be held on Thursday, 26th, and Friday, 27th January, at the Kensington Town Hall, opposite High Street, Kensington Station. It will begin at 10.30 a.m.

There is a very full agenda paper, and the meetings will be of the greatest importance, since not only is it the opportunity for amending our constitution, if we desire to do so, but it is at the annual meeting that we elect our officers and executive committee for the ensuing year.

We have had sundry letters from members of societies showing that everyone does not take the trouble to master the constitution. It is open to any society in the Union to nominate anyone for an office or for the executive, provided the candidate fulfils the requirements of being non-party and constitutional, and has consented to be

nominated; 28 days' notice of such nomination has had to be given to Miss Whitehead. The Chairman of Executive is not, however, elected by the Council, but by the new Executive at its first meeting.

Besides all this business and the reports for the year, which should be very interesting, including as they do, the first year of the federating of societies, the Council will have to debate future policy and work both in election and at ordinary times. It is therefore of the greatest importance that there should be a good representation, and that societies should send their wisest heads to confer together.

The International Congress in Sweden.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Mrs. Chapman Catt, the president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, has sent to the president of each Society affiliated to the Alliance a list of questions bearing on the progress of the Women's Movement in her own country since the congress held in London in April, 1909. One of these questions is "Has any woman gained especial honour which signifies the breaking down of general prejudice?" I shall be very grateful if the readers of the "Common Cause" will help me to answer this question. I have remembered that (1) a woman has during the current year for the first time been chosen as president of the National Union of Teachers; (2) that women have been recently placed on the Oxford Delegation, charged with the duty of making regulations about the women students of the University; (3) that two women—one at Oldham and one at Brecon—have been elected to act as Mayors of these towns

respectively, one of whom was returning officer at the recent election; (4) that two women have been chosen as recipients of the Beit Scholarships for original research in scientific subjects; (5) that two women were placed last year on the Royal Commission appointed on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. I shall be glad if your readers will help me to make this list more complete. They will kindly remember only to recite incidents which have happened since April, 1909.—I remain, yours faithfully,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.
2, Gower Street, London, W.C.

"The Common Cause."

NATIONAL UNION NEWS.

We should like our readers of the National Union to understand the reason of the new arrangements we have been making for the publication of National Union news.

This news has hitherto fallen into three main categories: (1) News from headquarters, the Hon. Officers, and Executive Committee; (2) News from National Union Organisers; (3) News from the Societies. It has been our wish to have as complete a record as possible and to make the paper a really useful book of reference in all matters concerning the Union; but with the growth and increase of Societies and the multiplication of meetings, the pressure of matter for publication has become more and more of a difficulty to the Editor. When it is remembered that the *whole* of the National Union work used to be contained in four, or at most six, columns of "Women's Franchise" (and this included correspondence and occasional articles), it will be seen how much the Editor's difficulties have increased. One week in December we published over eighteen columns of National Union news alone, and even then we had not overtaken our "overset."

We felt that some change must be made. The Societies had themselves desired the inclusion of a cartoon, had petitioned for a Beginner's page, and had repeatedly asserted that, whatever happened, correspondence should be welcomed. It was the problem of the gallon into the pint pot! The federating of the Societies has offered the solution.

Everyone will agree that there are two sorts of news—the important news that suffers seriously by being stale, and the record of the usual routine work, which is most valuable and instructive, but which will bear summarizing and publishing at rather longer intervals. We have asked each Federation (there are now twelve) to appoint a "Common Cause" Correspondent, whose duty it will be to receive the reports of Societies and summarize them, sending them to the Editor at stated intervals. All the Federations (except one quite new one) have appointed Correspondents, and the London Society (which is not yet federated) has also appointed a Correspondent. We are most grateful to them for the prompt and kind way in which most of them have greeted the scheme.

In addition to these summarized reports, which will appear periodically, we hope that Correspondents or Secretaries will send to us *direct* and *promptly* any news which is of more general interest and which will not bear waiting. Important deputations, the formation of new societies, great demonstrations, notable utterances at public meetings, election news, and so forth. It is impossible, and we should not wish, to be rigid. But we think that, broadly speaking, Suffragists will understand the distinction we make between routine work, which may be summarized and reported periodically, and news which should be sent in at once to appear in larger type.

The "Forthcoming Meetings" should give necessary information as to the future, and these two categories of news should be a full record of the past. We would like, of course, to be able to publish advance notices of all meetings in detail, and to allow secretaries full scope to use our pages as a means of communication with the

members of their Societies; but, frankly, we cannot afford it. If we do it for one society we must do it for all, and it is growing over our heads. Only for really important demonstrations will it be possible to do this. We hope that, by having these Correspondents scattered about the country, we may get as much news as possible into our available space, and be in closer touch, through them, with the whole country.

Federation Notes.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

May I beg a little of your generous space to insert an appeal on behalf of the West of England Federation? We are particularly anxious that the tracts of practically "unexplored country" outside the existing Societies should be worked as soon as possible; and we are planning to inaugurate campaigns in the more important towns of the constituencies, such as Taunton and Bridgewater. To this end, another generous donation of £50 has been promised to us by Mr. and Mrs. Roger Clark, contingent upon our being able to raise some additional funds for the necessary organisation. We should therefore be most grateful if you would allow this appeal to be made through your columns, in the hope that it may reach some who have not heard of our present need, and who may be able and willing to help.

EDITH G. WHEELWRIGHT.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

President: The Bishop of Lincoln.
Hon. Secretary: Rev. C. Hinscliff.
Offices: 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

On Monday, January 30th, at 8-30 p.m., a reception will be given to the delegates attending the General Council, at the Caxton House Restaurant, Tothill Street, Westminster (station, St. James's Park); tickets for members and visitors

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Sale Price - 15 Gns.

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Original Prices, 35/6 to 65/-
Sale Price - 29/6

Debenham & Freebody.

Wigmore Street (Cavendish Square), London, W.

1s. each, including refreshments.

The Rev. Claude Hinscliff has been invited to address the Camberwell Ruridecanal Chapter on the subject of Women's Suffrage on February 7th.

A meeting will be held at Steinway Hall on February 17th to discuss The Purity Question and Women's Suffrage; chairman, Rev. W. C. Roberts, rector of Crick, Rugby, late principal of Dorchester Missionary College; speaker, Miss Maude Royden. The names will be announced of other speakers who have made a special study of the subject. Tickets, 1s. 6d. and 1s. each, can be obtained from the offices. Members are requested to forward handbills of this meeting, which will be ready next week, to their friends, and any who are willing to help with distribution in the street are asked to send in their names to the organiser.

The first annual meeting of the Richmond and Kew branch was held on January 3rd, when the report showed a satisfactory membership and balance-sheet. A drawing-room meeting will be held shortly at the house of the hon. secretary, Mrs. Clayton, Glangariff, Kew Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The increased activities of the League have necessitated a removal from the old address in Museum Street, W.C., to new and larger offices at St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W., opposite Westminster Bridge. Will members and friends please note the change of address?

Mr. Joseph Clayton has become Hon. Organising Secretary, Mr. J. M. Mitchell remaining Hon. Secretary.

The League has been further strengthened by the recent addition of Sir William Chance, Bart., Mr. Reginald H. Pott, and Mr. G. Warre Cornish to the Executive Committee.

Free Church Federation for Woman Suffrage.

Hon. Corresponding Secretary: Miss Hatty Baker, 25, Hartington Villas, Hove.

This Society has formed, or is forming, branches at Croydon, Brighton, Anerley, Bromley, Worthing, Battersea, and North London. Will any men or women, who would help in these districts or become members, send in their names to the General Corresponding Secretary, Miss Hatty Baker, at address above?

A local meeting is to be held at the Public Hall, Croydon, on Tuesday, 24th inst., at 8 p.m., Miss Leow and Mrs. Sambrook being the speakers.

A general public meeting is also arranged for at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C., on Wednesday, 1st March. Dr. Clifford writes: "So far as I can see now, I will attend." Further particulars will be given later.

Britain Overseas.

Australia.

The fourth Commonwealth Conference of Women's Liberal Associations was held in Adelaide last October, and proved a great success. Each State sent delegates, many of whom had to travel over 1,500 miles in order to attend; and the two leading Australian newspapers sent women representatives of their staff to report on the proceedings. The papers contributed by the Australian Women's National League were entirely political, but a different element was also introduced by discussion on crèches, children's courts, etc.

The Australian Women's National League was formed in 1904, and has now 10,000 members in Victoria. A branch has been established in Adelaide, and eighteen months ago another one was formed in Western Australia. The work is largely carried on by a number of honorary organisers and speakers, who are first trained at a special class: they have been most successful in inducing more and more women to exercise their privilege of the franchise.

Foreign News.

Germany.

The Society for the Protection of Motherhood held a special public conference in Berlin early in December. Some disappointment was experienced that accident and invalidity insurance was not discussed at all; but schemes for insurance against illness and widowhood were debated at considerable length. Insurance is to be extended to new professions and to all employees whose income is under £250; the money paid out during sickness is to be increased, and assistance before and during the period of confinement is to be compulsory, even for wives who are not insured.

There was considerable discussion on the old question of whether married women should work for wages, and whilst various proposals for an increased allowance for orphans (to be extended to the age of sixteen, illegitimate children being also eligible) were agreed to, it was decided that only

widows who are incapacitated should receive an allowance. Dr. Heinz Potthoff, a member of the Reichstag, was the only member of the conference who violently opposed this restriction: he would like to see the maintenance grant extended to all widows with small children and insufficient means.

Two women officials have been appointed to the Reichstag library, and we are glad to hear that the work expected of them is of a high intellectual type, and not that of a subordinate clerk.

In the recent elections of officers for the sick clubs at Düsseldorf, it is encouraging to hear that the women participated to a much larger extent than in former years. The eighteen women who stood were all elected, and two women representing employers were put on the committee.

Denmark.

Mrs. Julie Arenholt has recently been appointed as factory inspector in Copenhagen, and receives the same salary as her male colleagues. Her work is very arduous, being at times between 3 and 8 a.m., when she inspects bakehouses.

Equal Suffrage in Colorado.

By HARRY EUGENE KELLY, of the Denver Bar.

The great value of Women's Suffrage consists in this, that it gives dynamic force to a hitherto dormant but vital interest in the State. Women are not much concerned with mere partisan politics; and experience in the States where Women's Suffrage is in force clearly shows that their interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. But they are interested in the questions which we may call more distinctly social. Their interests centre around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries, and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. I do not say that men are not interested in such subjects, for that would be untrue; but I do say that such an interest is fundamental in the intellectual activity of women. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the mad scramble of partisan warfare for offices, but women will not see them obscured by anything. Therefore, when you permit women to vote, you bring to the service of the State a great part of the population with a primary interest in these vital subjects, which among men have always been obscured by other considerations and sacrificed in the turmoil of partisan strife. We get a more earnest attention to these great civilizing influences by permitting women to vote.

I think that Colorado has exemplified the truth of this. Women in this State (of course I am speaking of women as a class, and not of any individual) are not politicians, in the common meaning of the word; indeed they are much less so than they were at the time of the adoption of Women's Suffrage. They are not primarily interested in filling the offices with particular individuals, or with particular partisans, as men are, and they are not office-seekers themselves; but they have shown here an increasing interest, and a powerful influence, in promoting the various kinds of wholesome social movements. Indeed, it has been charged that they show too little interest in the mere filling of offices; but I cannot see the force of such criticism, if they improve the State by their influence elsewhere and otherwise exerted. Somebody will say that this sort of improvement may be accomplished by women without the Suffrage, but this is not true. In many of our States the politician ignores a delegation of women, whom he disregards with impunity; but the Colorado politician endeavours to satisfy their demands, because, if spurned, they will use their power, and therefore they have respectful treatment in Colorado. Their power to protect and enforce their interests and demands gives them their usefulness to the State. Politicians in Colorado do not speak disparagingly of Women's Suffrage; and in conventions assembled they have care that the votes of the women shall not be alienated. The fact that women vote ensures good nominations, an advocacy of laudable measures, and a respectful attitude toward subjects in which women are interested.

One of the arguments against Women's Suffrage was, that it would create discord in the family, because husband and wife would vote different tickets, and on that account would fall into partisan disputes, which would wreck the peace of home life. In the same breath it was asserted, paradoxically, that Women's Suffrage would have the effect merely of increasing the number of votes, without changing the result, because women would vote as did their husbands, fathers, or brothers. It was further urged that women would enter politics as a vocation and neglect their family duties. It was also declared that Women's Suffrage would change the character of women and render them bold, brazen, and masculine.

Experience with Women's Suffrage has proved that such arguments are worse than baseless. Colorado has never had a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in Women's Suffrage. It is probably true that the members of a family are inclined to stand together upon

political questions, much as they are on religious questions; but my experience indicates that this fact broadens the family interest in public affairs, because women, disregarding the mere scramble for office, direct the family interest upon the line of social questions, in addition to the interest in partisan politics. So I would say that while Women's Suffrage increases the number of votes, it creates an increased breadth of public interest in the social welfare. Neither has Women's Suffrage rendered politics attractive to women as a vocation, nor has it had any other effect upon their character than to multiply their social interests, and widen their intellectual horizon. Their right to vote has not made them less dutiful as mothers or wives. If any woman in Colorado is bold and brazen, she is not so on account of Women's Suffrage. In fact, women of that character may be found everywhere. And effeminate men are scattered around over the globe, irrespective of the extent or character of the Suffrage.

It is contended that women do not wish to vote. This may be true, doubtless is, of a few women who give themselves up exclusively to society, or who have no property interests, or who are not concerned in any employment outside of very agreeable family relations, or who are not inclined toward much intellectual activity. And practically the same may be said of corresponding classes, by many of whom the right to vote is not looked upon as worth using. But I assert it to be true that the great class of women, who are under the necessity of having some concern about their livelihood, and who have, as the great majority of the strong, active, thinking women of this country have, a really heartfelt interest in the social welfare, sincerely desire to vote. If they seem to be silent upon the subject, it is because they have lost hope in the realization of their political equality, or because, not being schooled to combat, they do not care to identify themselves with a social and political fight. If you will consult simply the *desire* of women, you will find the charge that they do not want the Suffrage to be baseless. And whether they want it or not, if by extending it to them we can raise up a new and powerful interest in the most vital concerns within the State, we should not hesitate to place upon them the duty of contributing what they can to the social welfare, even though they might accept the obligation with heavy hearts. The right to vote is not a public amusement to be enjoyed as a privilege; it is rather the citizen's conscientious labour for the State. If by voting we determined merely what individuals as such should hold office, the task might be handed over to the office-seekers themselves, with no harm to the people.

It is said that if the Suffrage is extended to women, the moral women will not vote, and that the immoral women will vote as the police desire. If this is true, the objection might be eradicated by selecting better policemen. Certainly the bad character of the police should not be permitted to disqualify women for voting. I have personally laboured in registering voters in two of the most aristocratic wards in Denver, and I can remember having seen very few women who refused to be registered on the ground that they did not want to vote. I know of as many men who refused upon that ground. The women in Colorado exercise their Suffrage rights. Their votes constitute practically one-half of all the votes cast, and they manifest a keen interest in all campaigns. Among them, of course, there are some bad women, just as among men there are some bad men, and evil persons, male as well as female, generally find reasons for voting; but I apprehend that nobody has any scheme by which the Suffrage can be restricted so as to exclude persons who are evil-minded. The rain must fall on the just as well as the unjust. There is no city in the world where the vote of evil women could be of enough consequence to be worthy of serious consideration in a controversy like this.

Within the limits of this article it is impossible to do more than express my opinion. It would be instructive to enumerate and examine at length and specifically the things accomplished in this State through Women's Suffrage, but that is impracticable here. Suffice it to say that, measured even by its deeds, Equal Suffrage has proved its right to exist as the permanent policy of Colorado.

Denver, Colorado, June 17th, 1910.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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A Voter's Reason.

During the recent election in Hertfordshire a woman canvasser called at the shop of an elector, when the following conversation ensued:—

"Oh, you're talking Free Trade are you? All right, I'll talk to you. I thought you were a Suffragette."
"What difference would that have made?"
"I wouldn't have talked to you, that's all."
"Why?"
"Because I don't believe in women voting."
"Why?"
"It's against nature."
"Why?"
"Because it is!"
"But why?"
"Because one must be first."
"Why?"
"Why because! Don't you see! If two people ride one horse one must be first."
"What is the 'horse' in this case?"
"Well, that's a metaphor. Don't you know what a metaphor is?"
"Is it something that refers to something else?"
"That's it."
"Please tell me then just what your 'horse' refers to."
"Well, if you must know—this shop and house!"
"What is there about making a pair of boots that specially fits a man to vote?"
"I don't make boots. I never made a boot in my life."
"What do you do?"
"I'm a leather seller."
"What is there about selling leather that peculiarly fits a man for voting?"
"Get out!"
"What is there about cooking your dinner and feeding and caring for your children that make a woman not fit to vote?"
"O, get out, you know what I mean. It's work and all that. A man works, you know. He votes because he works."
"Does not a woman work?"
"No."
"Does not your wife work when she keeps your house and cares for you and the children?"
"No."
"If you were to die and she had to support them—?"
"She couldn't do a thing."
"What can you do, yourself?"
"I can make you look like a fool!"
"Try it."
"Here, get out!"

The words were a roar. Crimson with rage, the man raised a measuring stick and rushed at his visitor. The visitor backed slowly out, smiling, and the shop door was slammed in her face. C. R.

"The Child."

On a rare summer day of quiet sunshine, at sundown, a group had assembled on the lawn of a house in the suburbs of a large manufacturing town for tea. Long green shadows were creeping across the grass, making the rest of it look golden. Round the table young men and maidens, older men and older women sat; but there were no children.

The hostess, a woman with sweet face and brown hair uncovered, sat at the table, where the sun still winked in the bowls of the spoons and on the edge of the delicate china cups; she was herself shaded from its rays by a big Japanese umbrella that gave to the scene the needed touch of brilliant colour, but her hands when they moved among the tea-things caught its rays on their whiteness and in their diamond rings, so that their continual practice of nice manipulation seemed accentuated. The hands were typical of the woman. She presided over the conversation of her guests with a well-trained grace, leading it where it showed signs of exhaustion; directing it into smoother channels if it showed signs of heat (or even of argument, which engenders heat), like a shepherd keeping the flock of thoughts and words in the accustomed track. Two of the older men, till now leaning back in lounge

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chairs, were sitting upright in indignation over a certain corporation's attitude towards their ownership of some shooting ground; they were not in entire agreement, and the presiding genius kept a quiet but anxious eye on them. The young people gave her no such qualms; they were discussing poetry—or rather, if suddenly asked, that is how they would have described their occupation,—although they none of them ever read any.

The tea-table seemed one clatter of cheerful sound—soft laughter, often rather silly laughter, the buzz of voices, the hum of the tea-kettle, the tinkle of cups all contributing to it,—when it suddenly stopped, a constrained silence took its place, and all eyes turned to one spot.

"What's the row?" asked the host, who had his back to the cause of the silence; then he, too, jerked himself round in a manner meant to be sportive, and in his turn became dumb. It was as if a ghost had come to the feast.

A child had appeared round the corner of the house, searching for a humbler door than the one she had found at the drive's end; and coming upon them so suddenly, had stood still in a frightened silence. She was a little girl of about ten years old, and she had on her back a bag of rough brown canvas nearly as large as herself. Her right side curved outwards to make a broader resting-place for it. She held it with her dirty little hands, slung over her right shoulder; and because it bent her shoulders so much and bowed her head, her eyes were strained upward and looked from under raised and wrinkled brows. Her face was a very little one, round in shape, but thin and pale, and wisps of her brown hair lay like rat-tails across her forehead and poked into her eyes. It was impossible to say what colour the latter were; under different conditions they might have become blue; now they were like the mist that creeps up from the sea on a raw day; or like a pool with rain-cloud reflected in it. The child wore boots that were out at heel, and nobbly because they crushed her toes; her dress almost touched the ground at the back because it had been torn there from the gathers, and in front it showed the holes in the knees of her rough stockings; the dress was—like her life—mud-colour; and on her head she wore a mishappen piece of maroon cloth, stained with rain, that had once been a red hat. The child found her voice first. "It came thin and piping, as though the breath flowed over chords worn already: "Do you want any firewood?" she asked.

"We never buy anything at the door," was the formula which the servants were directed to use in such a case; and it was on the tip of the hostess's tongue to say the words now, but she feared it might have the appearance of uncharity before such a crowd. So she changed her intention, and in tones modulated to an excess of sweetness, asked, without much point: "Is that what you have in your bag, little girl?"

"Yee," the child, who did not scruple to take up her formula, answered; "mi father's out o' work, and mi mother can't get any; so 'e chops wood. It's a 'awpenny the bundle." And, sliding the bag with relief to the ground, she drew out a sample.

"Poor little thing," the ladies cooed softly in pity. "Um!" the men grunted, moving restlessly in their chairs. There was an uncomfortable tension, half of shame, in the air; the young men gazed at their highly polished boots shot out before them, and the maidens prodded theirs with the tips of their sunshades. Everyone wished the moment over; and the ladies, as became them, recognising that the situation needed saving, proceeded to do so by murmurs amongst themselves. "What a shame to send so wee a mite out with such a load," one said. "I am disgusted at the way these working-men make hacks of their children," another added.

"Why can't he carry it round himself, I should like to know?" a young lady, whose dress displayed a multitude of fluttering ends, inquired in the high falsetto of indignant astonishment.

"I cannot let her go without buying some," the hostess said, a strange sensation, almost of fear, coming upon her, as her eyes rested on the child. "George, you're the one with the money!"—(she repeated an old womanly pleasantry which seemed this time less happy than usual)—"Give me threepence. And I will have six bundles," she added, turning again graciously to the child. "Will you take them round there, and tell the maid I said you were to leave six. There's your threepence."

Then, directing herself to the assembled company, she said, in soft tones of compassion, and as if she were stating a fact they could not be expected to know: "I always feel so sorry for these little waifs and strays; they are tragic little creatures."

"I don't know why somebody doesn't do something for them," cried a lady, who wore a wonderful Parisian gown, in combative tones.

"Yes, something should be done," one of the men grunted in reluctant acknowledgment of the whole incident; "there's not a doubt of that." And "Um," the other men grunted in chorus.

Whereat the hostess rose with a sigh, as if she had rolled a load off her shoulders, and, raising and vivifying her voice, cried: "Well, who would like to see the rose garden? You have not seen it yet this year, have you?"

"No! Do let's see it," some one burst out in voluble relief.

And the whole party rose, as if they threw off a dragging curb, and cast in its place a veil of chatter to hide the remembrance that it had ever been.

A. M. ALLEN.

Any Husband to Any Wife.

[He had seen it urged that as regarded divorce the two sexes should be placed on an absolute equality, as in Scotland. This did not seem to him to be altogether in accordance with biological knowledge. What was decided amongst the prehistoric protozoa could not be annulled by Act of Parliament.—Sir James Crichton-Browne.]

Listen, dearest, I have noticed
Indications of a protest
Against the present laws affecting wives
On the part of certain clever,
Restless women who endeavour
To chafe against what they describe as gyves.

Now I don't believe in preaching,
But we must regard the teaching
Of the people who have studied Nature's laws,
And before we bid defiance
To the settled facts of science
We ought, if we have wisdom, dear, to pause.

The conditions that have guided
Human nature were decided
For ever long before the days of Noah,
And you have to regulate your
Conduct by the laws that Nature
Laid down for prehistoric protozoa.

And of all the famous sages
Who contribute to the pages
Of "Science Day by Day" or "Nature Notes,"
Not one of them can show a
Case of female protozoa
Having ever claimed equality or votes.

What is that you're asking? "Rather
Did the protozoan father
Scatter ashes from the end of his cigar
On the carpet?" Cruel ogress!
Would you put an end to progress?
You must not press analogies too far

POINT.

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Reviews.

WOMAN'S INHERITANCE, by C. H. Le Bosquet. (C. W. Daniel, pp. 232. 2s. net.)

This book is brightly written, and endeavours in a popular style, with short stories interspersed, to give the origin of some of the distinctive characteristics of women. The author sees that many of these are the result of woman's dependence on man and of man's preoccupation with the sex only of woman, ignoring her humanity. What he does not see is the remarkable growth, through scientific investigation, of the conviction that the race will never attain to its highest possible until the common humanity of men and women is acknowledged and given full scope. He sees the bonds and the scars which these bonds make, and he turns away without doing his small part in cutting them.

The Pudding Lady. (Stead's Publishing House. 6d.)—No one can read this little book without a feeling of admiration for the women whom the Pudding Lady went to help. She records the circumstances of twenty-one families, many of whom live in one room, on the second or third floor, with no other water supply than a tap in the yard, and no other bath than the pudding basin. Yet over and over again she writes: "Person and dwelling clean and wholesome." They must have grit and determination enough to carry them through anything, those mothers. Then the fathers:—constantly we are told the father is out of work, or has just got work after months and even years of idleness. Yet only two of the twenty-one are bad husbands. "And of these one is proudly spoken of by his wife. A man who, when he has a fit on, will not think twice of lifting the bed and throwing it out of the window, is at least dramatic, and is paying some attention to the home." The man's great difficulty in getting work, the woman's hard struggle in keeping the home nice—these are the conditions which the Pudding Lady found in the homes she visited.

SIX ESSAYS ON JOHNSON. By Walter Raleigh. (The Clarendon Press. 5s. net. Pp. 184.)

Professor Raleigh has done us a service in reminding us that Boswell did not know the whole of Dr. Johnson—too great a figure to be contained even in the greatest of biographies. From other writers—above all, from the little-read writings of Johnson himself—something may be learned which Boswell did not know, which increases in our eyes the broad and deep humanity of one of the most humane of

writers. Professor Raleigh himself is responsible for this suggestive comment on the "Life of Richard Savage": "He [Johnson] tells the whole truth; yet his affection for Savage remains what he felt it to be—the most important truth of all."

Yet the book is, on the whole, disappointing. To those who relished the exquisite combining of wit and reverence which was so characteristic of Professor Raleigh's critical writing—a reverence which could never be mistaken, a wit which made more lovable its subject—the disappearance of every spark of humour must seem as deplorable as it is amazing. Ought we to have to remind such a critic that we shall not love Dr. Johnson less for being allowed to smile at his daily renewed vows in favour of early rising, followed with equal regularity by prolonged lying a-bed? No doubt there were excellent reasons, but we must be allowed to laugh, and love him more for laughing. Again, we should like to forget, but in any case cannot be asked to take seriously, some part of Johnson's literary criticism. Every great critic commits some absurdities. This one at least is too great to need that his should be solemnly defended. Yet Professor Raleigh will, without a smile, persuade us that the wildest of all—the assertion that Congreve had "one finer passage than any that can be found in Shakespeare" (1)—may be defended on the grounds that Johnson really meant exactly what he said, and continued to swear it years afterwards, unrepentant! Had he repented, we had been glad to hear of it. That he did not, sufficiently accounts for the fact, proudly pointed to by Professor Raleigh, that his "detailed analysis" of the faults of Shakespeare "has never been seriously challenged." (The italics are ours.) After this we are hardly surprised to hear that "Lycidas" does indeed deserve the strictures passed upon it by Johnson, or that objections to "devotion in verse" may be convincingly illustrated from the works of Dr. Watts. But we are still conscious of dismay when we read that the public is "like a cat in its devotion to those who ignore it." Ought so distinguished a writer to be guilty of such a banality as this, or so devoted an admirer of Dr. Johnson put forward so poor an account of his right to the devotion of others? His idol was admired because he was great; it is not necessary to find another reason. Independence of temper was one of his great qualities. We may admire that, too, without "fawning."

Is it too much to hope for a return to that earlier style and temper which made all lovers of literature look for Professor Raleigh's books as for a singular and very perfect pleasure?
A. M. R.

Correspondence.

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

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

CABINET MINISTERS AND WOMEN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Do you think that Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. George ever remember that they are the salaried servants of the community, and that their quite unnecessarily large salaries are paid, in great measure, out of the purses of women? Is it not mean and contemptible conduct on the part of these men to take the money of women and yet treat the latter with insolence and injustice?—Yours,
A SUFFRAGIST.

January 6th, 1911.

THE FOLLIES OF FASHION.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Among the arguments brought forward by Antis against giving women the vote is one which has a certain element of truth in it in regard to some women—"How can we give the vote to beings frivolous enough to follow the feminine fashions?" It would, therefore, distinctly help our cause if every Suffragist considered her apparel in relation to possible objections. Many do not think of this, but, as Hood says—

"More evil is wrought by want of thought
Than even by want of heart."

So, while I would advise every Suffragist to dress herself as suitably, artistically, and becomingly as her means allow, I would urge her to think of the language of clothes as a means of expressing thought. She would then naturally avoid all savage, silly, selfish, or stupid fashions; all that cause injury to herself or anyone else; all that can, in any way, cause the enemy to blaspheme. To exemplify what I mean: feathers are ornaments, and we might reasonably wear ostrich feathers, or the feathers of birds used as food, but it ought to be morally impossible to wear birds of paradise, humming birds, and rare birds cruelly killed for their plumes. Furs minister to adornment as well as clothing and comfort, but it ought to revolt the feelings of a Suffragist to wear the stuffed heads of the animals from which they have been wrested, as if she had just arrived home from the chase. It is selfish to wear large hats in meetings or churches, though

they are becoming and charming on sunny days in the open air. Certain lines of drapery give artistic pleasure to the eye; the hobble-skirt gives none, and impedes locomotion. The worst feminine sins are tight-lacing and high heels, for these not only impair the health and diminish the usefulness of those who practise them, but have a deteriorating effect on the coming race. I felt a man's remark once as a sword-thrust, when on one occasion I had given an evening meeting in my own house to my Anti-Suffragist friends, in order to hear them air their views (and to answer them). One debater exclaimed, "How could we risk giving a vote to a thing with a waist of seventeen inches and heels four inches high?" Men's clothes are not perfect, but they are more rational than some feminine fashions, and I appeal to Suffragists to help each other to be able to answer such taunts by saying, "No Suffragist offends in these matters, so we need not discuss them here."—Yours,
CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

ELECTION POLICY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—It is interesting to note the diversity of opinion expressed in your correspondence column on the running of Suffrage candidates.

Workers who were not present in either East St. Pancras or Camlachie can have no idea of the useful work which has been done in those constituencies. I can speak of Camlachie from personal experience.

The Press boycott was for the time being broken down. The Unionist and Liberal organisations found that their calculations were completely upset by the fact of our candidate entering the field. They also realised that, had their candidates been sound on the Conciliation Bill, we should not have put Mr. Mirrlees forward.

Our workers were in the constituency barely ten days; no Suffrage work had been done previously; the Anti-Suffragists sent organisers from London and members from Edinburgh to oppose us, and yet our meetings were many and crowded, and our canvassers met with the greatest sympathy. Many electors who would have supported Mr. Mirrlees had already promised their votes to other candidates—a proof that had we been earlier in the constituency we should have polled more heavily. Yet even thirty-five votes are of considerable importance when the majority of the successful candidate is only twenty-six.

The contest has made us realize that preparation is all-important. No constituency should be attacked without weeks of steady spadework, and a sub-committee of the National Union Executive should be appointed, to make the necessary arrangements. Possibly this would come within the province of the organizing committee.—Yours,
ALICE LOW.

38, Temple Park Crescent, Edinburgh,
January 7th, 1911.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I should be very much obliged if any Suffragist who worked in E. St. Pancras or Camlachie would kindly inform me whether they canvassed for their respective Suffrage candidates solely on the question of Women's Suffrage or if they touched equally on the various party questions these candidates mentioned in their election addresses?

If the former was the case, their canvassing would naturally be doomed to failure. However vital the question of votes for women is to us women, it is not the only vital question to the ordinary elector, and if the Suffrage candidate's views on other questions, such as Tariff Reform, Home Rule, the Osborne judgment, etc., were not insisted on by canvassers and speakers equally with his views on Women's Suffrage, the ordinary elector was not going to back that candidate for his Suffrage principles only, and leave the other (to him) more vital questions unguaranteed.

Of course, I am aware that party questions were touched on in the election addresses of the various Suffrage candidates, but the mass of the electorate are very simple folk, and have to have every point in these addresses firmly impressed on their minds over and over again before they grasp them sufficiently to act. To rub in one point and not the rest would be like dosing a patient with medicine and expecting him to benefit by it despite the fact that you have not followed the necessary directions for shaking the bottle beforehand.

But supposing the canvassers did take point by point all the other moot questions in the candidate's address. How can a Conservative argue in favour of Liberal principles or a Liberal argue in favour of Conservative principles? The answer she would give that she was supporting Mr. So-and-so because he was a Suffragist, and despite his party views, would not be an answer that the average man would grasp the significance of, especially if he was new to thinking seriously about votes for women, and the canvasser would not get any forrarder in vote catching.

It is on this score, mainly, that I for one heartily welcome Miss Marshall's idea of organising the parties for Suffrage, and appreciate Miss Emily Davies's kindly expressed and thoughtful letter. I am sure many women are grateful to that much revered pioneer for the view she takes of the scheme, for obviously she realises, in a way that Miss

Chrystal Macmillan does not, that there are many practical workers who would work whole-heartedly for Suffrage in conjunction with their party views, but who for various reasons could not work whole-heartedly for Suffrage against their party views, and who also would think it utterly impossible to work for an Anti-Suffragist, though he in other respects satisfied their claims to party allegiance.

Miss Macmillan has stigmatised as weak-kneed those of us who welcome this scheme. I wish to point out to her that all Suffragists are not independent women; that in many cases family reasons have to be taken into consideration. Daughters dependent on their parents, unfitted by lack of training or health to support themselves, naturally defer to the wishes of their parents from a sense of honour, not expediency. Parents, though often sympathising with the Suffrage views of their children, do not always see eye to eye with them on every aspect of the case. Are these daughters thus placed to be stigmatised as weak-kneed Suffragists because they welcome Miss Marshall's scheme? Are they to be held up to scorn because they will not, under these circumstances, run counter to the wishes of their dear ones, or are they to be honoured as filial children and earnest Suffragists combined?

I should also like to point out that as Suffrage workers pure and simple, our services are not seized upon eagerly in constituencies where Suffrage has not been worked thoroughly beforehand. The party Suffragist who can work on solely party lines for a candidate who is pledged to the hilt for Women's Suffrage is welcomed. Here, again, Miss Marshall's scheme scores a point.

Surely the word "non-party" means attached to no particular party as a Union, and not that individual members should divest themselves of party views and on only those of Suffrage? By working for pledged candidates in our parties and refusing to work for unpledged candidates in our parties, we arrive at the desired goal of having put Suffrage first and party second.

I thought that this was the attitude the Cardiff Liberal women adopted, which attitude received the highest possible praise that could be bestowed upon it.—Yours,
DOROTHY EDWARDS.

Fircroft, Fleet, Hants., January 6th, 1911.

[Without wishing to prejudice this discussion, we should like to point out that the Cardiff Liberal women acted as Liberals, not as non-party Suffragists.—Ed. "C. C."]

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Will you allow me a rather belated reply to Miss Marshall's suggestion that the policy of running Women's Suffrage candidates has been condemned by the results of the contests in Camlachie and East St. Pancras? I should like to urge that the results, although not brilliant, point out the fact not that the policy is discredited, but that more preparation and more time are needed to make it a success. The South Salford record was an excellent proof of its effectiveness, and there admittedly preparation had been longer. We have no need to fear ridicule at the costliness of our thirty-five and twenty-two votes—the £10 vote jest should leave our withers unwrung. What about the elections' expenditure which has produced the magnificent increase of two in the majority of the Government? We are conspicuously out-clasped in the disproportion of cost and achievement. And in all seriousness, it would be indeed regrettable if we should lose heart with regard to this sound political policy which with good reason commended itself to the Council. Other causes have also begun with two-figure returns—the Labour party received no more at its early attempts to run candidates. This policy is the only National Union policy that touches the party machine, and that is considered formidable. I have not forgotten the entirely changed attitude, as regards attention and seriousness, which was displayed by an acquaintance of my own, a party agent, with whom I discussed this policy some time ago, nor the questions he put to me with a view to eliciting upon what terms we would withdraw our candidates. This policy is far-reaching; it enables us to threaten more constituencies than those we actually contest, and we should develop it to the utmost. The weak point of Miss Marshall's alternative suggestion is this—our help in canvassing, etc., which she wishes offered to satisfactory candidates, of acceptable party persuasion, is not nearly as much desired as our opposition upon really effective lines is feared. Moreover, the only assured support that a candidate could give would be to promise to vote for the Bill even against the direction of the party Whips. How many would give that promise? But why should we Suffragists work for them for anything less?—Yours,
EDITH S. HOOPER.

Chenies Street Chambers, W.C.

TAX RESISTANCE.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—In reply to your correspondent who answers my last letter upon tax resistance, may I say that that letter seems to have given rather a wrong impression?

I do not accuse the women who refuse to pay taxes of doing what they believe to be evil, but I believe it to be evil, and therefore it would not be right for me, or for those who think with me, to remain a member of a Society which advocated tax resistance.

Surely no member of the National Union can be said to give "unresisting assent" to the present condition of women workers!—Yours,
CONSTANCE MAILLARD.
3, Herbert Terrace, Penarth.

Federations.

A year ago it was decided that federations should be formed of affiliated societies in defined areas. The work of federation has necessarily been long, and is not yet quite complete, but a wonderful amount has been done in the time. There is at present no federation of the London district nor of the counties of Herefordshire, Rutlandshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. The West Riding of Yorkshire, the Potteries of Staffordshire, West Herts., and portions of Essex are also not included in any existing federation. We hope these gaps will before long be filled up.

EASTERN.

Hon. Sec.:

Mrs. E. E. Kellett, 4, Belvoir Terrace, Cambridge.
Area.—All constituencies in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, North Herts., and the Malden and Saffron Walden divisions of Essex.

KENTISH.

Hon. Sec.:

Miss Crosbie Hill, 2, South Park, Sevenoaks.

Hon. Co-Sec. and Treas.:

Miss Taylor, Rivermead, Lyons Crescent, Tonbridge.
Area.—The county of Kent, with such part of the Rye division of Sussex as goes to make up the borough of Tunbridge Wells.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec.:

Miss Courtney, 85, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.
Area.—Lancashire: The county divisions of Accrington, Clitheroe, Darwen, Eccles, Gorton, Heywood, Ince, Leigh, Middleton, Prestwich, Rossendale, Radcliffe, Stretford, West Houghton; the boroughs of Ashton, Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, and Wigan. The county divisions of Hyde, Knutsford, Northwich, Altrincham, Macclesfield, and Crewe, and the boroughs of Stalybridge and Stockport, in Cheshire; and the High Peak Division of Derbyshire.

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Hon. Sec.:

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NORTH-WESTERN.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss Walker, Brettargh Holt, Kendal.
Area.—All Cumberland, all Westmorland, and Barrow Borough and county constituencies of North Lonsdale and Lancaster in Lancashire.

NORTH AND EAST RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss E. Bateson, Robin Hood's Bay.
Area.—The whole of the North and East Ridings.

NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss A. Black, 9, Victoria Terrace, Inverness.
Area.—The counties of Inverness, Moray, and Nairn, and the Inverness Burghs.

SCOTTISH.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss Elsie Inglis, M.B., C.M., 8, Walker Street, Edinburgh.
Area.—The whole of Scotland, with the exception of the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Nairn, and the Inverness Burghs.

SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss O'Shea, The Cottage, Cosham, Hants.
Area.—All three counties, with the exception of Bournemouth.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss Wheelwright, 52, Sydney Buildings, Bath.
Area.—Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire.

WEST LANCASHIRE, WEST CHESHIRE AND NORTH WALES.

Hon. Sec.:
Miss E. Rathbone, Greenbank, Liverpool.
Area.—Includes the following constituencies:—Lancashire—Liverpool, Blackpool, Chorley, Ormskirk, Southport, Bootle, Widnes, Newton, St. Helens, and Warrington. Cheshire—Wirral, Eddisbury, Birkenhead, and Chester. Wales—All the constituencies contained in the six counties of North Wales—viz., Denbighshire, Flintshire, Carnarvonshire, Anglesey, Merionethshire, and Montgomeryshire.

Work of Societies in the Union.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION.

The last month (December) of the Federation's first year holds a record for strenuous work. The November campaign closed with a list of meetings which, especially for Glasgow and the neighbouring Societies, might well have been deemed exhaustive of energy, yet the Camlachie election found in such workers as Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Laurie, Miss Kirby, and many others, an unflagging and undampened spirit, while the warm hospitality proffered so quickly for the splendid band of workers from a distance (many of whose names have been given in a previous issue) is a great credit to Glasgow. The ten days' work in Camlachie has already been well described, and may now be looked upon with more just feelings of admiration than its apparent result at first aroused.

Although the organisers and many of the members of the Edinburgh Society were assisting in Glasgow, those remaining in Edinburgh carried through some capital work at the polling booths on the 6th, mentioned in "The Common Cause" of the 22nd. In the office on the 8th a cake-and-candy sale organised by Miss Florence Raeburn realised £20. This was followed by another on the 13th, organised by Mrs. W. P. Scott, held in the Merchiston Rooms, which brought in £24 2s. 6d. A special feature of this sale was the number of Anti-Suffragists persuaded to attend, from among whom several new members were gained. On the 16th and 17th the most enjoyable of "Amusing Suffrage Plays," given by Mrs. Inglis Clarke in her drawing-room, realised £18. The Friday At Homes were held as usual, and some interesting papers read.

The Societies, from John o' Groats to Berwick, and in Orkney, did good work in carrying out the directions from the office regarding the elections, questioning the candidates at meetings, and attending the polling booths with "The Common Cause" and Suffrage pamphlets. Most of them have specially remarked on the difference this election showed in the attitude of men towards Suffrage literature, many at crowded outdoor meetings requesting pamphlets. The questioning of candidates was cleverly maintained. Following the example of Dundee, where Mr. Churchill's obstinate inconsistency was shown by the efforts of the Society, the questions of the John o' Groats Society drew from Mr. Harmsworth the ultimate explanation of his objection to the Conciliation Bill, and preference for what he termed Adult Suffrage, but which in his own words was a belief "that every young man should have a vote." We wish other Societies could have told a like success with such Adult Suffragists; we should then know exactly where we were.

While carrying out this election work several societies also found time for successful meetings of their own, notably those of Kilmacoll, Dunbar, and Haddington. Kilmacoll, whose secretary,

Mrs. Wood, helped so well at Camlachie, was very successful with a cake-and-candy sale held on the 16th. Although the day was very wet, the proceeds amounted to £20, fifteen of which have been given to the Festival Fund. Another cake-and-candy sale was held at Dunbar on the 21st, which realised £13 10s. The generous donations of good things from members, and the work so well carried out under their enthusiastic secretary, Miss Aspinwall, and no less enthusiastic treasurer, Miss Dunlop, might have brought in more, while the speech of Lady Frances Balfour at the opening might have gained many more converts, but several other sales close by interfered somewhat with the attendance. Haddington Society, by the kindness of Mrs. Stirling, held a very enjoyable drawing-room meeting at St. Martin's, and has an increasing roll of enthusiastic members, who were very energetic in the sale of literature at the meeting and the election.

The Federation office, interrupted in its organising labours by the election, has been fully occupied in sending memorials to candidates, sending out instructions to the Societies, and appeals for election expenses fund. It now looks forward to a renewal of its organising work in Lanarkshire, Leven (where the interruption was particularly to be regretted at such a critical moment), and Crieff.

FLORENCE HILLIARD.

SURREY, SUSSEX, AND HANTS. FEDERATION.

The New Forest Society held a public meeting at Burley on November 29th, Mr. Y. C. Duff in the chair, to start a branch Society there. Mrs. Rackham, of Cambridge, addressed a good and appreciative audience, in full sympathy with the movement. Mrs. T. L. Colman has been appointed secretary for Burley.

The Societies in the Guildford Division of Surrey had a difficult task during the general election. The Conservative candidate, who had a large majority, was not at all interested in our cause, and declined to receive a deputation. The Liberal candidate, who declared himself a Suffragist, had not the smallest chance of being returned, while party feeling was very warm among the Conservative members of the Societies. The Haslemere Committee wrote to ask their members either to work for the Liberal or not to oppose him, and distributed an appeal to the electors to vote for the women's friend. This was left at houses, and given away at meetings. At a Liberal meeting on December 3rd the Chairman read a letter from the Women's Suffrage secretary, explaining the Society's action, and the reasons for it.

At Farnham a room was hired in the main street a week before the election, and posters were displayed outside it. The National Union policy was explained at a general meeting of the Society, at which a sale was held, that produced 30s. Some donations were received towards expenses, and some of the members gave up their party politics and distributed Liberal and Suffrage handbills. "The Common Cause" was sold, and leaflets were given away at political meetings. At the last Liberal meeting both the local secretary and the divi-

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TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

A crowded and most successful drawing-room meeting was held a fortnight ago in Kenington by the kindness of Miss Gertrude Eaton. Lady Carl Meyer and Mrs. Kington Parkes gave most interesting speeches, and Mrs. Louis Fagan made an appeal for funds. Letters were read from several well-known public men, encouraging the League. Information may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Forthcoming Meetings.

JANUARY 12.	Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—35, Molesworth Street—Committee Meeting.	11.30
JANUARY 13.	Bournemouth—Princess Hall—Miss Muriel Matters.	4.0
JANUARY 16.	Farnham—Corn Exchange—"How the Vote was Won" (A.F.L.).	3 and 8
Birkenhead—Cloughton Music Hall—Debate—Mr. J. C. Phillips, Miss Hooper, M.A.	8.0	
Nottingham—Mikado Café—Miss Hicks (Lincoln), Mr. Kentish Wright (chairman).	3.30	
JANUARY 17.	Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home—Mrs. Lobley.	4.0
JANUARY 20.	Hull—Royal Institution, Albion Street, Public Meeting—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Alan Bright.	8.0
Birmingham—10, Easy Row—Franchise Club.	5.30	
Cuckfield—Queen's Hall—Miss Royden.	3.0	
North of England—85, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester—Annual General Meeting.	5.30	
JANUARY 24.	Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—Debate—Mrs. Rowe.	4.0
Huddersfield—Parochial Hall, George Street—Presentation of New Banner by Mrs. Josiah Lockwood.	3.30	
JANUARY 26.	Oldham—Co-operative Hall, King Street—Debate.	8.0
JANUARY 27.	Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—35, Molesworth Street—"How the Poor Live"—Mrs. E. M. Smith.	8.0
JANUARY 30.	Bridlington—Temperance Hall—Miss Margaret Ashton.	8.0
JANUARY 31.	Wallasey and Wirral—West Kirby Public Hall—Mrs. Alan Bright.	3.0
Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home—Mrs. Hood.	4.0	
LONDON.		
Jan. 23:	Windsor and Eton, Reception Room, Guildhall, Windsor, At Home, R. F. Cholmeley, Esq.	8.30
Jan. 25:	Lower Clapton, Congregational Church, Debate, Miss Falliser.	8.0
SCOTLAND.		
Jan. 19:	Perth, Bridgend Hall, Concert and Play.	8.0

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sional secretary were on the platform. Three Farnham members are reported to have resigned owing to the non-party Suffrage policy, one of them being a large subscriber.

At Godalming it was known to be useless and unwise to ask the Conservative members to support the Liberal. Only the Liberal members were advised to do so, and even this proved troublesome, because the secretary of the Society was known to be a Conservative, though of course she was not a political worker.

The Godalming Society distributed leaflets and sold "The Common Cause" all day, or part of the day, at most of the polls in their district on December 7th. The police were friendly, and one of them became a Suffragist that day. The Society has nearly doubled its membership since the latter part of 1909.

A sum of £2 10s. has been handed over to the Federation funds as the result of selling privately for Christmas presents a number of articles left over from a sale of work.

At the request of Capt. Guy Baring, M.P., the Winchester Society has collected in his constituency the signatures of people in favour of Women's Suffrage. Horsham, under the guidance of Sir Eustace Piers, is holding a voters' meeting on January 19 in order to educate and interest voters in our question. It is hoped to get a petition from Horsham voters presented in Parliament.

Leves has affiliated to the N.U., but not yet to the Federation.

BERKS, N.
Miss Tompkins gave a very enjoyable tea and social evening to the local members who had joined the North Berks Society during 1910. The large room was gaily decorated, and the large Christmas cakes were prettily adorned with the red, white, and green. After tea there was music and dances.

BOURNEMOUTH.

This Society began a series of weekly At Homes in the Assembly Rooms, the Town Hall Avenue, on Tuesday last. These are to continue until March 14th inclusive. The programme will be varied, and each Tuesday will see a different hostess in charge. Miss Fonblanque was the first hostess, and the social which she arranged, and for which she provided refreshments, was a highly successful function. She gave a stirring speech, and some excellent recitations. Mrs. Raynes delighted all with her songs. Miss Johnstone accompanied, and Mrs. Sykes played brilliantly. The collection covered all expenses.

Other Societies.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant was crowded on January 6th, on the occasion of the monthly meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League. Miss Eva Moore took the chair with her usual charm, and after a brief speech introduced the speakers. Sir Thomas Barclay, member of the last Parliament, and also member of the Conciliation Committee for Women's Suffrage, in an enthusiastic speech mentioned that it was useless to refer votes for women to the country, because it was not a party question, and at present all the voting was according to party.

Miss Abadam, the well-known speaker on social subjects, in her speech mentioned the Home Secretary's different treatment of the Tony Pandy rioters and the Houndsditch aliens. In one case there were votes, and in the other they were not. The Home Secretary approved of militant action when he was on the comfortable side of the cannon.

Miss Edith Clegg sang the new Suffrage song, "The Awakening," words by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and composed and accompanied by Teresa del Riego. Messrs. Enoch have kindly given the Actresses' Franchise League a thousand copies of this song to be sold for the benefit of the funds of the League.

Mr. Nevinson held the audience with a delightful speech, in which he mentioned that in Moliere's day actresses were neither allowed to be married in a church or buried in a churchyard.

A large collection was taken, and several drawing-room meetings were promised.

The next meeting will be held on Friday, February 3rd, at the Criterion Restaurant, at 3 o'clock.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON FRANCHISE CLUB.

The Franchise Club celebrated the New Year by a social gathering at the Masonic Rooms on Wednesday evening, January 4th. About sixty guests were present, and the evening passed very happily with music, recitations, games, and dancing. The programme was brought to a close by the singing of the appropriate carol, "Ring out, Wild Bells." Three cheers were heartily given, first for Mrs. Hill (the hostess), and then for "Women's Suffrage." The following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That the Warwick and Leamington Franchise Club, consisting of members of the National Union, the Woman's Social and Political Union, and other Suffrage Societies within this constituency, assembled in Christmas party, tender their most hearty thanks to Mr. Brailsford for his great and significant labours in the cause of Women's Suffrage as secretary to the Conciliation Committee in the last Parliament, and beg to wish him a happy New Year of continued and successful effort."

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

A novel At Home will be given by the Women Writers' Suffrage League at the Little Theatre, John Street, Adelphi, on the afternoon of January 24th. The proceedings will be opened by Miss Gertrude Kingston. Lady Carl Meyer and Miss Beatrice Haraden will act as hostesses. The musical and dramatic entertainment will be under the direction of Miss Edith Craig. At 4-15, "Before Sunrise," by Miss Bessie Hatton, will be played, in which Miss Cicely Hamilton and Mrs. Theodore Wright will interpret the principal parts. Tickets can be purchased at the offices of the League, 55, Berners Street, W.

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