

Women's Franchise.

No. 34.

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the wisdom of her sacrificing herself would be an impertinence on our part. We can only trust that no permanent personal ill-effects will follow the sentence of six weeks' imprisonment which was passed on her by Mr. Horace Smith at Westminster Police Court on Friday the 14th.

'THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE,' in commenting upon the women's recent successes at the London University, says that "at first sight one would almost think that the University was a female institution. In the first class honour list the names of two women stand alone; in the second class five out of seven names are feminine, and in the third class seven out of nine are of the same gender. Even more remarkable, in view of ancient assertions about the incapacity of the female intellect for severe studies, is the mathematical honour list. Here one woman stands alone in the first class. In the second class there are no names, and in the third only one man. Somewhat similar is the record in the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Science: first class, one woman and one man; second class, one woman."

THE thanks of all women are due to Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, M.P., for his splendid article on women prisoners which appeared in *The Daily Mail* on the 11th inst. During the last session Mr. Pickersgill approached the Home Secretary on the subject of including a woman among the inspectors of prisons, and also the addition of a woman to the Board of Commissioners of Prisons. He tells us that "Mr. Gladstone assented to the former proposal, but declined to entertain the latter." We advise our readers to obtain a copy of the paper and to study the article seriously. They will find it helpful as an instance of the manner in which women's needs are neglected when left solely to the care of men. It also contains valuable information and statistics for speakers and writers on a most interesting and important subject. We appreciate the sympathetic allusion to the "Suffragettes" now undergoing a treatment to which the lowest and most degraded of women should not be subjected, and we commend both the writer of the article and the editor of *The Daily Mail*, for thus advocating "a reform good for the country at large, but especially demanded in the interests of women."

WE offer our congratulations to Mr. George Meredith on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. It is pleasant to think that the distinguished writer is a warm supporter of our cause. He recently sent the following message to a meeting of the Preston Women's Liberal Association: "George Meredith wishes me to say that it heartens him to see women banded together in union. What nature originally decreed, men are but beginning to see—that they are fitted for most of the avenues open to energy, and by their entering upon public life they will no longer be open to the accusation men so frequently bring against them of their being narrow and craven."

THE news that the Corporation of London has decided to present Miss Florence Nightingale with the Freedom of the City will be received with pleasure by all readers of *Women's Franchise*. It was only last year that Miss Nightingale had the Order of Merit conferred upon her. Every one will agree that these dignities are well deserved by the "heroine of the Crimea," and that England only honours herself in honouring her daughters. Suffragists, however, see a certain

Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions. Subscriptions for the weekly numbers to the end of March should be forwarded to the Publisher. Back numbers can still be obtained.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'
EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,
13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

Notes.

ONE objection on which Members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, and the Press seem to rely when opposing Women's Suffrage, is that there is no demand for it and no general interest in the subject. Mr. Stanger's Bill gives us a good opportunity of proving the contrary. Every woman should at once write to all Members of Parliament whom she knows or in whose constituency she lives, urging them to be present and to vote for the Bill. If she has ever worked for any party, let her mention the fact, for if the Members accept political help from women they cannot afterwards plead that such work degrades them.

Every woman can also write to some men electors urging them to write to their members. It would be a good plan also to send to members a list of meetings held in their constituencies on the subject. We ourselves intend to send a copy of the issue of this paper that appears on the 27th to as many Members of Parliament as possible, but need help towards defraying the postage.

WE have received many letters of anxious inquiry as to the continuance on its present lines of *Women's Franchise* after March. We would refer our readers to our correspondence this week, where will be found one of the many suggestions of help which have been made, and ask that any other suggestions be at once sent to us, in view of our shortly reaching a decision.

DURING last week two attempts to present a "Votes for Women" resolution to the House of Commons were made. On the first occasion, which will doubtless be remembered as the "pantechicon raid," over forty arrests were made, while on the second occasion Mrs. Pankhurst and nine other ladies were arrested. We cannot but regret the removal of the leader from the active arena of the Suffrage agitation. To question

amount of inconsistency in conferring public and well-merited distinctions upon a woman to whom her country owes a vast debt of gratitude, while at the same time she is legally classed with the criminal and lunatic inhabitants of the land.

It is an interesting sign of the times, the way in which our movement is moulding contemporary thought. Last week the young men of the Lyndhurst Road Society, instead of a Debate, tried to represent "A By-Election, and the Speeches of the Candidates." There were four: 1, A Liberal; 2, A Conservative; 3, A Socialist; 4, A *Woman's Suffrage Candidate*.

WE beg to tender our thanks to many readers for pointing out the error in the name of the donor of 100*l.* to the cause of Women's Suffrage. Only an unfortunate piece of telepathy can account for the fact that two people, both knowing the correct name, passed Miss Caroline Elizabeth Evans instead of Miss Caroline Elizabeth Williams; or was it that in both cases—as it certainly was in one case—the work paid for in the kind appreciation of the many was done at the end of an arduous day's labour?

WE have received subscriptions for *Women's Franchise* from Miss Ruth Young on behalf of the Writers' Club, Norfolk Street; from Miss L. A. Jenner on behalf of The Public Library, Newton Abbot; and from Mrs. G. E. Foster on behalf of Mr. Middlebrook, M.P.

Women's Suffrage and National Responsibilities.

By MRS. FABIAN WARE.

THE popular arguments for and against Women's Suffrage have become more or less the property of the man in the street. It has long ago attained the level of a silly-season topic. The haphazard discussions of most subjects which take place nowadays rarely rise above this level, or go deeper than a holiday newspaper correspondence. In England we are prone to talk before we have learnt, which proves us a sentimental rather than a scientific people. The Socialist bogey threatens us because the great mass of the middle and upper classes treat "politics" either patronizingly, superficially, or sentimentally. We insisted, for instance, on riding the horse of Imperialism in the street, before we had learnt to manage him in the *manège*, and nearly lamed him for life, and we have treated Women's Suffrage as a question apart from the life of the nation, be that nation regarded as little England or Greater Britain. It is true that there are many strenuous among us who start patriotic leagues which run in more or less pellucid streams through the strata of society, but they do not permeate sufficiently that self-centred, complacent, otherwise admirable institution, the middle-class home. The reason would appear to be that they are nearly all aimed too much at the men and too little at the women; too little at influencing the home, which is the nursery of national life, and the reproduction of which across the seas will always be the ideal of Imperialism. Yet this same home, instead of realizing its vast destinies, is tending in some conditions to become one of the causes of the apathy and disintegration of England.

I am speaking now of the bulk of the middle class, not of the aristocracy and older families with traditions to maintain and local influence to stimulate them, but of that vast and overwhelming mass who have no direct link with national or civic life but what they choose to forge themselves. This means that in most cases it is never forged at all. A man marries and has children. In general the ideas of both parents consist in bringing them up to do as well for themselves as may be, and if possible better than their parents. Any idea of national responsibility or duty is rarely discussed. If his parents can afford it a boy may be sent into one of the services, generally from purely snobbish reasons, or, if they are poor with a large family, the colonies will be considered as affording a good "opening" for one or more sons.

And what time can be spared from "getting on" is devoted quite unquestioningly to sport. This is a sorry scheme of life for any nursery. There is yet another aspect of home life which is quite deplorable from the national point of view—the often utter divergence between the interests of husband and wife. For the man, generally absent from his home all day, has his best energies sapped by work which is possibly so technical that it may seem to bear little relation to anything national or domestic. He is to a great extent simply the financier of a national institution with whose management he has little to do and over whose important social relationships with the outside world he exercises but a small influence. The woman, on the other hand, is in most cases bound to her home and her children by daily duty and a considerable amount of personal self-sacrifice. This utter divergence is supposed to be arbitrarily bridged, instead of converging naturally to the great interests both have in their country as members of its great social system and as the parents of future citizens. For it is only through that group of individuals which we call a family, and on which the larger group called the State is supposed to be modelled, that the true national and imperial spirit can, in the first place, be fostered and spread. And in influencing the children during their younger years, if not later, it is the woman who must be the guiding spirit. Surely she should therefore be encouraged to feel that she has a real stake in the nation, and should be treated as a responsible part of it. The having of children would not then be looked upon as such a purely personal matter, but as the woman's physical service to the nation, and the education of these children would stand a chance of being freed from much that becomes sordid and petty when looked at from the wider national standpoint.

The majority of women will respond to these ideals readily enough. They are by training already public-spirited, in the sense of being accustomed to consider other people's interests before their own and to work for other people with less direct personal reward and recognition than men. That great Imperialist, Mr. Deakin, in his speech at the National Service League meeting, held at the Queen's Hall, London, on May 16th last year, says:—

"Those who speak in this country have an argument which we in Australia cannot use, and are quite satisfied to be without. People say in this country that any man who aspires to share in the affairs of the nation and to have a voice in its government should also be prepared at the same time to take his share in the defence of the nation. They use, as it seems to me, a very powerful argument when they say that. But they cannot use it in Australia, because with us it is not half the nation but the whole nation that has votes, and we do not expect the whole nation of both sexes to go to war. And yet it must be remembered that it is in a Parliament in which women's votes count as much as men's, and for which probably as many women vote as men, that the new tendency is being supported and encouraged. This question of military preparation is put forward, not as a menace of war, but as a necessary duty of citizenship, and is accepted by a community in which all adults exercise the vote.* I should not like to ask Who does most for the defence of the country, the mothers who make the sons, or the sons who protect their mothers?"

This brings me to a point I wish to make: that it is no use to expect all sorts of national service from women and give them no political rights in return. It is no use to say to them that they are not intelligent enough to vote, and that they ought to be content with domestic responsibilities, and then expect them to regard the choice of a father for their children, or the rearing of the future generation as matters worthy the attention of an intellectual being, or as concerning that national life in which they are not worthy to have a voice. A German writer, Friedrich Naumann, whose writings were reviewed in the August number of the *Kritische Blätter für die Gesamten Sozialwissenschaften*, gives as his opinion that "in the small ménage the wife becomes a stunted plant." She is told to let the bringing up of her children be all sufficient; "but how can any one educate children who does not live?" The Eastern position of women is at any rate fairly logical, but the Western is in most cases far from it, and utterly denies the position of women as a creative, moral force.

* The italics are not in the report of the speech.

It is difficult not to become impatient when one listens to otherwise intelligent men discussing the supposed mental propensities of women as reasons why they should not be enfranchised. Human nature is necessarily incomplete, particularly when one sex is considered apart from the other, but the State, we are repeatedly told, is intended to be modelled on the family, and therefore it surely should include both. Let those who question this live for a time in an infant community where women are in a considerable minority, and note, as they cannot fail to do, the low level of public opinion and morality which prevails.

Were Women's Suffrage introduced into England there is little doubt that women would have a steady influence in politics. For their enfranchisement on the present constitutional basis will mean that a number of well-educated women in responsible positions will be added to the voters' roll. But what is more important, every woman, whether personally enfranchised or not, will feel herself a potential voter and recognized as a real force in the nation, and she will realize that her home and children are not merely small personal concerns, "only fit for women," but national responsibilities.

The permission to register one's political views occasionally may seem a small matter, but it implies that the national and political dignity of women would never again be called into question. Without women's full interest and co-operation there can be no true national spirit, without strong national spirit our Imperialism can be no widely generating influence of principle and character, but an empty thing of geographical boundaries. We women, who feel that the spread of all that is best in British traditions, education, and character through the Empire would mean more peace, liberty, and prosperity than any Hague Conference or Socialist programme can secure, ought to strive untiringly for every right that will help us to

Build from age to age,
an undefiled heritage.

Co-operators and Women's Suffrage.

A DECISION of importance and encouragement to women was made by the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Movement at its last meeting on January 11th. At the request of the Women's Co-operative Guild, this Committee decided to (1) support Mr. Dickinson's Women's Enfranchisement Bill [No. 2], and (2) to bring forward a resolution in support of Women's Suffrage at the next Co-operative Congress, to be held during Whitsuntide at Newport.

The Parliamentary Committee is composed of representatives of (1) the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies, trading federations of co-operative societies, doing a trade of over 29,000,000*l.*, and employing 16,000 men and women; and (2) the Co-operative Union, an association for educational work and legal advice, of about 1,200 co-operative societies, with over 2,000,000 members.

The trade of the whole movement is over 93,000,000*l.*, while its Congress is attended by 1,000 delegates.

The following are extracts from a statement sent by the Guild to each member of the Parliamentary Committee:—
"The question is one of direct concern to the Co-operative Movement, because women form so large a proportion of the members. The tendency for women to hold shares in their own names, is a growing one.

"When, therefore, the Parliamentary Committee wishes to influence Parliament on such questions as Free Trade, A Free Breakfast Table, Adulteration, Land and Housing Questions, Education, &c., not to speak of opposition to the Income Tax, the movement loses half its strength because the women members have no votes. All taxes on food, while being injurious to our co-operative trade, fall specially heavily on women. Our women realized this at the time of the Sugar Tax, when an inquiry we made showed that the effects of the tax were markedly felt in every housewife's weekly expenditure.

"A new situation has lately been created, affecting women co-operators in particular, by the legal decision that the savings made by a wife out of the household money belong to the husband. The shares held by married women in stores have practically always been built up out of dividend, resulting from purchases made out of this money. Therefore, the whole position of married women in the movement is undermined by the decision. The trade of a society depends on the loyalty of women, which is much stimulated by the means of saving co-operation affords to married women; while from the women's own standpoint it is impossible to over-estimate the benefit of the unique opportunity to save and hold money of their own which co-operation has given them. Such savings have been a refuge in adversity, and the source from which family necessities such as holidays have been supplied. Such a situation, requiring legislation to remedy it, is a striking illustration of the need of the vote for women and the justice of our claim.

"The co-operative movement is a democracy in which men and women have equal rights. Women have votes, and use them side by side with men on questions of co-operative trade, education, and government. This enfranchisement of women in the co-operative state, helping to give women a proper position in the home, far from causing domestic discord, a fear which looms so large in the imagination of some men, is altogether good in its effect. It gives education and a wider outlook to women, promotes common interests, makes a home life in which ideas and thoughts are interchanged, and thus makes possible the truest unity."

Since the above was forwarded to *Women's Franchise*, Mr. Dickinson's Bill No. 1 has been introduced by Mr. Stanger. Under these circumstances, members of the Guild have been reminded that a vote on a Second Reading means only adherence to the principle and not the details of a Bill, and that in urging their local M.P.'s to support the Bill on February 28th, they should make clear that they want a larger measure. M. LL. D.

ADDITIONS TO THE GUARANTEE FUND.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
D. S.	0 3 0	Brought forward	1 13 0
Evans, Dr. J. D. Granger	0 10 0	Richmond, Mrs. E.	0 6 6
Hooper, Miss A. C.	0 10 0	Thomas, Miss E. J.	0 3 6
Mair, Col.	0 10 0	"Women's Freedom"	1 0 0
Masson, Miss H. E.	0 5 0		
		Total	£3 8 0
Carried forward	£1 13 0		

[For "Miss F. Easongly" in February 13th issue, read Mrs. F. Earengely.]

Correspondence.

[The Proprietors of "WOMEN'S FRANCHISE" do not necessarily identify themselves in any way with the opinions expressed by their Correspondents.]

SIR,—Together with many other subscribers to *Women's Franchise* our Society views with concern the possibility of a discontinuance of the paper on its present lines.

As this weekly publication supplies the two essential needs of all active societies—first by affording good up-to-date literature for propaganda work, and, secondly, by giving a ready means of communication with all sections in the movement—is it not expedient that every society should make itself in some way directly responsible for its success? We would suggest, therefore, that the committee of each Suffrage Society take the matter into consideration, and offer to the publisher a definite minimum yearly support.

The Warwick and Leamington Society have decided to make such an offer, and if the thirty or more societies belonging to the N.U.W.S.S. would do the same a substantial help might be assured.
Yours, &c., CLARA HILL.

SIR,—In preparing summer borders with seeds or bedding-out plants, I suggest that your readers should follow my example, and form a bed of flowers with the words *Votes for Women* in colours on a white ground in the most conspicuous place in their gardens.
Yours faithfully, ANNA M. GAYTON.

[We greatly regret that, owing to the pressure on our space, we are obliged to leave over many articles, reviews, &c., including Miss Zimmern's usual article on 'The Suffrage in Other Lands.']

rate for the present. Forms of membership have been sent out to over twenty known supporters, each of whom has been asked to secure two more members. These are to be returned to Miss Power by February 22nd. When all the names are in, Mrs. Wilson is going to hold a meeting, at which a committee is to be elected and rules drawn up. The efforts of the new society will for some time be directed towards securing new members. From the number of sympathizers who entered our office at 45, Foregate Street, there is no reason why we should not have a large and flourishing society in a very short time.

Supporters of the National Union who have friends in or near Worcester should urge them to join this branch. Names should be sent to Miss Power as soon as possible.

E. M. GARDNER.

Branch Societies.

BIRMINGHAM AND MIDLAND.—A Women's Suffrage debate was held on Wednesday, February 12th, under the auspices of the Midland Institute Literary and Debating Society. The proposer was Miss E. M. Gardner, the opposer Mr. D. Buchanan. Although it was only last year that the same motion was debated there, the interest felt in the question had not in any way diminished, for the room was full, and the speaking, both for and against, was very lively. In spite of the fact that a large number of students, who had not heard the debate, crowded into the back of the room at the end of the evening, the motion was carried (39 to 27), many people refraining from voting altogether. One member of the society was so much distressed lest the honour of the Institute should be lost in the eyes of the world by the result, that he (or she) wrote to *The Birmingham Daily Post*, explaining that the motion had undoubtedly been carried by the votes of a large number of imported Suffragists, and that the Institute left to itself would certainly never have lent its support to such reprehensible views.

Otton.—The first public meeting in this district on the subject of Women's Suffrage was held on Friday evening, February 7th, in St. Margaret's Schools, and has proved altogether encouraging. The room was well filled with men and women of all classes, who listened with close interest—the inevitable young man lifting his voice rarely and ineffectually. The meeting had been arranged with some misgivings; but as the time drew near the promoters were cheered by hearing the desire frequently expressed that women speakers might be heard on the subject without a journey to town. The committee feel they have supplied a want in the neighbourhood.

CHELTEMHAM.—A novel "enterprise" was undertaken on February 6th, when a free concert was given to working men and women at Milsom Street School, lent gratis, through the offices of one of the members, Miss Ella Woodall. The audience, of very poor people, was small but deeply interested. Mrs. Seaforth Mackenzie and Miss Peatfield rendered songs, Miss Beatrice Wright recited, and Miss Theodora Mills (Hon. Sec.) contributed violin solos. All were well received. Mrs. Frances Swiney (President) gave what she described as "a straight talk" on Women's Suffrage. This was followed by a dialogue, "The Conversion of Mrs. Oldway," performed by Mrs. Mills, Mrs. Florence Earengy, B.A., Miss Winifrid Boulton, and Miss Mills. Later on Mr. Chas. Boulton (President I.L.P.) made a short speech in support of Women's Suffrage. Miss Woodall, who had largely assisted in the arrangements, took the chair. At the close several women signed the Franchise Declaration. Palms were kindly lent by Messrs. Pates & Sharpe. We are sending two copies of *Women's Franchise* weekly, one to Mr. J. E. Sears, the borough Member, the other to Viscount Duncannon, the Conservative candidate.

NORTH-EASTERN SOCIETY.—The usual fortnightly meeting was held at the Drawingroom Café on Monday, February 10th. It was addressed by Miss Bunting, Miss Brett, and Miss Atkinson, and a lively discussion followed.

It had been arranged to play progressive whist for part of the evening; but the audience expressed by a show of hands their wish that the speeches should go on. The meetings will therefore after this consist entirely of addresses, to be followed by discussion and five minutes speeches from the younger members. The collection amounted to 19s.

Sunderland.—A meeting was held in the Victoria Hall on February 15th. The chair was taken by the Rev. G. A. West. Mrs. Martin, of Bristol, proposed a resolution thanking Mr. Stanger for balloting for a Women's Suffrage Bill, and calling upon the local Member to be in his place on February 28th to vote for the second reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill. Mrs. Atkinson, of Newcastle, seconded the resolution; and Mr. Summerwell, M.P., supported it; he stated his intention of voting for the Bill. The resolution was carried unanimously.

WARRINGTON.—A public debate was arranged by this society on February 14th in the Co-operative Hall, with Canon Morley Stevenson in the chair. Mrs. Swanwick (North of England) proposed: "That the time is now ripe for extending the Franchise in England to women, on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men." The Rev. G. Harvey-Cook supported the motion, while Mrs. Eddleston and Mr. Carruthers opposed it. The hall was packed with a very interested audience, which took up every point with eagerness. The voting was close, but the motion was carried.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON.—A meeting of members was held at St. Bees on February 11th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Alfred Hill, who gave most interesting reports of the Council Meeting, Reception and Conference. A collection was taken towards the election fund, and a strong appeal was made by the chairman, Miss Leppington, on behalf of the paper *Women's Franchise*. Miss Dormer Harris gave a graphic account of the work of the National Union at the recent by-election at Worcester, in which she took an active share. Let no one, she said, run away with the idea that the man in the street does not want to hear about Women's Suffrage; on the contrary, he is willing, and even eager, to hear all about it.

WHITBY AND DISTRICT.—A "social evening" brought together about seventy members and friends at the Lecture Hall, Silver Street, on Tuesday, February 11th. The varied programme included several musical items; a humorous account of his opinions on elections and voting by "Bill Smith" (otherwise Mr. Howard Partington); and an amusing dialogue entitled "Mrs. Oldway's Conversion," rendered by four members. A good many non-members, including several men, were present. Miss A. M. Watson read a long letter written by a lady friend resident in Australia, showing in a very interesting way the practical results of the women's vote there, and its effect on legislation. Appreciation of this item was shown by frequent applause. A resolution was unanimously passed expressing satisfaction with Mr. Stanger's success in the ballot, and urging the Government to afford facilities for the taking of a vote on the Bill on February 28th.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

February Meetings.			
20th	Llandudno, Cambridge	Chairman, Councillor Bone	3.0
21st	Manchester, Whitefield, Public Meeting, Radcliffe, Lancs., Co-operative Hall	Speakers, Miss Allen, Miss Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Cooper, Miss Stonex, Mrs. Swanwick, and others	7.30
24th	Camberwell, Inaugural Meeting, Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell New Road	Chairman, Miss Ward	7.30
	Highgate, Private Meeting	Chairman, Mrs. Straker Speakers, Mrs. Stanbury, Miss C. D. Corbett, B.A., Malcolm Mitchell, Esq.	8.15
Tickets to be obtained from Miss Thomson, "Baveno," Broadlands Road, Highgate.			
26th	Bristol and West of England, David Thomas Memorial School, Effingham Road	Meeting of Subscribers and Friends	3.0
27th	London, 107, Lansdowne Road, Ladbrooke Grove	"At Home" to meet Miss Pitts Councillor G. E. O'Dell Malcolm Mitchell, Esq. Speaker, Councillor W. G. Earengy, LL.D.	8.30
29th	Cheltenham, Grosvenor Tea Rooms, North Place		4-6

* * * Kindly address all communications relating to the work of Societies in the N. U. W. S. S. and all paragraphs intended for these columns to Miss Harcastle, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.; to reach her by first post Monday.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Freedom League (late W.S.P.U.).

OFFICES: 18, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C., and 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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CHARLES II.—Our venerable magistrates having raked among the scrap-heap of legislative garbage for some instrument of vengeance fitted for the annihilation of women who demand justice, have triumphantly brought to light an Act passed in the reign of Charles II. From this Act it is evident that the Cabal of that time was composed of gentlemen as nervous about their own safety as are our own Parliamentary rulers—not that in those days there was so much to fear, the enemy being only of the male sex, and easily cowed by a few repressive enactments. The greater danger, however, at the present time is quite adequately guarded against. The more reckless of the M.P.'s have even been heard to complain querulously of the state of siege in which it is now the rule to maintain the Houses of Parliament, but the average member and the Cabinet Ministers prefer a feeling of complete security while they are babbling of fire-guards and the overlaying of babies.

Comparing the times of Charles II. with our own, we, the oppressed, must declare emphatically in favour of the time of Charles II. We find in it more hangings but less hypocrisy. The profligate Cabinet Ministers of those days were frankly brutal. The Cabinet Ministers of these days prate about democracy and the will of the people, and send women to prison for expressing their will in the only way left open to them. Prison under Charles II was the sovereign remedy for all discontent. Prison is still the one remedy (unless the discontented are male voters); but under Charles II. prison had a human atmosphere. Prison under Edward VII. is unhuman, even inhuman.

BUNYAN.—We read that Bunyan in prison continued his ministry, had writing materials and books, made laces whereby he earned money. Compare his position with that of our prisoners of to-day. Solitary confinement without a moment of privacy; a system of bullying and hardship calculated to break down the highest spirit and wear out the strongest frame; semi-starvation; petty insults from officials; cold cells; insufficient clothing. For those who have dared to go twice to insult the majesty of the House of Commons there is, in addition to these, hard work out of all proportion to the strength of the victim, and chosen without consideration as to suitability. Having deliberately broken down the health of the criminal, she is then handed over to the doctor, so that a scandal and tragedy may be averted. Certainly the civilization of the reign of Charles II. is to be preferred to that of the twentieth century. The laws of that period may be antiquated, but not so antiquated and not so despicable as the minds and methods of the men of to-day, who employ seventeenth-century barbarisms to back up their twentieth-century spite.

SMITH I.—We can hardly expect many of our magistrates in the autumn of their lives to understand that repression never killed a reform yet, and that coercion feeds enthusiasm; but the Government under whose auspices these deeds are done must surely recognize these truths; or is it that sex-jealousy, like love, is blind?

Mr. Gladstone professes to believe that leniency has been taken advantage of by the Suffragists, and that severity is going to frighten them. We do not accuse Mr. Gladstone of being a psychologist, or even a thinker, but mental density such as he assumes seems a trifle overdone. In Charles II.'s time we should have called it revenge.

How the Water-Gruel Whigs Treat their Political Prisoners.

I WILL not stop to relate the details of our protest on Mr. Asquith's doorstep, nor to paint the scene at the Marylebone Police Court; suffice it to say that our first ordeal was when we entered "Black Maria." The atmosphere was not very sweet, for I shared my seat with a woman sentenced for drunkenness, and the smell of stale drink pervaded the royal coach. On arriving at the gaol I was placed in a musty, cold cell for nearly an hour. When I emerged from my cell I perceived two of my Suffragist comrades already converted into Guy Fawkeses by their prison garb. This caused mutual merriment. I was then stripped of every article of clothing in a cold room with the door wide open, in the presence of a burly matron and a convict, and kept until I was stiff with the cold. What such a senseless inspection could reveal the authorities may know, but no woman could tell. I was then given a short cotton chemise and weighed. All this while my teeth were chattering.

After a supposed bath, I received the prison dress, including two heavy odd boots, the left one of which was too large and the right one was too small. They were also torn on the inside; so after wearing them for a day or two in great torture I had two blisters on one heel, which festered. I asked the wardress for a linen rag and some warm water, and she replied, "We don't provide warm water in prison."

My new cell was very clean, but at no time, either day or night, was warm enough to be comfortable. At five in the morning I had to scrub my cell with cold water; I enjoyed this until my foot was so bad. One morning after my scrubbing I was shocked to see the wardress spread my bedclothes on the damp floor to show me the prison system of folding them. This was very funny, but ended tragically, for at night I had to sleep in the damp sheets, and the next morning my ankles and legs were swollen with rheumatism. The mattress of my bed would not have been wide enough even for a smaller woman than myself. I was always glad of meal times, because I could warm my hands on the tins. I found it always pleasant to get into the courtyard for exercise. For some days I had to exercise by myself, as I was too lame and ill to keep distance and pace with my companions. I shall never forget the kindly solicitude of Dr. Bouchier for me and my brave comrades, nor the cheery face of Miss Neilans. I also recollect with pleasure a friendly grasp of the hand in the chapel by Mrs. Drummond when the young clergyman was lecturing us on laziness; I pitied him, for his hands looked blue with cold.

One day the door of my cell was thrown open, and a gentleman appeared, who may have been the governor. He asked me my name; I told him my name, and he said, "You have been here before." I said "No, I have not," and he answered, "Your name is very familiar," and then he vanished. On another day the wardress unlocked the door and announced the magistrate. Before I could bow my acknowledgments, I saw his back disappearing up the stairs. The day before I left Holloway, as I felt very ill, I asked to see the doctor. I was told I should have said so at application time, and I must wait till the next day. I was nearly undressed ready for bed some time after, when, to my consternation, the doctor appeared. I told him my foot was

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

OFFICE: 38, MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

DURING the past week more than twenty new members have been enrolled at the head office, and we have received information that in two places societies have been formed which may probably become affiliated in the near future.

CAMBRIDGE.—The first of these is the Cambridge University Association, the formation of which is described by the Secretary, Mr. J. Brooke, of Emmanuel College, in the following words: "The inaugural meeting was held in Trinity College on Thursday, 28th of November, 1907. Mr. H. Rackham, M.A. (Christ's College), took the chair. There were twenty-five people present, and the following were elected as officers and members of the Committee: *President*, Dr. A. N. Whitehead (Trinity); *Secretary*, J. Brooke (Emmanuel); *Committee*, E. G. Selwyn (King's), C. Gordon (King's), D. W. Ward (St. John's), F. M. Cornford, M.A. (Trinity), E. Rayner (Pembroke), G. H. L. Mallory (Magdalene).

"Those present decided that the work of the Society should be mainly educational, and that there should be no public meetings for the time being. Since that date the Society has grown to more than double its original size, though no organized propaganda has as yet been executed. The Hon. Bertrand Russell has promised to write a short pamphlet to be circulated throughout the University."

Mr. Brooke further informs us that the constitution of the new Society provides for its immediate affiliation to the central body of the Men's League as soon as the University, as a whole, has been officially informed of the new Society's existence by the circulation of Mr. Russell's pamphlet.

EDINBURGH.—The second new society has just been founded in Edinburgh. Mr. J. Dan Easson, the Secretary, has written to 38, Museum Street, asking for full particulars as to the usual basis of affiliation. We are informed that his committee has not decided as yet on formal affiliation, and that certain delegates from the West of Scotland (Glasgow) Men's League have recommended independence. Our readers will remember, perhaps, that this latter society, though always ready to co-operate with us, has preferred to remain nominally separate in view of the fact that the parent League at its first general meeting decided to recognize as members those who wish to join under class B, *i.e.*, do not pledge themselves to oppose the Government candidates indiscriminately.

We hope that the Edinburgh society—and in time the Glasgow society also—will decide on formal affiliation. Now that our opponents are casting away the great mass of their discredited positive arguments, and falling back on the last line of defence—that few people really want Women Suffrage—it is of the greatest importance that we should stand together, so that our numbers may present as good a show as possible.

Let us take the question of our annual report, the preparation of which is already in hand. In the absence of formal affiliation we shall not be able to add to our numbers the members of several societies, who, however, are to all intents and purposes parts of our organization. We thus lose the opportunity of presenting to the world a full and complete picture of the work that is being done by men's societies.

OXFORD.—Passing from Cambridge and Edinburgh, we come to Oxford, where, though no society has yet been formed, the cause is making great strides as a result of the recent meeting addressed by the Hon. Bertrand Russell and Mr.

Israel Zangwill. Several men have joined our League, and there is every indication of a real movement in the University.

Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh! The ancient university cities are moving into line. That the seats of learning should support the cause is valuable. Laugh as we may at academic theorizing and "homes of lost causes," our movement gains enormously by the adherence of trained scholars, men against whom it cannot be urged that they are ignorant enthusiasts or interested parties. Intellect and scholarship in themselves may "cut no ice"; intellect and knowledge combined with enthusiasm and practical skill are irresistible.

In the House of Lords and in the House of Commons the Women's Cause has been to the fore in connexion with the sentences pronounced in certain courts on the ladies who have recently "demonstrated." On the technical legal problem as to what is "a political offence" we are frankly ignorant: no doubt Mr. Herbert Gladstone and the magistrates are right. But what we do maintain emphatically is this, that though the offences of these ladies are perhaps technically civil ones, the common sense of the country declines to regard them as in the same category with ordinary civil offences. The ladies from Buckingham Street and Clement's Inn may or may not be adopting the best policy for women who cannot express their demands as men can—by the vote. But what they do is, deliberately, in cold blood, without any liking for the action in itself, to break a law, and thus compel the public machinery to move against them. By all the canons of common sense this kind of action is purely political. It seeks no personal good and threatens no personal injury to any one concerned. It is simply a political demonstration, analogous to the Passive Resistance threatened by the Rev. Talbot Rice in South Wales a few days ago and pursued by the Nonconformists against Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902. It is solely a method of making a formal protest which will necessarily attract attention; of making the authorities advertise the cause in spite of themselves.

It has been found necessary to change the date of the annual meeting originally fixed for April 7th. It will take place on April 6th at Anderton's Hotel.

Correspondence.

[*The Men's League is essentially a non-party organization, in which all shades of political opinion are represented. For this reason we feel bound to state that the League is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.*]

DEAR SIR,—My dear old friend, the late J. R. Planché, Somers Herald, used to say that Adam's excuse to his Maker: "The woman whom thou gavest me to be with me, she tempted me and I did eat," was "the meanest thing in literature."

The Swetnams are his descendants; they are always with us, and they are not ashamed to publish their own patrician. But even given the prejudice—and shall we say spite?—which governs such people, is it not strange to find reasoning and moral beings, age after age, attributing the shame of their fall to the object which made them succumb? David's passions and treachery do not soil himself, but the man's wife whom he desires! His weakness is not his, but hers. Perhaps the existence of the Swetnams is to be explained by J. S. Mill's dictum, that it requires a superior man to want an equal at his fireside. Nevertheless, have you not always observed that it is just the Swetnams who are so very sure of their superiority?

M. A. R. T.

Women's Freedom.

CHATS ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

4.—Rachel Speght (*continued*).

"In your Title Leafe, you arraigne none but the lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women, but in the Sequelle (through defect of memorie as it seemeth) you advise men to beware of six sorts of women: Good and Badde, Faire and Foule, Rich and Poore."

"It seemed good unto the Lord, that as of every creature hee had made male and female, and man onely being alone without mate, so likewise to form an helpe meete for him. Adam for this cause being cast into a beauty sleepe, God extracting a rib from his side, thereof made, or built Woman, shewing thereby, than man was an imperfect building afore woman was made; and bringing her unto Adam, united and married them together. He created woman to be a solace unto him, to participate of his sorrowes, partake of his pleasures, and as a good yoake fellow beare part of his burthen. Sathan first assailed the woman... Yet we shall find the offence of Adam and Eue almost to paralell. For, as an ambitious desire of being made like unto God, was the motiue which caused her to eate, so likewise was it his. If Adam had not approved of that deed which Eue had done he being Head would have reproofed her. A Penalty was inflicted upon Adam as well as upon Eue, the punishment of her transgression being particular to her owne sex, and to none but the female kinde, but for the sinne of the man the whole earth was cursed: The first promise that was made in Paradise, God makes to woman, that by her seede the Serpents Head be broken."

"1. The Lord hath made us; That worke then cannot chuse but be good; a glorious creatur must needes effect a worthis creature.

"2. Woman was made of a refined mould, if I may so speake: for man was created of the dust of the earth, but woman was made of a part of man, after he was a living soule; yet was shee not produced from Adams foote, to be his too low inferiour, nor from his head to be his superiour but from his side near his heart to be his equal; that where he is Lord she may be Lady, therefore saith God Let them rule over the fish of the sea and over the foules of the Heaven and over every beast that moveth upon the earth: By which words he makes their authority equal, and all creatures to be in subjection unto them both.

"3. The formall cause, fashion and proportion of woman was excellent: For she was not like the beasts of the earth, or any other inferior creature, but man was the only object she did resemble. Woman was made to be a companion and helper for man, and then are those husbands to be blamed, which lay the whole burthen of domestical affaires and maintenance on the shoulders of their wiues. For, as Yoake-fellows they are to sustayne part of each others cares, griefs and calamities. But as if two oxen be put in one yoake, the one being bigger then the other, the greater bears most weight; so the Husband being the stronger vessell is to beare a greater burthen then his wife. Marriage is a merri-age and this worlds paradise where there is mutual loue. As the Lord commandeth nothing to be done, but that which is right and good, no more must the husband, for if a wife fulfill the euil command of her husband she obeys him as a tempter."

It has been pleasant to commune with this indignant, though placid spirit of a ruder age, whose argument glides along as a gentle streamlet in a rough and barren landscape. Man and woman: "Yoake-fellows" they were, so they are now, but "Equall" they are not yet. May the young women of to-day emulate the example of this girl whose bones are long since mingled with the dust—for woman's emancipation. Like a far-off star she lights them on their way.

No. 5.—Ester Sowrenam (Ioane Sharp), 1617.

We are not able to give any details in regard to the author who styles herself Ester Sowrenam, this of course being a play upon the name of Joseph Swetnam, to whom she administers a well-deserved castigation. From internal evidence of the book it appears that she was a lady of considerable attainments, Latin quotations being frequent in her discourse. Her references to mythology and her Biblical quotations show her to have been an extensive reader, and her verdict on "Our late Souerayne" has been confirmed by all historians since her period. However, we will let Mistress Sharp speak for herself.

"If the author of 'The arraignment of leuud, idle, froward and unconstant women' had performed his discourse either answerable the title, or the arguments of the chapters; hee had beene so farre off from being answered by me, that I should haue commended so good a labour, which is employed to giue uice iust reproofe, and uertue honourable report. But at the very first entrance of his discourse, in the very first page he discourereth himselfe neither to haue truth in his promise, nor religious performance. If in this answer I doe use more uehement speeches then may seeme to correspond the naturall disposition of a woman; yet all iudicious Readers shall confesse that I use more mildnesse then the cause I have in hand provoketh me unto."

"I am not onely provoked by this authour to defend women, but I am more violently urged to defend diuine Maiestie, in the worke of his creation... If either Iulian the Apostata, or Lucian the Atheist should undertake the like worke, could the owne deuse to write more blasphemously, or the other to scoffe and flout at the diuine Creation of Woman, more prophanely then this irreligious author doth?... He runneth on, and saith 'Woman was made of a crooked rib, so she is crooked of conditions.' Ioseph Swetnam was made as from Adam of clay and dust, so is of a durty and muddy disposition: The inferences are both alike in either... If woman receaued her crookednesse from the rib, and consequently from the man, how doth man excell in crookednesse, who hath more of those crooked ribs? Now let the christian Reader please to consider how dishonestly this authour dealeth who undertaking a particular, prosecuteth and persecuteth a generall, under the cloake and colour of lewd, idle and froward women, to rage and raile against all women in generall. It is furthermore to be considered as the Maide, in her Mussell for Melastomus hath obserued that God intended to honour woman in a more excellent degree, in that he created her out of a subiect refined, as out of a quintessence. She was framed in Paradise a delightfull creature, borne in so delightfull a country."

"The woman was married to Adam as with a most sure and inseparable band, so with a most affectionate and dutifull loue: Adam was enioyned to receaue his wife, as is noted in the Bible printed 1595. When Adam had eaten and sinne was now in fulnesse he telleth God 'That woman which thou gauest mee, gave mee and I did eate... He chargeth her with all the burden so he may discharge himselfe, he careth little how he clog her.'"

Leaving Adam and his eternal rib, she proceeds to adduce a few striking Biblical examples of women who distinguished themselves.

"Abraham being in danger, was blessed and preserved in respect of Sara. Rebecca by God's prouidence was the means to bring the blessing of Isaac to fall upon Iacob."

"The Egyptian Mid-wiues were a meanes to preserue the male children of the Israelites from the murther intended by Pharao."

(To be continued.)

* * * All communications intended for the Men's League columns should be addressed to the Editor, 38, Museum Street, W.C.

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