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Notes.

AS we are receiving many letters of regret as to the surmised discontinuance of *Women's Franchise*, owing to the announcement of the National Union, we think it necessary to state that cessation of the paper is not contemplated. The only question at issue is whether we should concur in a request, recently received from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, that we should give *Women's Franchise* to that Society, so that it may become their official organ, or whether we shall continue the present successful policy of conducting the paper in the interests of all upholders of the movement, seeking to maintain that zeal in the publishing and editing for which we have received the gratitude of the Executive Committee of the National Union, and to further increase the representativeness of the paper. Our first concern is Parliamentary Enfranchisement as the initial step in the ultimate removal of any and every sex disability. As we have pointed out to the National Union, while desiring to act in their best interests, we ought first to convince ourselves that the action they desire is best for the cause, and in any event nothing could be done without obtaining the consent of at least a majority of all those who have helped hitherto in the issuing of the paper. The statement foreshadowed in a former issue is prepared for publication, but we still hope that the printing of the same may not be necessary, and that we may be able at once to place before our readers our plans for the further development of *Women's Franchise*, and the measure of support we have reason already to anticipate.

THE offices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association are now established at 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W., at which address all the business of the Association will be conducted. Lady Castlereagh, Lady Howick, Lady St. Helier, Lady St. Oswald, Lady Emily Wyndham-Quin, and Mrs. Benson have consented to allow their names to be added to the list of vice-presidents.

Notice to Subscribers and Contributors.

Weekly Numbers, 1½d. a week post free. Quarterly Subscriptions, 1s. 8d.; half-yearly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 6s. 6d. All Subscriptions must be paid in advance. Back Numbers can still be obtained at the Office.

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.

The General Editor gives the widest possible latitude to each of the Societies represented in this Paper, and is only responsible for unsigned matter occurring in the pages devoted to general items.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,

13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

AFTER a protracted discussion, the Bermondsey Borough Council have decided to appoint Miss E. M. Clibbers, at present sanitary inspector under the Sheffield Corporation, as their first woman health visitor. Alderman Tyler, who objected to women being employed to do the work of men, said that a friend of his engaged a number of women clerks for his office, but he quickly dispensed with their services as they occupied nearly the whole of their time in scrutinizing their features in the mirror. We quote from *The Times* with surprise that they should make room for such silly comments. We ourselves can bear witness, first hand, to the devotion and care given by lady clerks.

MISS JANET CASE, M.A., has been adopted as candidate for a vacancy in the Hampstead Borough Council in the historic Town Ward by the Ward Committee of the Non-Political and Progressive Association, whose Hon. Sec. she has been since its formation in 1900.

WHILE regretting Miss MacArthur's giving up of her editorial duties on 'The Woman Worker,' we shall welcome her greater energies in the active field, as also we welcome Julia Dawson's editorship in her stead.

WE have received from the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association 5s. for copies to be sent, during January, to various reading-rooms in Dublin.

MISS G. H. JACOB, B.Sc., is kindly sending a copy of *Women's Franchise* to Miss Sophie Zwolinska.

Suffrage in other Lands.

RUSSIA.—At last Russian women have been permitted to hold a congress, which, it is hoped, will lead to the formation of a National Council of Russian Women. The meetings were held in the large central hall of the Municipal Buildings at St. Petersburg, which were gaily decorated with flags in honour of the occasion. Nearly a thousand women were enrolled as members, and hundreds of applications for the opening meeting had to be refused. There were delegates from all parts of Russia, including the non-Russian nationalities and several Finnish Deputies. Papers of all shades of opinion seem to have spoken sympathetically of the congress, and it was officially welcomed in the name of the city by the Mayor of St. Petersburg, who spoke of the importance of the work of the section dealing with the political and civil status of Russian women. The president of the first meeting was Madame Shabanova, president of the Woman Benevolent Society, a well-known lady doctor and specialist in children's diseases; and among those present was Madame Filosofoff, a veteran worker in the cause of women's education in Russia. Messages of sympathy were sent by women's organizations in England, France, Holland, Finland, and Australia, as well as a number of Russian political and educational organizations.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

Victorian Women's Victory.

SINCE 1903 the Woman Suffrage Bill in Victoria has been in the hands of private members, but we have never ceased for one minute our demand that the Government should take it up, and a couple of months ago we succeeded in extracting a promise from the Premier (Sir Thomas Bent)—our long-time opponent—that he would make it a Government measure. On September 18th I received a private intimation that he had yielded; he announced the fact in the Lower House October 7th; he introduced the Bill on October 14th. It was read a second time, and passed on October 21st by 45 votes to 9. On November 18th it passed the House of Obstruction, constitutionally known as

the Legislative Council. I suppose the cables will have informed you of the bare fact, but they could not tell you how triumphant the victory was, for, contrary to all precedent, when a Woman Suffrage Bill was before the Council, the Noes did not call for a division. They did not wish to see the details of their overwhelming defeat, our magnificent victory, recorded in 'Hansard' or in the press. But I was not going to allow it to pass unrecorded, so I determined to do some mild "suffragette" on my own account. Defying all the Parliamentary rules which forbid visitors in the gallery to take notes, I took notes, and immortalized the names representing 23 Ayes and 5 Noes. We knew we were going to win, but in our most sanguine moments we never anticipated such a victory. Even the Government did not expect more than a majority of 2 in the House of Rip Van Winkles.

Our Bill came before the Council on October 27th; but trouble had been brewing in the Assembly for some weeks, a number of the Ministerial supporters being dissatisfied with the *personnel* of the Cabinet. When the House met, the Premier, to the surprise of every one, moved the adjournment until November 18th to allow for a reconstruction of the Ministry. The Council met merely to adjourn formally; but one of our friends, Mr. Edgar, M.L.C., cleverly seized the opportunity to present our Woman Suffrage Declaration, an enormous roll, containing 21,000 names, mostly those of women prominent in home-making, in philanthropy, in industry, in the professions, who declared themselves favourable to Woman Suffrage being passed into law without further delay. There are still a few people in Victoria who have the temerity to assert, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary given by the Federal elections, that the women do not want the vote; but in every section we appealed to we found nearly 100 per cent ready to make their "declaration." Mr. Edgar had no sooner resumed his seat than up rose Mr. Harwood, the oldest member of the House, a staunch defender of the exclusive rights of property—owned by men—to the protection of the vote. Mr. Harwood said he had a petition against the Bill, but he did not say how many signatures it contained, and when the House met again he had not the slightest doubt he would have between forty and fifty thousand names against the Bill. On November 18th he presented a microscopic roll "from the Women of Victoria," containing "about 3,500 signatures." The House screamed with laughter, and members asked him what he had done with the rest of his 47,000! Thus, all the time they had been at work, the anti-suffrage forces had only been able to get "about 3,500" to sign the Women's Declaration of Dependence. Our Declaration of Interdependence had only been worked in a casual way, in the brief intervals when we were not busy laying mines for the Premier, and yet, working in such an amateurish fashion, we had secured 21,000 names, representing the best of the philanthropic, the industrial, and educational forces in our State. There was not one Anti-Suffragist present in the galleries during the debate, and the few opponents who spoke were men who are regarded as political derelicts. They are completely out of touch with their constituents; they became members of the Council in the palmy days when the property qualification was so high that only wealthy men, who in this part of the world are usually most undemocratic, had a chance of offering themselves for election.

The Australian Woman Suffrage movement began in Victoria in 1869; Victoria, the first colony to demand political freedom for women, the last State to see it realized. Thirty-nine years' work! Why? Because Victoria has the most strongly entrenched Upper House in the world, and a Lower House that for the past twenty years has had no men worthy of the name of statesmen, who, even with the Upper House constitutionally fortified as it is, could have fought it successfully on the question of Woman Suffrage. But now that we have won such a great victory we can nearly forget all that Victorian women have had to suffer in the winning. We are thankful to be free, because of our own self-respect, because of the power it gives us to help in making Australia a great nation, and because we shall be freer to help our sisters in other lands to win their political liberty.

Failure is Impossible.

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

Privilege versus Responsibility.

"FOR the moment the door of the House of Commons is shut; even the peep-hole is closed to us." The House of Commons has been, strictly speaking, shut to women since the Reform Act of 1832. Women have been admitted as far as the peep-hole as a "privilege"; they could sit in the Grille as a "privilege"; they could interview members as a "privilege"; but as privileges divorced from responsibility. They have never been admitted as "persons," as component parts of the nation, responsible for the choice and guidance of their representatives. The more our "privileges" are withdrawn the better, for they prevent us from realizing our need of responsibility. For instance, we have been "privileged" to labour hard at elections, and have been considered capable of dictating to men how to vote. But to offer our labour and money to a candidate in return for a pledge of support for certain measures is a form of political corruption so long as we are outside the electorate, for which all three political parties are responsible.

Again Mrs. Humphry Ward tells us that we must not seek freedom, because we suffer from "ignorance imposed by nature, and irreparable." But she held up to us, as an example to be followed, the method adopted by a group of women whose names are not given. "When the Midwives Act was passed... it was mainly the work of a group of energetic and clearheaded women who proved their point and achieved their reform even against strong masculine opposition." Are we to understand that the Government can be swayed by women against the declared will of the electorate? There are very great dangers under such a system, dangers which may in the future lead to disastrous results, not only to women, but to the freedom of men. These dangers can be met only by women determining that they will no longer gain their ends by methods of corruption, but by working as a part of the electorate and accepting the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship.

Until we are recognized as citizens we cannot put direct pressure on the House of Commons, except by physical force or political corruption. Would it not be better for us to recognize that we can never constitutionally win our freedom from the Government.

Let us then appeal straight to the electorate to relieve us from the temptation to gain our ends by methods which are a menace to the freedom of men, and undermine the principles of democratic government. Surely, though men care little for justice to women, their refusal of freedom to women has not yet so far degraded them that they have ceased to value freedom for men. The Newcastle electors' petition gives us reason to hope that if the electorate can be made to realize the issues at stake, they will prove their desire to secure, for the next generation, the freedom which was won for them by their forefathers.

Has the time not come when we should modify our by-election policy, and in future abstain from offering labour and money to Parliamentary candidates, however satisfactory their answers may be? Let us, on the other hand, develop our policy of appealing to the electorate and calling upon them to bring pressure on the Government in as many ways as we can devise.

ERIE EVANS.

The Good Old-Fashioned Heroine.

I am not wholly ignorant; you cannot call me that!
I have read Miss Carey's novels; I have also read *Home Chat*;
I know the girlish heroine, the pretty little pet!
But, alas! I cannot follow the example she has set.
In spite of all her teasing ways, she is only made to yield;
She is silly but delightful, à la Dora Copperfield.
She has instinctive feelings, instead of reasoning powers,
And she trips about in muslin frocks, and gathers dewy flowers.
She wears a ribbon at her waist, a rosebud at her throat,
And, O! she never, never wants a Parliamentary vote!
She trills a merry little song, she is so free from care,
And twines some blossoms in her hat, or puts them in her hair.
You may be sure she falls in love as quickly as she can
With the noble hero, who is such a handsome, manly man!

He loves to hear her rippling laugh, and presently proposes—
(He often does it at a dance, or out among the roses).
She is too shy to answer him, but her feelings are expressed
When she lays her little golden head upon his manly breast.
They have their lovers' quarrels—what miseries they bring!
For he is firm, and she is such a wilful little thing;
She is so playful and so full of pretty teasing ways;
But she feels he is her master, so she finally obeys.
There is a clash of wedding bells, and there the story stops,
And he calls her "little wife" as the curtain slowly drops.
We can get some information about their future lives
By reading chatty articles intended for young wives.
They have their little failings (but who is free from such);
He does not kiss her quite enough, she kisses him too much.
He is bitter and sarcastic, she is fond of "making scenes,"
And cries when he explains to her they live beyond their means,
Or speaks about her housekeeping; and I, alas! have learnt
Their meat is always underdone, except when it is burnt;
And when he comes in moody, and wants to read a book,
She worries him with stories of her troubles with the cook;
She also spends too much at "sales" on things she doesn't need,
And when her husband's meals are late, he's very cross indeed.
These little drawbacks vanish, however, as time passes;
She has some lessons from a friend, or joins some cooking classes.
She does not cry so often, and in a little while
She always greets her husband with a cheery, winning smile.
She is happy when he takes her out, but when she's left behind
She trips about the kitchen and doesn't seem to mind.
She coaxes him for money, which he gives in small amounts,
And he only laughs good-naturedly when she muddles her accounts.
He merely stoops and pats her cheek, with an indulgent look,
As he listens to her chatter about Emma and the cook.
But if he talks of politics, or any current news,
She does not even know enough to echo all his views,
And you cannot really argue with any person who'll
Mention that Mr. Chamberlain's in favour of Home Rule.
But still he simply smiles at her, and strokes her little hands,
And feels that these are matters which no woman understands.
Perhaps such perfect happiness may almost seem unreal,
And I fancy that few couples are so utterly ideal;
But every girl had better try, and plot, and scheme, and plan
To be as weak and womanly and helpless as she can.
She must not be athletic—at any rate, not very—
And she mayn't be intellectual, though she must be bright and merry.

I ought to name one danger—I think there's only one—
A married heroine is apt to have a little son,
A curly-headed, manly boy, who is so proud to say
He "takes care of little mumsy" when his daddy is away;
And if you try to copy her, you ought to keep in view
The fact that should you have a son, he may take after you.
Still, you had better risk it, and follow my advice,
And try to be incompetent, and terrified of mice;
And you may find it easy, and have success in plenty
When you are aged, say seventeen, or even one and twenty.
But I own you will be clever if you're able to contrive
To be a little laughing pet when you are forty-five.
Still, if you have a family to work for day by day,
Or if you have to earn your bread, and make your business pay,
I am sure you'll laugh delighted, and will clap your hands in glee
To see how weak and "womanly" and helpless you can be.
And I hope you'll write a letter, though you're dying with fatigue,
To say how glad you'll be to join the Anti-Suffrage League.
If your household's in confusion, and, manage how you will,
Your children are so troublesome and very often ill;
If your money seems to melt away, though how you cannot say,
And if you always miss your trains, and often lose your way,
And if your husband's bored with you, the mournful truth to tell,
But likes to chat with Mrs. Brown, who always talks so well;
Or to play golf with Mrs. White, who plays a "ripping game,"
Until you really almost wish that you could do the same:
Why, then you will be happy, for you will know that few
Young women are as helpless and incompetent as you;
You will have reached your high ideal, your troubles will be past,
And you will be a heroine—a heroine at last. G. M. GEORGE.

House of Lords—Scottish Women Graduates' Appeal.

THE Committee of Scottish Women Graduates, which conducted the law case recently heard in the House of Lords, find that their expenses exceeded the sums already subscribed and promised by about 150*l.* The final meeting of the Committee is to be held on Saturday, January 9th. In response to the appeal published in *Women's Franchise* on Dec. 24th, 17*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* has been received. We appeal to the Suffragists who are anxious to support constitutional efforts to send donations to the Hon. Secretary at Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian.

SUMS PREVIOUSLY PROMISED AND NOW RECEIVED.

	£	s.	d.
Miss Frances H. Simson	50	0	0
Mrs. Herringham	10	0	0
Miss Gordon	1	0	0
Miss S. E. S. Mair	2	2	0
Miss Beatrice Harraden	1	1	0
Mrs. Dixon	20	0	0
Mrs. Stanley Boyd	1	1	0
Miss Maria Macmillan	1	1	0
Miss M. Kemp	1	0	0

DONATIONS TOWARDS THE DEFICIT OF 150*l.*

Mrs. David Murray	1	0	0
Mrs. Brook	10	0	0
Miss Agnes Brook	5	0	0
Mrs. Langley Brown	0	5	0
Miss I. C. Methven	1	0	0
The Misses Michael	0	5	0
Miss Jessie Clark	0	2	6

£17 12 6

This leaves a present deficit of 132*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* I should be glad to report to the meeting on Jan. 9th that the whole of this sum had been subscribed. CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec.

To the "Anti's."

(WITH APOLOGIES TO ROBERT BURNS.)

Is she, because of chivalry,
To have no vote and a' that,
Renounce her claim and bend the knee
And be a slave for a' that?
For a' that and a' that—
Politeness, love, and a' that,
I'd sooner see less chivalry
And more respect for a' that!

What tho' they've tasted prison fare
And striven hard and a' that?
What men have done they too will dare,
Their claim is just for a' that!
For a' that and a' that,
Your taunts and sneers and a' that,
The one who dares and shows she cares
Will gain her ends for a' that.

Then let us strive to keep alive
Our comradeship and a' that;
That laws of right may prove their might
In spite of sex and a' that.
For a' that and a' that,
The time is nigh for a' that,
When woman's worth shall see the birth
Of nobler laws and a' that!

T. GUGENHEIM.

International Conference.

ONE of the greatest events of 1909 will be the assembling together of women from all parts of the civilized world in the International gathering, to be held in London, in the spring.

The occasion should be marked by all that can be devised to make it impressive. All lesser differences of opinion should be set aside, so that the united expression of the will of the women of Great Britain may be added, with all the solemnity of an epoch-making event, to the testimony of the women who will come as our guests.

All would-be national reformers are faced with the fears of the timorous as to how far their example may or may not be followed by other nations. "If our women are enfranchised," says such a one, "would not our country be thereby placed at a disadvantage in its negotiations with other countries less enlightened?" It is a question at least as worthy of an answer as the combined physical force—place in the home—loss of womanly-bloom argument so often advanced. What better answer could be produced than the practical, ocular demonstration which April should afford of the international character of our movement? How to bring this aspect of the question home to the mass of our people should be the concern of each one of us.

If arbitration is to take the place of the sword, if purity and love are to triumph over vice and hate, if a nobler race is to people the earth, if the Kingdom is to come and come quickly, the mother-spirit—she, all the world over, whom the Creator called to be His first ally in the fight against evil—must be set free to attain the full measure of her stature, unhindered, unfettered by any arbitrary or unnatural limitation.

With united aim, with united international effort and cordial co-operation amongst all those who work for "Suffrage" in this centre of the movement, the year 1909 will assuredly shine with the light of great advance, and may even stand out in the annals of the century as the year which witnessed the enfranchisement of the women of more than one European State.

Correspondence.

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

Suffrage Quotation Book.

DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly accord us the hospitality of your pages to ask for further help with our Suffrage Quotation Book? We have received over two hundred excellent quotations, among the contributors being Miss Lena Ashwell, Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Emily Davies, Miss Gertrude Elliot, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Dr. and Mrs. Haslam, Mr. Forbes Robertson, Mr. Yorke Stanger, M.P., Mr. H. G. Wells, and Mr. Zangwill. We still need, however, about one hundred and fifty to complete the year, and should be much indebted to any of your readers who would send a suitable quotation, not more than four lines long, together with a fee of 1*s.* to our editress, Miss J. H. Thomson, Baveno, Broadlands Road, Highgate, N. In return for the shilling a copy of the book will be forwarded as soon as it is issued, and the profits on sales, which we expect will be considerable, will be devoted to the cause.

Yours faithfully, AUGUSTA E. HARRINGTON,
HELEN D. THOMSON,
Hon. Secs. Highgate and N. St. Pancras Branch.

Taxpayers' League.

DEAR SIR,—In view of the proposal to form a league of women taxpayers to protest against the imposition of taxes where representation in the Government they help to support is denied, it is earnestly requested that all who are in sympathy with this movement and in a position to join actively should consider the advisability of delaying the settlement of taxes for 1909 till it has been ascertained if the formation of such a league is practicable, and along what lines it will be most desirable to work. Further notice of this movement will be issued through the medium of *Women's Franchise* when a definite policy has been agreed upon.

MARY S. FLORENCE.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

OBJECT.—To obtain the Parliamentary Suffrage for Women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to Men. The Union is a Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Secretary: MISS MARGERY CORBETT, B.A. Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON
Hon. Secretary: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. Organisers: MISS E. M. GARDNER, B.A. MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON, B.A. MRS. COOPER. MISS HELEN FRASER.
Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON." Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.

OFFICES: 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

The Union will send Organising Agents, Speakers, or Literature to any place requiring them, its desire being to form a Women's Suffrage Society in every County and Borough. All persons interested in the movement, or desiring information about it, are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. Increased Funds are needed for the growing work of the Union, and Subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1908.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.
MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P. MRS. BROADLEY REID
MISS EDITH DIMOCK HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MISS L. O. FORD MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN
MISS MARTINDALE, M.D. (Lond.) MISS LOWNDES
MISS MARGARET ASHTON THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE MRS. ALLAN BRIGHT
MISS WARD LADY STRACHEY And the Hon. Officers, *ex officio.*

A Testimony from New Zealand.

I CULL the following editorial from *The Star*, an influential paper published in Christchurch, N.Z. The article is headed 'The Woman's Cause,' and is dated Sept. 17th, 1908:—

"To-day is the fifteenth anniversary of the bestowal of the Franchise upon the women of the Dominion. It seems a pity that the formal celebration of the occasion should have been left to the women of Wellington, for on the eve of a General Election a demonstration throughout the country would have served to remind candidates for election that those fifteen years of political freedom have shown the women of New Zealand to be among the most advanced progressives of the age. The alarmist prognostications which greeted the extension of the Franchise fifteen years ago look lamentably foolish in the light of experience. There have been no economic cataclysms or social upheavals; there have been no ruined homes and deserted cradles; women are not smoking in the streets and drinking in the open bars, and domestic life is as happy and as thorough as it has ever been in this country's history. The political movement which ended in the bestowal of the Franchise upon women does not need to be recalled at present. It is familiar history. Its honesty has been impugned, but its results have more than justified its end. There are people who are still to be found deploring the fact that women have votes, and asserting that the Dominion is galloping to ruin, and that life has been made one long dismal routine as a consequence; but these mossy old pessimists grow daily fewer as the real value of woman's work becomes apparent. If a plebiscite of the men of the Dominion were taken to-day upon the question of removing the vote from women, were such a course constitutionally possible, there would, we believe, be an overwhelming majority indignantly repudiating the proposition. As a matter of fact, the value of the support of the women of the Dominion to the progressive party cannot be overestimated. The Licensing and Anti-Gambling legislation of the first decade are largely the work of the women, and these grand reforms alone have been well worth the extension of the Franchise. Organized and unorganized, the woman's influence has all along been cast in the cause of the happiness of the home, and the future is bright with a prospect of still further reforms at her hands. But there is not, as was so confidently predicted, a male political party and a female political party in New Zealand, for the Statute Book shows that unceasingly and without looking backward the two have joined hands over a period of exceptional progressiveness in building up an arm of the empire of which it may well be proud. The woman's cause has, indeed, shown itself to be man's, and the country is the better and the happier to-day through having extended to its daughters the full comradeship and trust which they enjoy."

Surely our timorous men may take heart of grace and win the votes of their sisters. But perhaps reform measures are the last things they want carried—rather would they bury them under a Royal Commission or Omission.

FRANCES SWINEY.

5,000 Guineas Fund.

E. M. V. £0 7 6

Threepenny-Bit Fund.

Miss Collier (100)	£1	5	0
Miss H. D. Thomson (100)	1	5	0
Miss Sanderson (10)	0	2	6
Miss Lawrence (20)	0	5	0

Meeting at Shrewsbury.

A VERY successful meeting was held on December 15th in St. Alkmund's Schoolroom. The Hon. Secretary had hoped to get up a debate, and to this end the prominent local Anti-Suffragists had been approached, but though they expressed their willingness to attend, they one and all refused to debate. So the Secretary of the Anti-Suffrage Society in London was asked to send down a speaker or speakers; but she also declined, giving as a reason that all their speakers were so very busy helping to inaugurate new branches!

Mrs. Swanwick and Miss Courtney gave splendid stirring addresses. The Antis present asked the usual questions, and Mrs. Swanwick in her reply simply cut the ground from beneath their feet.

The branch, which started in May with twenty members, has now eighty-six.

County Campaign Fund.

Norfolk.—Miss Hardcastle, M.A.	£5	5	0
Total to Monday, Jan. 4th, 1909	802	10	8

The Anti-Suffrage Review.

WE have received the first number of *The Anti-Suffrage Review*, the monthly halfpenny journal of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. It consists of eight pages, and contains a leader signed M. A. W., which states the aims and hopes of the League. The writer professes to find that there is a reaction against Women's Suffrage, and urges her readers to take advantage of it. She also finds in "the spectacles of the last few weeks" conclusive proof that "women are not fit for the ordinary struggles of politics," and that "the violent, excitable element in politics will be largely increased," if women have the vote. One cannot but wonder how it is that this lady was not so much impressed by the need for taking away the vote from all men, when "the violent, excitable element" mobbed Mr. Lloyd George during the Boer War, to the danger of his life. The "calm, practical discussion" of questions, which she so much admires in a purely masculine House of Commons, has been strikingly illustrated by the panic legislation of the last session, when Lord Robert Cecil's Public Meetings Bill was rushed through with a haste to make the country ring with derisive laughter. The article concludes with a statement that the League will support "the present privileges and powers" of women in local government, "but we shall do all that in us lies to prevent the spread of a movement, the success of which would weaken our country in the eyes of the civilized world, and fatally diminish those stores of English sanity, of English political wisdom, based on political experience, which," &c.

So this is how we stand. All has been done that need be

n the direction of liberating English women: widows and spinsters all over England, and, in addition, married women in London, may vote for municipal bodies and stand for them, if, being poor and handicapped in every way, they can afford it. But they may not have a direct voice in the framing of the laws which they have to administer. To do so would be to "weaken our country in the eyes of the civilized world," including, we suppose, New Zealand and Australia, Finland and Norway; it would also "fatally diminish those stores of English sanity, which," &c. One wonders how M. A. W. cannot mean to imply that the majority of English women are insane at present; she must mean that the vote would make them mad. But after all, this is only a pious opinion; she cannot really know that it would act in so astounding a manner.

The paper goes on to report that twenty-six branches have been formed, and that considerable sums of money have been promised, some of them contingent upon the raising of sums to supplement them. Looking at the officers of the new societies, their speakers and subscribers, one is much struck by the fact that they are being engineered primarily by rich or titled people. Mrs. Frederic Harrison makes a great point that the Suffrage movement is a middle-class one, a statement not so true as she seems to think; but the Anti-Suffrage movement is almost exclusively one of fashionable folk.

The speeches made at the Council meeting on Nov. 25th are reported at some length, and it would take many columns to meet them point by point. Lady Jersey remarked that many men were prepared to give women the vote "as a joke," to "play with." Truly, John Lamb was in the right when he sighed over "frivolous Members of Parliament." Lady Jersey is content to say, "Our experience tends to show that a vast majority (of women) resent the attempt to force such a burden upon them," but Mr. Julius Bertram, M.P., goes one better, and says he is "altogether satisfied in his own mind" that at present there is no demand whatever on the part of the women. But then, it was Mr. Bertram—was it not?—who wished women not to have the vote because he wished them to be spared "all hard work." One wonders in what cloudland Mr. Bertram lives when he leaves the serene precincts of the House. For he actually says, too, that the vote would not affect women's wages; that Parliament "has always acted equally for men and women workers"; and that men voters represent women, in industrial as in other matters. He draws the familiar but absolutely nonsensical distinction between the qualities of mind required for *parochial and national* politics, from which we may draw the inference that women are specially suited to dealing with gas and paving contracts, but not to be trusted when it comes to deciding what their children are to be taught in school, whether mothers should be allowed to take the baby to bed with them, whether their little boys are to be searched by park-keepers, and whether women should have an honest livelihood forbidden them without any of the compensation we hear so much about when shares, and not human creatures' lives, are at stake. Mrs. Frederic Harrison considers that the questions of National Defence and of National Finance are the two grave questions before us, and she asserts that women should have no voice in them. Women pay for national defence in money and in sorrow. Why should their voice not be heard? Women do not count "for much in the markets of the world," she says. Was ever a more reckless statement? Women are the marketers, all the world over. Logic is not Mrs. Harrison's strong point; she confesses that she has met among the "shrewd country women" a "strange ignorance as to what the vote meant and implied," but this does not prevent her from saying that they have "a reasoned belief that it was right and just that men should govern." A reasoned belief, one would suppose, requires something better than "strange ignorance" as to the very meaning of the terms in which that belief is expressed.

Assertion without argument, "dim feeling" (Mr. Comyns Carr really let the cat out of the bag when he used this exquisite phrase, and supplemented it by the thrilling announcement, "I am content with women as they are"), an almost fantastic ignorance of life as it is for the majority, are the characteristics of this review, as of the movement of which it is the worthy mouthpiece. H. M. SWANWICK.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

- | | | | P.M. |
|----------|---|--|------------|
| Jan. 7. | Hull, W.S.S. Lecture | Lecturer, Miss M. Robertson, B.A.
Opener, Mrs. Evans | |
| | Leicester, Debate, St. Stephen's Presbyterian Literary Society | | |
| 8. | Tunbridge Wells, Drawing-Room Meeting | Hostess, Mrs. Le Lacheur
Speaker, Miss Verrall | |
| 11. | Crowborough, Public Meeting | Hostess, Mrs. Rendel
Speakers, Miss Palliser,
R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., M.A. | |
| 12. | London, "At Home," 57, Bedford Gardens, Studio 1A | Hostess, Miss Luxmoor
Chair, Miss A. M. Wright
Speakers, Hon. Mrs. Spencer
Graves, W. L. George, Esq. | 8.30 |
| 13. | London Society Lecture, 130, Inverness Terrace | Lecturer, Miss Helga Gill,
Cand. Phil. and Stud.
Ped. Norway. | |
| | Portsmouth, Public Meeting, Cosham School | Speakers, Miss N. O'Shea,
Mrs. Harrison Bell | |
| | Portsmouth, Public Meeting, Fareham | Speakers, Miss N. O'Shea,
Mrs. Harrison Bell | |
| 14. | Beckenham Debate, Co-operative Hall | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| | Reigate and Redhill, "At Home," Cravenhurst, Reigate | Hostess, Mrs. Flügel
Speaker, Mrs. How Martyn | 4 |
| 18. | Birmingham, Public Meeting | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| 19. | Birmingham, Public Meeting | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| | Darlington, Public Meeting, Drill Hall | Chairman, H. Pike Pease,
Esq., M.P.
Speakers, Lady Grove and others | |
| | London Society Reception, Doré Gallery | | 4.30-7 |
| | London, Marylebone, Drawing-Room Meeting | Speaker, Miss Grace Spicer | 4 |
| | London, N. Paddington, Drawing-Room Meeting | Speaker, Mrs. Corbett | 4.30 |
| | Portsmouth, Meeting of Shop Assistants | Speakers, Miss N. O'Shea,
Mrs. Harrison Bell | |
| 20. | Knutsford, Public Meeting | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| 21. | London, Highbury, Debate, St. Augustine's Literary and Debating Society | | 8 |
| | Manchester, "At Home," 85, Deansgate Arcade | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| 22. | Portsmouth, Public Meeting, Carpenters' and Joiners' Society | Speakers, Miss N. O'Shea,
Mrs. Harrison Bell | |
| 25. | Worcester, Public Meeting | Speaker, Miss Abadam | |
| 26 & 27. | Brighton, Exhibition of Banners | | |
| 26. | London Society Reception, Doré Gallery | | 4.30-7 |
| | Sutton, Debate, Unionist Club | Speakers, Miss M. Marris,
Miss Fothergill | |
| | Brighton, W.S.S., "At Home" to Delegates, Pavilion | | 8.30 |
| 27. | Brighton, N.U.W.S.S., Annual Meeting, Hove Town Hall | | 10.30 A.M. |
| | Public Meeting, Hove Town Hall | Chair, Rev. Preb. Bond
Speakers, Mrs. Fawcett,
Lady Frances Balfour,
Miss F. Sterling, Walter McLaren, Esq. | P.M.
8 |
| | London Society, Lecture, 20, Craven Terrace, W. | Speaker, Miss Gladys Wright,
B.A. | |
| | Portsmouth, Public Meeting, Gosport | Speakers, Miss N. O'Shea,
Mrs. Harrison Bell | |
| 28. | Hull, "At Home," Co-operative Hall | Hostess, Mrs. F. Richardson | 3.30 |
| | London, Paddington, Public Meeting | | 8 |
| | Nottingham, Discussion, Mikado Café | Chair, Miss Guilford
Tea | 5
4.30 |
| 29. | London, Chelsea, Social Gathering, Sydney Hall, Pond Street | Speakers, Mrs. Bigland
Miss H. D. Cockle, and others | 8-10 |
| | London, Wandsworth, Drawing-Room Meeting, 45, Bolingbroke Grove | Speaker, Miss Abadam | 8.30 |
| | Reigate and Redhill, Public Meeting, Constitutional Hall, Horley | Speaker, The Lady Frances Balfour | 3 |
| | Redhill, "At Home," King's Hall | Speaker, The Lady Frances Balfour | 8 |
| 31. | London, Chiswick, Public Meeting, Parish Hall, St. Michael's Church, Bedford Park | Chair, Rev. J. Cartmel
Robinson, M.A.
Speaker, Miss Abadam | 4 |

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

SCOTTISH OFFICE: 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

Organising Secretary: MISS ANNA MUNRO.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. WOOD.

NATIONAL OFFICES: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc., A.R.C.S.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

National Hon. Organising Secretary: MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.
Telegrams: "Tactics, London."

Greeting.

To the W.F.L. a Happy New Year and success to the humble bodkin, sharp enough to prick the Suffrage bubble blown by the Government.

More might to the militants! Women are not dogs, to be kept straining at the leash till such time as their masters see fit to free them. Women are human beings, some of whom prefer fighting to whining, war to bondage, death to degradation. Again and again is it demonstrated that to promote party or class interest is to secure preferment, whilst to serve humanity is to court martyrdom.

A man-managed world may be a very nice world for select minorities. It must remain a bewildering maze for the masses until the mothers of the race are free to guard the interests of the race.

CAVE CANEM.

Two Liberal Laws, 1909.

THE Liberals are making a good deal of party capital out of the Old Age Pensions—"Liberal Pensions," as the newspaper placards have it—a fact which, without lessening our joy at the sight of a few of our dear old men and women at last getting back a little of their own, does not tend to increase our respect for men who bring the taint of selfish motives and mean party trickery into their social legislation. The spectacle has been a peculiar one, of a Prime Minister whose greatest admirers can hardly claim for him a nature overflowing with the milk of human kindness, accepting a Bill for the relief of his fellow creatures, and finding a vent for his feelings by excluding from its benefits as many of those fellow-creatures as possible. The Liberal Party must be saved, gentlemen—this Bill seems to say—but it can be done without giving pensions to old people who have been rioting on a few vegetables and a loaf from the parish, or to nasty foreigners, or to Englishwomen who are the "relicts" of foreign male corpses. A year or two ago the Liberal Party could have been saved without pensioning women at all, but not in these evil times with Suffragettes about.

But this is a great matter of finance, we are told, and women do not understand finance. Perhaps not, and maybe that is why their brains are so much clearer than men's on the subject of economy. For the statesmen of the richest country in the world to save a few shillings by depriving the poorest people of their pensions while throwing thousands of pounds away in the form of other pensions to men who have already more than enough, may be sound finance from the man's point of view, but most women would pronounce it to be waste on the one hand, and parsimonious cheese-paring of the most uneconomical and irritating order on the other, and would compare the Government that manages the nation's money in this way with the bad housekeeper, who pays 50l. for her winter coat, hundreds of pounds for her hot-house flowers, yet refuses to allow the servants bacon for breakfast, and makes the whole house ring weekly with her lamentations over the price of lard. A good housekeeper cuts down her big unnecessary expenses before she begins saving on her servants' food. Why should not a nation do likewise?

As to that other great Liberal achievement the *Fireguard and Orange Box* enactment, which comes into force this year, there it stands on the Statute Book, a monumental example of the incapacity of men to deal with the affairs of women. If only those young and old gentlemen in the House of Commons who have been wisely shaking their heads over the overlaying of

babies, and casting up their eyes at the thought of mothers clothing their little ones in flannelette in order to burn them up quicker—if only they could hear the mocking laughter of the women themselves when they are told of these things, and could see the dangerous light in their eyes at the thought of their impertinent and ignorant interference with these affairs, they might pause in their foolish career, and consider whether it would not, on the whole, be safer to call women into their councils. Mr. Gladstone and his "shilling fireguard" provide women's meetings with a huge joke and an unanswerable argument in favour of our cause, for that we are grateful; but the tragedy of the situation is none the less apparent, and it must be constantly borne in mind that in April this atrocious and mischievous Act will come into force, and it requires no prophet to foresee that not one infant life will be saved, but that it is going to inflict a vast amount of extra misery and suffering on the poorest of our most miserable and suffering fellow citizens. Mrs. Despard pointed out last week to a Battersea audience that the commonsense method of dealing with the evil of child-burning would be to enact that no house shall be built without a fire-place properly guarded in at least one room, and let every landlord be sent to prison who disobeyed the law. A landlord certainly would seem a more suitable person to send to prison than a heart-broken mother who cannot afford a guard, and cannot take care of her children herself because she is a sweated drudge. Mrs. Despard's Act would also have the advantage of preventing deaths by burning; the present Act is contented to take revenge on the parents after the deaths have occurred. The same criticism applies to the overlaying. Unless our wiseacres in the Commons propose planting a policeman in every house in which there is a baby, overlaying cannot be prevented by this Act. When the baby is dead the parents can be sent to prison—that one masculine remedy for all the ills the State is heir to. It is interesting to note that babies for the purposes of this Act seem to have suddenly acquired two parents; that is because it is a penal enactment. Let not the mothers imagine however, that it is expressly stated they are "parents"; that would be giving them "too much responsibility," as Mr. John Burns says. Mothers are caught for punishment by being alluded to as "persons over the age of sixteen years." When the Liberals have quite finished weeping sentimental tears over their "Children's Charter," it would be wise if they would pause and reflect upon the foolish and wicked thing they have done.

It might occur even to the youngest and most cock-sure of our legislators, that perhaps a woman, for instance, like Mrs. Despard, who has lived for years among the poorer classes, might know a little more about babies and mothers and the condition of the homes, and the causes of drunkenness and infant mortality than men, who hardly recognize a baby when they see it, and who for the most part have never been inside the houses of want and sorrow, who know nothing of women, and whose one remedy for all evils is prison.

It might occur to them that an Act which sends mothers to prison after the children are dead can hardly be called a "Children's Charter." Here young Wiseacre would be bound to console himself with the reflection that a few examples would deter other women from killing their babies. Foolish Wiseacre! These mothers are just as devoted to their babies as your mother was to your silly little self; and if they had the money they would have the fireguards, and it is for the lack of this small and simple piece of knowledge that you and your brother wiseacres have made such laughing-stocks of yourselves over this precious piece of legislation.

How is it, too, that, with this deep anxiety to lessen infant mortality, the *chief cause* has been altogether ignored? How about the fathers whose immoral lives directly cause the death and disease of many thousands of children; whose victims fill our hospitals and lunatic asylums; whose excesses are weakening the moral and physical fibre of the nation itself? Surely they ought to find a place in the "Children's Charter"! And yet, not a word! A Parliament of men, professing enthusiasm for the cause of the little ones, chattering about the ignorance of women (the minor evil), and silent about the vices of men (the evil that wrecks and rots empires).

It is time, indeed, that women attended to politics—and nothing illustrates the urgency of the need more powerfully than the "Children's Charter."
MAUDE FITZHERBERT.

Midnight Amenities and New Year Resolves.

SUFFRAGETTES are nothing if not enterprising, and so in order not to lose any time in making "Votes for Women" the first question of the new year, we determined to hold a meeting as soon as the hour of midnight had struck, and to make the very first minute of 1909 ring with the battle cry. Westminster suggested itself as the appropriate place, for various reasons. We all felt that the resolution "to give the Government no peace until women are enfranchised, and to resolve to work more resolutely and persistently than ever before for 'Votes for Women,'" would gain in force and effectiveness if it were carried under the shadow of the very stronghold of the enemy. Big Ben, too, was there, and, as every one knows, quite an appreciable number gather to hear him boom out the passing of the old year; and so, we felt, there would be our audience all ready. We set out in a goodly party from the office, and made our way down the Embankment to the gardens in Parliament Square. Members from all the other societies, wearing their colours, were there waiting for us, the N.U.W.S.S. and the W.S.P.U., and all was peace, amity, and good-will—as, indeed, was but right and fitting. People came running up from all parts, and things looked very promising for our midnight meeting. But, alas and alack! Do Superintendent Wells and his stalwarts *never* sleep? The Force surrounded us at once. "You can't hold a meeting here, ladies. Pass along—pass along there!"

Then out boomed Big Ben, and even the Force stayed its hand until the last stroke of twelve died away. "Votes for Women! Down with the Government that refuses votes for women! There'll be no happy new year unless you give us votes" rang out on all sides; and three cheers went up from the assembled crowd for the Suffragettes. As it happened, I uttered my New Year resolution to an inspector who arrested me not long ago. "Are you going to give us as much trouble this year as last?" he asked, eyeing me severely.

"The trouble will get worse—and worse—and worse—until the Government comes to its senses," I answered, with great firmness. He groaned despairingly, "You really can't hold a meeting here now!" said Law again. "Pass along—pass along."

But Law reckoned without Mrs. How Martyn's quick wit—a fatal oversight. "We'll have our meeting while we're passing along," she said. And we did. Carefully guiding Miss Matters, who walked backwards while she harangued the crowd, we went round and round the Square, a cheering concourse following us; the police quite disconcerted for once by this defiance of the spirit, though obedience to the letter of the law.

Mrs. How Martyn read the resolution which was received enthusiastically. Then we were carefully shepherded up Parliament Street (Downing Street receiving groans for Asquith on the way), into Trafalgar Square, where we dispersed with more cheers from the crowd and the passers-by, and after mutual expressions of good will had passed—with a few trifling exceptions—between ourselves and "our friend the enemy."
M. H.

Caxton Hall "At Homes."—These will be held in future in the Council Chamber every Thursday afternoon. Speeches begin punctually at 3.30, tea and music at 4.45. Helpers, please write to Mrs. Hicks, 7, Ornan Mansions, Hampstead, N.W.

The Outcast of Democracy.

THE mask has fallen and also the cloven foot has appeared. What many shrewd minds have long suspected is proved by that most potent of arguments—action. Mr. G. Belfort Bax is one of the signatories to an invitation widely issued to form a man's committee for opposing Woman Suffrage. Thus one of the leaders of Social Democracy would, in his ideal State, still deny woman citizenship and keep her the irresponsible dupe, tool, toy, and slave of the brotherhood. Surely I dreamt when I thought I read in an essay on Socialism in *The Westminster Review* for September of this year, "every infant that came into the world," say Morris and Bax, "would be born into full citizenship, and would enjoy all its advantages, whatever the conduct of its parents might be." It appears, however, that the infant must be male to be thus endowed; strict inheritance in the male line will still reign supreme in the social paradise, and Eve, the mother and the wife, will find the doors of equal opportunity shut in her face as of old under the most autocratic of Imperial Governments.

Adult Suffrage means for the Socialist of the Belfort Bax type male supremacy of a more marked and sex-biased character than that under which women now suffer, to the detriment and degradation of the whole community. Under the aegis of Social Democratic Federation their last state would be worse than their first, and the nation at large would be under the iron hand of a soulless materialism controlled by a brute-beast force. What a travesty of terms will this Belfort Bax republic represent—social reform with a subject womanhood, democracy with half of the people deprived of political power, federation that only binds the brothers and ostracises the sisters! Man, in fact, has become so corrupt through the long-continued degradation of woman that his very ideals have no justice, logic, reason, or wholeness in them.

They are simply the low aspirations of a sensualist and a degenerate, craving for the flesh-pots of Egypt and the whip of a slave-driver. Women, therefore, have not much to hope for from the gospel of Bax & Co.
FRANCES SWINEY.

Early Morning Chalking.

WITHOUT, perhaps, being quite what Shakespeare called a "slug-a-bed," I must confess to a fondness for repose in the small hours before the dawn. Therefore I contemplated not over-cheerfully the prospect of turning out on a chill December morning to chalk the pavements with notices of a meeting. For a brief moment or two I am afraid I wavered; but summoning up all my resolution, I put temptation aside, and at 6.30 I and an enthusiastic fellow-worker found ourselves in a main thoroughfare, one on either side of the street, chalking our first two notices. I had hardly completed the first word "Votes" before I became conscious of the fact that I was not unobserved, and before I had completed the first line the number of spectators had amounted to a dozen or so—all earnestly perusing the announcement as it grew before their eyes. Several men passing, on their way to work, interjected encouraging remarks. "Good luck!" said one; "I'd give you the vote to-morrow if I had my way." "Stick to it," was the advice of another. "Votes for women," shouted a third; and a disgruntled "Anti," in the person of a rather morose-looking carman, called to me from the road to "Go 'ome and wash the 'byby.'" With the name of Mrs. Despard (writ very large indeed) I brought the announcement to a conclusion, finishing up with a most triumphant-looking flourish, intended to carry conviction on the face of it. As I crossed the road to rejoin my friend I found that she also was surrounded by a crowd of uninvited, unwanted spectators, who threatened, by their curiosity, to become a serious obstruction to us in the execution of our duty. After this initial effort, therefore, we decided to write our signs in partnership, which we found much better than working single-handed, in that it attracted only one crowd instead of two; and the work being completed much more expeditiously in this manner, we were able to pass on quickly to the next pitch. In doing so we met,

from time to time, patrolling policemen. We did not, of course, go out of our way to attract attention to our doings; but at the same time we did not allow ourselves to be unnecessarily interrupted.

Between 7.30 and 8 another class of workers began to put in an appearance—the young men and women engaged in the City offices—and they also came along "to see what the Suffragettes were up to"; the Suffragettes meanwhile striving to appear unconcerned, trying hard to look as if pavement chalking was the most ordinary and conventional of occupations for the early morning. From this time onward, owing to the increasing light, our work had to be entirely confined to the more obscure thoroughfares; and in many of those lanes and alleys, which are daily thronged by numberless busy workers, we left our message behind us under the familiar heading of "Votes for Women."

If you want to have an appetite for breakfast, if you want to be ready to commence your own work in good time, arise and go forth early, my friends, and do a little pavement-chalking for the Queen's Hall meeting.
M. L.

Special Notices.

Queen's Hall Meeting, Friday, Jan. 8th.—The tickets for this meeting are in great demand; so will those who have any still unsold please return them to the office immediately?

We need every one who can possibly come to the office on Thursday and Friday to distribute handbills, sandwich, &c. Also more stewards for the evening. Will all stewards wear white dresses and the colours if possible, and be at the Queen's Hall, door 15, at 6.30 p.m.

We hope that if the weather is favourable members will chalk in their neighbourhoods on the morning of the 8th.

The Library is much indebted to Mr. Clayton for the kind present of his two books 'The Truth about the Lords' and 'The Bishops as Legislators.'

The following books have been added to the Library:—
'Heroes and Heroines of Russia.' Jaakoff Prelooker.
'Women's Work and Wages.' Cadbury, Matheson and Shann.

'The Children of the Nation.' Sir John Gorst.
'Cranford.' Mrs. Gaskell.
'Wuthering Heights.' Emily Brontë.
'Villette.' Charlotte Brontë.
HON. LIBRARIAN.

'The Hour and the Woman.'—Look out for the new magazine, and send your orders in at once to the editor, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Women's Freedom League office, 1, Robert Street, Strand. Price 1d.

Annual Conference.—Caxton Hall, Saturday, January 9, 10.30 A.M.

HAVING made a very good New Year beginning in open-air work, we are next looking forward to our first in-door meetings in 1909.

We hope that all members in and near London will do their best to fill the COUNCIL CHAMBER AT CAXTON HALL ON THURSDAY, THE 7TH, when they will be able to make the acquaintance of our visitors from Finland. The chair will be taken by our Honorary Secretary at 3.30, then at 4.45 there will be tea and music.

The QUEEN'S HALL meeting on FRIDAY is referred to elsewhere. It is hoped that stewards will be at the Hall by 6.30. The doors will be open at 7.15.

Then in CAXTON HALL ON SATURDAY, AT 10.30, THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE begins. Delegates having the right to vote will receive special tickets, and any member of the League will be admitted on presentation of her membership card.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell has kindly promised to lecture on Woman's Suffrage for the W.F.L. The Horticultural Hall has been taken, and helpers are wanted to sell tickets and to advertise this important meeting on February 10th.

Dr. Thekla Hultin, M.P.

HULTIN, THEKLA, Doctor of Philosophy, second actuary of the Central Statistical Bureau since 1901.

Born on April 18th, 1864, in the Parish of Jaakina (East Finland).

Received the Professor's Diploma in the Finnish Institute of Women Teachers in Helsingfors, Student 1886.
Candidate of Philosophy, 1891.

Master, 1894.
Doctor of Philosophy 1897, the first woman to receive a Diploma in the Faculty of Philosophy.

For some time a teacher in the Girls' School at Tacastehus. From 1893 to 1901 on the staff of the daily paper *Päivälehti (Day Leaf)*.

Chief editor of the paper *Isonmaan Ystävät (Friend of the Fatherland)*. This paper was discontinued for political reasons.

Has published 'On the Mines in Finland,' 'The Awakening of Finnish Patriotism,' several political works, and a Finnish translation of 'Précis d'Economie Politique.'

Branch Notes.

Tottenham Branch.—The Jumble Sale held in December proved a great success, a clear profit of 10l. being realized.

The members of the Branch desire to thank very gratefully all those who so kindly sent contributions. They would also like to take this opportunity of expressing their indebtedness to Mrs. Keeling for her indefatigable efforts, and to the Misses Bawden, Miss Lawson, Miss Levy, the Misses Taylor-Matthews, and Mrs. Smith, for their invaluable help upon the day of the sale.

M. E. RIDLER, Hon. Sec.
[We much regret that the above paragraph was accidentally omitted from our issue of last week.—ED. W.F.L.]

Battersea Branch.—A full meeting rewarded Mrs. Despard on New Year's day, when she attended at the Free Library to speak to a mixed audience. Our ever-faithful friend, Mr. Duval, took the chair. In the course of her speech Mrs. Despard pointed out the dangers and absurdity of the Bill known as the "Children's Charter." Without particularly blaming the men for their inability to deal with matters upon which they are professedly ignorant, Mrs. Despard pointed the moral by showing the extreme foolishness of excluding women from a share in the conduct of their own affairs.

Central Branch.—Thursday, January 14th, 1, Robert Street, 8 p.m., Miss Mocatta will address the members upon 'Women; the Difference between the East and the West End.'
P. H.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. January 7th to January 18th.

		P.M.
Jan.	7. Caxton Hall, Westminster, Reception to Dr. Thekla Hultin and Mme. Malmberg	3.30
Fri.	8. Queen's Hall, Langham Place Tea and Music 4.45 Dr. Thekla Hultin, Mme. Malmberg, Countess Malmberg, Mrs. Despard, Russell, Mrs. Zangwill, Miss Matters	8
	Doors open 7.15	
Sat.	9. Caxton Hall, Annual Conference	10.30
		P.M.
Mon.	11. Sale Manchester Dr. Hultin, Mme. Malmberg 3	
Tues.	12. Edinburgh, Oddfellows Hall, Forrest Road Dr. Hultin, Mme. Malmberg, Lady Steel, Mrs. Billington-Greig	8
Wed.	13. Glasgow, The Athenæum Dr. Hultin, Mme. Malmberg, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Murray, Miss Munro	8
Fri.	15. Middlesbrough Dr. Hultin, Mme. Malmberg 8 Mrs. Billington-Greig	8
Mon.	18. Cardiff Miss Manning Mrs. Despard	

* * * All communications intended for the Women's Freedom League columns should be addressed to The Editor, W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and must reach her not later than first post Saturday.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Chairman of Executive Committee: HERBERT JACOBS.
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Notes and Comments.

It is hoped that all who can will go to our meeting in the Village Hall, Potter's Bar, on Jan. 12th, at 8 o'clock. Our two treasurers, Mr. Goldfinch Bate and Mr. Chancellor, and Mr. F. A. Carlton Smith will speak for the League, and it is hoped that Miss Cicely Hamilton also will address the meeting.

A few shilling tickets will be sold to defray expenses. Stewards are wanted. Address, Mr. Carlton Smith, LL.B., Seldown, The Avenue, Potter's Bar.

The holiday season, coupled with the near approach of the Special General Meeting at Anderton's Hotel to-day (8 o'clock), is, no doubt, the reason why so few members are as yet helping to make the Queen's Hall Meeting a success. The most generous help, so far, has come from members of other societies. After to-day we confidently expect a great increase of activity. If each London member would make himself responsible for the sale of only two tickets, we should be sure of a good house. The names of the speakers, given below, are sufficient guarantee that the meeting will be an interesting one.

The presence of Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., late Premier of South Australia, and the fact that Mrs. Snowden will give an account of the cause in the United States, should be sufficient to draw to the meeting many who are either anxious about the possible results of Women's Suffrage or satiated with the ordinary run of Suffrage speeches. Sir Victor Horsley and Rev. C. Silvester Horne have not spoken before on our platform, while Mr. Nevinson and Mr. Stanger both have many friends in both wings of the Suffrage host.

It is not good to leave all the work till the end. We urge friends to begin at once, before people have made engagements for the 26th. If the seats are well booked by the 19th, much expense will be saved in advertising.

The *Saturday Review* for Dec. 26th has no less than three lengthy references to the Suffrage movement. The first is in the form of several editorial paragraphs, demanding that the militant women shall have "a taste of real hardship," when "they will soon cease from troubling." This *obiter dictum* shows a complete failure to understand the spirit which animates the militant societies. It appears to suggest that special punishment should be meted out; in other words, that the ordinary course of law should be perverted *ad hoc*. For, as a correspondent who signs himself "Male Suffragist" points out in the current number of the *Saturday*, the punishment hitherto decreed is exceptionally severe, compared with the treatment of male political offenders.

The second reference is a letter, over the excessively humorous initials R. O. D., advising that Suffragettes should be whipped. If the letter is serious, the first two initials should be altered, so as to form a brief and expressive epithet which appears to describe the writer sufficiently well; if it is humorous or serio-comic, the same epithet may be retained, or replaced by other monosyllables equally expressive. "Male Suffragist" aptly remarks that "R. O. D.'s repulsive suggestion proves his ignorance of history. The flogging of Italian and Hungarian women cost Austria, Italy, and forced the Emperor to concede to Hungary exactly what the Hungarian women demanded."

The third reference is the only one which has any real interest. It contains a most striking account ('A Suffragette Conspiracy') of the punishment decreed by her enemies against the Duchesse de Maine, who was guilty of treasonable designs against the French Government in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Her crime was great and her guilt beyond question. Yet her imprisonment was made as light as possible, and everything was done to mitigate the discomfort of her life.

This article is unsigned, but readers may be interested to know that the author is a member of the Men's League.

Force the Situation.

THE statement of Mr. Lloyd George that the matter of women's enfranchisement is not a party measure, and loses by not being so, seems to me one of, if not the most, important statement he made.

There is, of course, the feeling that within the ranks of, I think I may say, every one of the principal societies for Women's Suffrage, there is an element of all classes of political opinion, and that naturally the position would be distasteful to those members who were called upon to support their own measure backed by political opponents.

Distasteful as it may seem, however, I am strongly of the opinion that it is unavoidable, and I cannot remember a single reform of so sweeping an importance that has been non-party, and there certainly has never been a Franchise Act passed without the sanction and official support of the Government of the day.

Unsatisfactory as in some ways Mr. Asquith's promise is, as a non-party question, it seems to me as far as we shall get.

Now if we allow, and I think I might add if we are fools enough to allow, the promised Reform Bill to come in without our sections having Government backing, even though ultimately as a part and parcel of the Bill, what is the position?

Thousands, in fact hundreds of thousands, of the electorate, who are, to say the least, prejudiced persons, will oppose the amendment added, and though it is unlikely that we should lose the vote in the House of Commons, yet under such circumstances in the House of Lords it would most certainly be rejected, and as a private amendment of the Bill the rejection could not receive support such as was necessary from the Government—certainly, at any rate, not to the point of appeal to the country.

It is quite possible, and I have for a long time now voiced the opinion, that it is the intention of the Liberal Government to use the Suffrage party as a weapon against the House of Lords, and that they are, by bringing in a Reform Bill of a popular nature, merely further adding to the battalions of influence intended to cross swords with the Upper Chamber.

By some it may, therefore, be held best to steer clear of such a position.

If, however, all things are taken into consideration, the matter assumes at worst the position of the lesser of two evils: for it is not as if a safe passage could be reasonably hoped for on any other basis, and it is the strongest position to have the measure a Government one.

The Liberal Government is now in power, and that forms a very solid reason why the matter would best become a measure of that party, in addition to which it is the party of which the majority of the members of the Suffrage party are members, or, to be more correct, the party with whose aims they are in general most in accord.

Therefore I propose that the matter be taken up and steps made with the view of making the matter a Government measure.

To do this I propose that the whole of the societies pass in committee, or, if thought necessary, by referendum, a petition

to the Prime Minister definitely offering co-operation if the measure is forthwith declared official, and a deputation from such societies composed of selected members of the several committees present such petition.

Such a petition would place the societies, after a statement such as Mr. Lloyd George made, in a very strong position.

If accepted the whole of the energies of the societies would have added to them the energies of the Liberal party, and if refused a tremendous tactical advantage has been gained, which would undoubtedly add considerably to the positive influence of militant and other tactics, and very much reduce the negative effect of militant tactics.

Whilst in conclusion let me point out that the promise need only include one of support on the condition that the Bill be passed during the present Parliament, and in the event of it not being passed the societies might act as they deemed best.

H. MACKENZIE THEEDAM.

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.]

Special General Meeting of January 7th.

DEAR SIR,—The official communication in *Women's Franchise* of the 24th inst. (which, owing to the Christmas holidays I could not obtain until you were kind enough to send it to me this morning) explains why Resolution 3 was substituted in the notice calling the meeting for the requisitionists' Resolution 3, and so puts matters on a more satisfactory basis.

I am informed that the Committee contend that amendments are barred by Rule 10 and not by Rule 13, as stated in the notice. I submit that they are no more barred by the one than by the other. Amendments germane to the purpose for which a special general meeting has been called are part of the business of that meeting. The Committee's point is, I understand, that if amendments are allowed, voting by letter will be rendered futile. Similarly voting by letter at annual general meetings will be rendered futile, but I presume the Committee do not contend that amendments are not then allowable.

The official communication above mentioned admits that "according to the exact wording of the rules there is some justification" for the view that amendments should not be barred, and goes on to refer to what was the intention in framing the rule, and to argue that little or no harm can be done by excluding amendments. I submit that the question is whether the rules do or do not exclude amendments, and that members are entitled to claim that the exact wording of the rules shall be adhered to, whether voting by letter is or is not thereby rendered futile. If any exception were permissible it should certainly not be made in the case of Resolution 3, for many of us will be prepared to vote in favour of the first part of that resolution, if we can induce our fellow-members to change the wording of the second part.

I trust this letter will be in time for insertion in this week's issue of *Women's Franchise*. If not, please insert it in next week's, and publish in this week's an announcement that you have received another communication from me too late for insertion.

Yours faithfully,

H. BAILLIE-WEAVER.

December 29th, 1908.

[We are informed that the position of amendments under the rules is, in legal phrase, a question of construction, on which opinions differ. In this case we still think the most reasonable course is that which has regard to the intention of members. If Mr. Baillie-Weaver is right on the construction, we still regard as disastrous his alternative that voting by letter should not apply in this case. That a possibly small meeting of London members should decide the whole policy of the League would be entirely unsatisfactory.—Ed. M.L.W.S.]

DEAR SIR,—Referring to the statement of the Chairman of the Executive Committee with regard to the resolutions to be submitted to the above meeting, and the amendment of which I have given notice, I do not know why no mention is made of the important fact (which I submit clearly makes the amendment in order) that I gave notice of the amendment on December 17th, two days before the notices to members were sent out. If necessary, therefore, the amendment could have been forwarded to the members with the resolutions. Even if this was impracticable, on account of the expense of printing, then, as Mr. Mitchell himself informed me, notice to members could have been given through your columns, and they could have been asked to vote for or against the amendment. I specially requested that this should be done, but, for reasons best known to themselves, the Chairman and Secretary ignored my request. As regards the desirability or otherwise of my amendment, I suggest, with all due respect to the Chairman, that this is a question for the meeting to decide.

Touching the second point raised in my letter of last week, and Mr. Jacobs's note in reply thereto, I must still adhere to my opinion that such a recommendation on behalf of the Committee was most improper, unless the third resolution had been formally adopted by them. It would be interesting to know whether copies of the circular were in the hands of the Committee, or was it simply read through and passed for printing?

Yours faithfully, FRANK M. OVERY.

42, Algiers Road, Lewisham, S.E., December 27th, 1908.

SIR,—I see there is a disposition to demand that amendments be put on Thursday; but if this were allowed voting by letter would be impossible. Surely the essential thing is that every member, even if accident or distance from town prevents him coming, should express his opinion on this most vital point. Otherwise the fate of the League might be decided by a sort of snap division.

DEAR SIR,—I entirely associate myself with Mr. Baillie-Weaver's letter in *Women's Franchise* of December 31st.

To suggest that there is no alternative to the resolutions proposed by us and that proposed by the Committee is surely quite inaccurate. A resolution proposing that the League should, in its official capacity, take no part in Parliamentary elections, leaving its members free to take such individual action as may seem good, would possibly get more support than either of the resolutions down for discussion on January 7th, and I understood from Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Jacobs that such resolution was to be brought forward by the Committee.

I desire to enter my protest here against the unwarranted action of the Committee in sending out voting papers to all members with the notice of the meeting. The rule authorizes voting papers to be sent when members unable to be present apply for them. To send out these papers without such application is to invite members to stay away from the meeting, and largely renders the discussion on January 7th futile. In fact, members are asked to give their verdict first, and listen, if they care to do so, to the evidence afterwards.

I put down this strange way of conducting business to the Committee having become infected with Mr. R. F. Cholmeley's notions of courage. According to Mr. Cholmeley (if I follow him aright) courage, honesty, and similar virtues are desirable possessions if they are not put into operation, and Aristotle was wrong in making virtue an active thing. Hence members of the Men's League are invited to show their courage on the Cholmeleyan method by refraining from discussion and the hearing of argument and by voting through the post office. It may be, of course, that Mr. Cholmeley is right (though evidently if the hypothetical bull-terrier in Mr. Cholmeley's possession is irritable and opinionated that unfortunate animal dissents); but as Aristotle's 'Ethics' was about the only work of the ancient classics I could read with any profit (in later times—thanks to Mr. Cholmeley—Theocritus may be added to Aristotle as readable), I cannot, naturally, accept these new-fangled notions.

Courage and honesty still seem to me of chiefest importance—especially in political life—and to reside in action. Unexercised they are apt to decay and to become suspect when exercised by others.

Yours faithfully, JOSEPH CLAYTON.

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