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Notes.

ATTENTION is called to a meeting that is to be held on November 17th, in the Queen's Hall, London, in support of Women's Suffrage. The meeting is being arranged by professional and industrial women workers to urge the special claim and need of those women who earn their own livelihood. Further information may be obtained from either of the Hon. Secretaries, Miss Eva Gore Booth and Miss Roper, B.A., at 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

THE first paragraph in our last number, besides having been accorded diametrically opposite readings, also seems to have been regarded as an invitation to our readers to favour us with comparisons of the utility of differing methods of reaching Votes for Women. Had all the correspondence received been actuated by that temperate thoughtfulness we advocated, we might still have doubted the wisdom of publishing it; as it is, we feel that once again many noble words must be inexorably suppressed, owing to the undoubted inadvisability of opening our columns to the discussion of such matters.

GREAT preparations are being made for the forthcoming Congress of the International Suffrage Alliance in London, on April 26th, 1909. We quote for the benefit of our readers the following weighty words, written by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., in the current issue of *Jus Suffragii*, in reference to it: "It is difficult, except by ocular demonstration, to make the general public really understand how universal is the demand of women for full citizenship. It is no mere local agitation, provincial or insular in character; it is an immense movement, which is affecting the political position of women in every civilized country in the world. We are borne forward in the flood of a great world movement."

AT the first International Moral Congress held recently in London, no fewer than 143 papers were contributed, and of these twenty were written by women—chief among whom were

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, BREM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

The paper is on sale at Messrs. Smith & Son's Depots.

Mrs. Bryant, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Miss Cleghorn, Miss Murray, Miss Alice Woods, and Miss Hoskyns-Abrahall. This last-mentioned lady's paper dealt with the unfolding of character from the biological point of view. She strongly advocated the introduction of biological teaching in schools and training colleges—which teaching should include parenthood and sex. She emphasized the fact that human advance cannot be permanent unless the highest knowledge is made permanent in human tradition. She drew attention also to the fact that women are the bearers of tradition; and hence the paramount importance of a good tradition being current among women—and that not merely the old conventional traditions, which time after time have proved inadequate, but the highest tradition of to-day. Then the home will more closely approach to the biological ethical ideal. She ended by saying that the traditions of the ideal home must be the traditions of the State—if the State is to be ideal.

AT a quarterly meeting of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons last Thursday, it was resolved that steps be forthwith taken to admit women to the examinations of the Conjoint Examining Board in England, and to the examination for the diploma in Public Health; and that women be admitted to the examinations for the Fellowship, and to the examinations for the licence in Dental Surgery.

THE fitness of women for work which not long ago was considered men's special province, is being constantly demonstrated. Miss Mary Proctor, daughter of the late Mr. R. A. Proctor, the well-known astronomer, lecturing in London, said: "In my opinion there is a new field open to women in astronomy. They are naturally more observant than men, and what few trained women astronomers there have been have achieved remarkable results."

IT is hoped that women municipal voters will come forward strongly in support of Miss Balkwill, who hopes to be returned to the L.C.C. for Hampstead. Her battle cry is "A Woman for Woman's Work."

MISS MARGARET SMITH, B.A., hopes to secure election to the Birmingham City Council next month. We wish her success.

WE trust Liberals will note the following words quoted from *The Daily News* leading article of October 14th, in reference to the woman's movement: "There is a new force, the force of thinking womanhood, abroad in the world to-day. The Liberal party may make that force its foe or its friend. It will be disastrous for both sides alike if the unnatural warfare between them is not soon brought to an end."

WE have gladly accorded, so far as this paper is concerned, the necessary permission to our contemporary, *Votes for Women*, to reprint the verses entitled 'Daughters of England,' which appeared in our number for October 31st, 1907. We maintain that the first consideration in all such cases is the possibility of fine words heartening our friends.

AN interesting incident, quite unique in the history of the Poor Law in this country, took place recently at the Union Offices, Huddersfield, when the long and estimable services of Miss Siddon, Vice-Chairman of the Board, were in some measure recognized in a series of presentations, subscribed for by past and present members of the Board, of whom about 200 were present.

WE have received from Miss M. Sargent-Florence, 3l. 3s., Mrs. Stansfield, 1l. 10s., and Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, 4s., towards the publishing expenses of *Women's Franchise*.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

SWEDEN.—*Jus Suffragii* gives an interesting account of the election work of Swedish suffragists. "Never before in Parliamentary history," writes Frigga Carlberg, "have the women in our country shown themselves so interested and eager in politics. It seems as if all had a feeling of something at stake for the cause if the Conservative party should get the majority in the second Chamber. The Liberal party has several times invited female speakers to their meetings. About fifteen ladies have been going about almost perpetually, but the number ought to have been doubled. When not invited to speak we have taken the meeting by surprise and asked for a hearing, and usually got some minutes—from ten to twenty." (English M.P.'s might go to Sweden for lessons in courtesy). "For my part I have met with the utmost courtesy both at Conservative and Liberal meetings. Only once—and it is a rather funny experience—the gentleman in the chair seemed to be at his wit's end, when he got my card demanding to speak. He forgot in his consternation to ask the audience, so I had to do it myself in the discussion and my little speech was received with a hearty applause. The candidate who spoke at the meeting told me afterwards that he had never given women's suffrage a thought, and he was very glad to know something about it now. At the following meetings he has never forgotten this plank of the Liberal platform.

This election campaign has been a most valuable source of encouragement to those among the workers who got disheartened by the Parliament's decision last spring. For my part I have learnt that the majority of the nation take an effective interest in our cause. The people only want enlightenment and rousing. At a Conservative meeting the candidate was not able to answer a question put to him by a lady in the constituency. Then she gave the audience a lecture, told how the working-class suffers by the heavy duties on corn, vegetables, and fruit. As she is a wonderfully clever woman and a good speaker it is no wonder she won the day. "It is a pity we cannot give Mrs. B. our votes," said one of the men, "she understands things much better than the candidate." He got defeated, I am glad to say.

GERMANY.—The *Frauenbewegung* publishes an appeal to the members of the German Suffrage societies to follow the example of the English suffragettes, and set aside a week some time between October 1st and December 31st, during which they will deny themselves all pleasures and luxuries, and devote the sums thus saved to the cause. Those who do not care to dispense with such luxuries are asked at any rate to send a contribution equal in amount to that spent in this manner.

UNITED STATES.—*The Woman's Journal* (Boston) states that the National Women's Trades Union League at all three of the conventions held simultaneously at New York, Boston, and Chicago passed unanimous resolutions in favour of Women's Suffrage. It has also been endorsed by the American Federation of Labour and by the State federations of Labour in California, Connecticut, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, and West Virginia. In the call to the convention which has just taken place at Buffalo it is pointed out that "the advocates of equal suffrage have never felt more hopeful. Our watchers know that public sentiment is in closer sympathy than ever before. Five hundred associations of men organized for other purposes and numbering millions of voters, have officially declared for woman suffrage; only one, the organized liquor traffic has made a record of unremitting hostility to it. The domination of the saloon in politics has wrested many victories from our grasp. Nevertheless, men who believe with us have won our cause in four states, and have given large favourable minorities wherever our question has been submitted to the electors; all indicating that our allies, men who possess votes, hold the balance of power in every State. We look forward confidently to the day when their power will be exercised to give the right of the ballot to women on equal terms with themselves." A. ZIMMERN.

The Turbulent Miss Bull.

JOHN BULL has a number of household cares,
But he likes to manage his own affairs;
He chooses his servants, and makes his rules,
About what is taught in his children's schools;
He spends, when the family purse is full,
Without consulting Mrs. Bull;
Or he runs into debt—which, I need not say,
She and her daughters help to pay.
When everybody thinks it clear,
The household spends too much on beer,
He quite refuses at any price
To ask for Mrs. Bull's advice.
He does not ask it (and this is worse),
When he draws up rules for the monthly nurse,
Nor when his children, precocious pets!
Smoke exceedingly nasty cigarettes;
Indeed, whatever may occur,
He never, never consults with her.
Long ago, as you probably know,
Forty or fifty years ago,
His wife remarked to him, "Really, B.,
You might consider the girls and me.
We do our parts, and we pay our shares,
But we have no say in our own affairs.
You choose the servants, John, and thus,
Of course, they won't attend to us.
Now, B., do pray let us have a voice
In making a prudent and proper choice!"
Her husband chuckled as she spoke,
And thought her remark a simple joke;
And time passed by, and years rolled on,
But her words had no effect on John.
Some of her daughters did not care
A scrap about the whole affair,
But others, more advanced than they,
Argued in the politest way.
They offered pamphlets to their mother,
And kept convincing one another.
Their father might have learnt a lot,
If he had heard, but he did not,
Until their sister, one fine day,
Behaved in an outrageous way.
She turned and scolded her Papa
And scandalized her kind Mamma.
When Mr. Bull sat deep in thought,
Hearing his steward's last report,
Miss Bull would make a loud to-do,
And ask such pointed questions, too.
When scolded, she would cry: "Who cares!
I want a voice in these affairs!"
She interrupted every chat
By exclamations such as that.
And often she would scream and shout,
When her stern father turned her out.
He locked her up on prison diet,
But nothing seemed to keep her quiet.
"Really!" her brothers cried, quite vexed,
"What will the silly girl do next?"
And when she spoke, away they went,
To hear her latest argument.
Even the girls with pretty manners
Began to walk about with banners,
And John admitted that some day
She possibly might have her way.
He couldn't say, it might be so;
He wouldn't promise—dear me, no!
But every one was very strong
About her methods being wrong,
And gravely begged that she would pause
And think how much she hurt her cause.
Perhaps she smiled; it seems to me
That I should smile, if I were she.

G. M. GEORGE.

Amalgamation of "Conservative Women's Franchise League" with "Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association."

WILL those ladies who have not already done so, and wish either to join the "Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association" or to have their subscriptions returned that they paid to the "Conservative Women's Franchise League," at once communicate with Miss Hutchinson Wright, Ingeneuk, Cheltenham?—as she is having the accounts audited prior to handing over the funds to the "Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association"; and note that after the 24th inst. subscriptions will not be returnable.

Correspondence.

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

DEAR SIR,—I entirely agree with "A Member of the N.U.W.S.S." that comparisons are odious. My desire, in the article to which she refers, was to place the importance of the work of the N.U.W.S.S. before your readers, who are apt to hear, through the Press and otherwise, a somewhat one-sided statement of facts. Jealousy and ill-feeling are very far from my thoughts, as I think the following extract from *The North Mail's* report of our meeting in the Newcastle Town Hall on September 21st will show. "Miss Hardecastle, however, had a word of praise for the militants. 'All honour to the brave women,' she said, 'who first went down to the rough-and-tumble of an election fight.'" Had my pen more adequately expressed my object, the words would not, I hope, have hurt any one's feelings. In so far as they did this, I am sorry for it.

Yours truly,

FRANCES HARDCASTLE.

31, Boundary Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
October 15th, 1908.

[Further communications on this subject are not invited.—ED. W.F.]

Woman's Influence in Politics.

DEAR SIR,—Lately staying in a hotel in Dublin, I met some Australian ladies, and was interested to hear from them that, among other influence of women in politics, there is a marked decrease in intemperance. This shows itself in many ways. One of them which struck me much is that the law now prohibits the opening of public-houses on the polling day of an election. Consequently, the voters come in and quietly register their votes, and return soberly to their homes, instead of, as heretofore, adding to the excitement of an election the stimulant of alcohol, which too often led to miserable quarrels and ill-feeling. Besides this, which is a grand influence in itself, there is a marked increase of politeness and refinement among men on this day of an election, which used to be made an excuse, as I fear it is too often in these, our home countries, of roughness and rudeness. The Australian men, feeling that they have amongst them women at the polling booths feel too, that there is a restraint demanded of them, and their natural sense of chivalry shows itself in an absence of all disorder and roughness, and they gallantly extend to woman's influence a gentleness and politeness, on this day of natural excitement, which shows itself, not only in their intercourse with women, but in their conduct with one another.

Surely an increase of temperance and an increase of politeness are not small things? If woman by her presence can inspire one and influence the other, it is difficult to see the ground for arguing, that woman's place (I presume only place) is in her home. If she, by her presence, can make gentle the ungentle, can she, at the same time, become "unsexed" and unrefined?

I am, yours, &c.,

Beechmount, Ballymote, Ireland.
October 19th, 1908.

L. REYNOLDS.

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.
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. **Miss Ward**
Miss Margaret Ashton **Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P.** **Lady Strachey**
The Lady Frances Balfour **Miss Edith Dimock** **And the Hon. Officers, ex officio.**
Miss Florence Balfour **Hon. Bertrand Russell**
Mrs. Allan Bright **Miss I. O. Ford** **Mrs. Philip Snowden**
Miss Martindale, M.D. (London) **Miss Lowndes**

Current Topics.

THE woman candidate for the Hampstead L.C.C. by-election should be loyally supported by all women who have the cause of Women's Suffrage at heart.

Miss Balkwill, as acting Vice-President and President of the Brondesbury, Willesden Green, and Cricklewood W.L.A., has always kept the subject well to the front, and worked for the cause not only through this association, but by often speaking for it. She has consistently refused to work for any M.P. or parliamentary candidate who has not made it a prominent feature on his programme. Central Committee-Rooms for Miss Balkwill have been opened at 188, Finchley Road, N.W. (opposite Finchley Road Station, L. & N.W.R.).

Mrs. Ward's play, 'Man and Woman,' costs 2s. 3d., not 3s. 3d., as was unfortunately stated.

Women's Suffrage Reception in Aberdeen.

A MOST successful reception and meeting was held on October 16th in the Music Hall, Aberdeen. Lady Weetman Pearson of Duncuch House entertained on behalf of the National Union, and the heartiest thanks are due to her for her generous help.

Letters of regret were read from Lady Aberdeen, Mr. G. B. Esslemont, M.P., Mr. James Murray, M.P., and others.

Mrs. Gregg took the chair; Dr. Annie Mercer Watson, Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Alison Garland, Miss Louisa Lumsden, and others addressed the meeting, which was given a notice of three columns in *The Aberdeen Free Press* of October 17th, which account we recommend to our readers.

A Threepenny-bit Fund.

At a dreary little meeting in Warwick Market, when I addressed a merry-go-round, a few dirty children, and, after a time, a small group of eminently stolid British farmers, our collection amounted to exactly threepence. This was not enough to pay our tram fares from Leamington, so Miss Dormer Harris and I conceived the brilliant idea of giving it a niche in the Temple of Fame all to itself, and with it starting a "Threepenny-bit Fund," to date from that meeting. Already our fund amounts to 11. 6s. 6d., for a girl who teaches at the High School, hearing of our project, at once brought a long-collected and dearly-loved hoard of a hundred threepenny-bits, which she left at the door with this inscription on the packet, "N.U.W.S.S. To start the threepenny-bit fund." She lamented that there was so little she could do for the cause, but she will have done much if this inspires other people—as it surely will—to dedicate all their threepenny-bits in the future to the cause of Women's Suffrage. She has given us 100 threepenny-bits—let, at least, 100 people at once start a similar collection; then we shall soon have 125l. If you will do this, please communicate with me at 25, Victoria Street. We should succeed in temporarily withdrawing all the threepenny-bits from circulation.

MARGARET ROBERTSON.

Diligence and Daring.

"DILIGENCE AND DARING." Such was the motto which was given, a few days ago, by Mr. Winston Churchill to a meeting of his supporters at Dundee.

These two words so precisely express the combination of qualities required to bring the campaign on behalf of the enfranchisement of women to a successful conclusion, that, with many thanks to Mr. Churchill for his suggestion, I commend them to the members of the National Union as their motto for the coming year. We shall have need of both in the work which lies before us.

It is well, at the beginning of every fresh campaign, to survey the land. The Parliamentary outlook cannot be regarded as encouraging, even by the most sanguine.

For the moment, the door of the House of Commons is shut; even the "peep-hole" is closed to us, and, as is always the case, the innocent must suffer with the guilty. The 420 members said to be pledged supporters of Women's Suffrage seem almost as powerless inside the House as those of us who are outside. The Government is silent—for the moment, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, our question seems to be at a standstill.

If we turn to the country, however, we find a different state of affairs. On every side are signs of increased activity and interest in our question, and a growing belief in the justice of our cause.

The wonderful success which has attended our educational and propaganda work at by-elections, the increase in our membership, the contribution to our funds, the hundreds of gatherings of every size and description (most of which are unnoticed by the press), from the small drawing-room meeting to the great demonstration in public hall and open air, the processions, the caravan campaigns, the weekly "At Homes"—all of which have gone on during the summer, and will be carried on with unabated diligence and daring during the winter months—all these efforts point in one and the same direction, and help to swell the "proof" demanded by the Prime Minister in May last.

Nor is this all. Every week signs multiply that prejudice and sentiment are being slowly undermined, that public opinion is gradually veering round to our side.

One of the latest and most encouraging signs of the times is the Newcastle-on-Tyne electors' petition which was presented to Parliament a few days ago. That petition, signed in a very short time by 3,565 electors in every walk of life, is of the highest value at this moment. Experience has taught us that no Government, no Parliament can for long resist the pressure of an enlightened public opinion. The key-note of our policy, then, in this winter's campaign must be, as one of our Union has truly pointed out, "to bring direct pressure to bear on the Government by means of, and through the electorate."

To educate the electors to such a sense of the justice and righteousness of our claim that they will bring the necessary pressure on the Government of the day to deal with the enfranchisement of women in a practical way, to secure that Women's Suffrage shall be prominently before electors at every by-election, to convert the indifferent and apathetic into sympathetic and keen supporters, to collect and crystallize into "outward and visible signs" the demand on the part of women for the removal of sex disqualification and the extension of "civil equality" to women is the work which lies before us this winter. It is no

Women's Suffrage Claims at Pontypridd.

BOTH POLITICAL AGENTS PLEAD FOR THEM.

AN interesting situation arose at the Revision Court held at Pontypridd on the 26th ult., when six ladies claimed the right to have their names placed on the voting lists. Ownership claims were made by Mrs. M. T. Arnott and Mrs. E. A. Parry; occupiers' claims by Mrs. Rachel Bassett, Mrs. Walter Morgan, Mrs. Margaret Seaton, and Mrs. Mary Noyes.

Mr. J. Littlejohn, the Conservative agent, said it was contended that a Revising Barrister had not power to give the Parliamentary vote to a woman, but it was admitted by historians that women possessed the Franchise rights before the 8th Act of Henry VI. and their right to the vote was continued by that celebrated statute which thus defined the new qualification: "Parliamentary representatives shall be chosen by the people whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at least." It cannot be proved that women did not exercise the Parliamentary Franchise in boroughs up to 1832, as no system of registration of votes existed before that date. He contended that the Reform Act of 1832 did not deprive women of their Franchise rights, for under Lord Brougham's Act all statutes dealing with men were made to include women, unless they were specially debarred. Referring to the case of Chorlton v. Lings and Chorlton v. Kessler, which turned on the point whether the word "man" in the Representation of the People Act of 1867 included woman, Mr. Littlejohn allowed that the Court held that women were not entitled to the Parliamentary vote in boroughs, and that freeholder women were not empowered to exercise it in the counties; but he pointed out that the ladies who claimed the vote on this occasion were not freeholders: they were occupiers, and the case of Chorlton v. Kessler, therefore, did not affect their claims. Uninterrupted usage was not against them, because they had exercised the Franchise for nearly four centuries. Mr. Littlejohn concluded his address with the following words: "I therefore ask you, sir, to exercise your undoubted power to give them the Parliamentary vote. By doing so you will not only merit and will receive the gratitude of the mothers of the human race, but you will have replaced equity upon her eternal throne, and will have given a much needed lead to the queen of the Parliaments of the world."

Mr. Edwards, the Liberal agent, also supported the ladies' applications in a learned and eloquent speech, on the same lines as Mr. Littlejohn's. He referred to Prof. Masterman's answer to the question whether women ever attended the Shire Court or not. "Personally, I doubt whether they did, but I am sure they might have done so legally if they had chosen. . . . There was no disqualification for women as such; a woman landowner in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had exactly the same rights in regard to the Shire Court as the male landowner had."

The learned barrister remarked that the point had been raised before him in a very intelligent manner by two competent registration agents; but having considered the matter, he was quite sure that there was no proof that women ever had exercised the Parliamentary Franchise.

Mr. Littlejohn here remarked that it was equally true that there was no proof to the contrary.

The Revising Barrister, in conclusion, said that it was not to be inferred that women were excluded from the point of view of their being less intelligent or competent to discharge their duties, but they were exempted simply out of considerations of decorum and honour for the sex. The names were then struck off the Parliamentary register.

In commenting on the case, *The Free Press* observes: "When rival political agents combine to support a claim, depend on it there is something solid behind it."

THE Executive Committee of the London Society is holding an afternoon reception at the Doré Galleries, 35, New Bond St., on Tuesday, November 3rd. All members will receive invitations and, it is hoped, will make a special effort to attend and to bring friends.

light task on which we have entered. There are (to again quote Mr. Churchill) "faint-hearted friends behind, there are loud-voiced foes in front" (it is the faint-hearted friends whom I most dread), but with "diligence and daring" the work can be accomplished, and if a strong united body of women, strengthened by a solid, compact mass of *men with votes*, make the demand for the enfranchisement of women, surely the most exacting Government should be satisfied.

An expression of willingness to supply further "proof" does not carry with it any admission of the necessity for it. Some of us believe that sufficient "proof" has already been given on the part of women for political enfranchisement. Further, it is difficult—indeed, it is impossible—to understand why such a burden should be laid on the shoulders of women who already have their hands full.

So far as I know, no such task was imposed upon the agricultural labourers in 1865; nor is it now laid upon the men who will benefit under the promised Electoral Reform Bill. In the former case the Franchise was given to the men for their "good." I conclude it is for the same reason that it is to be extended to the men who are to be enfranchised under the new Bill. It certainly is not in response to any strong demand or strenuous agitation on their part.

Why entirely different treatment should be given to women who ask that the Franchise may be granted to them also for their "good," and because they believe "that the country will be made better and happier by the admission of women to the Franchise," and who will gratefully accept it for these reasons, passeth the comprehension of the majority of thoughtful human beings. We are, however, prepared to take the burden on our shoulders, and are anxious and willing to supply the proof required.

It would of course be an immense advantage at this juncture if some clear indication could be given by the Prime Minister of what he would consider "proof" of the desire of women for the Suffrage. At present we are heavily handicapped in our efforts to meet his requirement through lack of information and knowledge.

Further there are grave and urgent reasons, which must be obvious to all thinking men and women, why a pronouncement of the intentions of the Government in regard to the settlement of this question should not be much longer delayed.

In bygone times discontent and the sense of justice denied have led on more than one occasion to bloodshed and loss of life. There is growing evidence that history may repeat itself. While no one can reasonably expect a Government to yield to threats or be intimidated by disorderly and violent tactics, it cannot be denied, and it is better to fairly and squarely face the bitter and deplorable fact—that the neglect of, and contempt for, the peaceful and constitutional agitation which for over forty years has been carried on in support of the enfranchisement of women—has led to the adoption of tactics which are fraught with danger to life. If for no other reason than to prevent a repetition of tactics which we are certain have not been adopted from choice by the majority of those who have taken up militant methods, we beg for some pronouncement on the subject.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and I am inclined to think that such an official pronouncement is perhaps nearer than seems possible at the moment of writing. No Government could be blamed (indeed it is in the natural course of things) for wishing that a pronouncement which so closely concerns women should be made in the first instance to the women supporters and workers of their own party. Such an opportunity will occur on December 5th, when a Cabinet Minister will address a demonstration in favour of Women's Suffrage organized by the Women's Liberal Federation.

It matters nothing to whom the pronouncement is made, so long as it is made, and no worker for the Suffrage would grudge the pledge for which we are so anxiously working—of practical support from the Government—being given in the first instance to the band of women who have loyally stood by the party now in power in their hours of darkness, and who are in no small degree responsible for the position that party holds to-day. The success of the Women's Suffrage movement in the immediate future lies very much in their hands. To the 5th of December, then, every worker for the enfranchisement of women will anxiously look forward.

BERTHA MASON.

"Marching Along."

A NEW VERSION OF ROBERT BROWNING'S CAVALIER TUNE.

What is this thing, this that we sing,
Bidding a sluggish-eared Parliament swing
Wide open its door, fast bolted before,
And give woman's needs at last voice on its floor;
Marching along, hundred score strong,
Great-hearted women all singing this song?

This is the prayer, boldly we dare,
For womanhood voice in who shall sit there
Making the laws, clause upon clause,
Women as men that shall bind; this our Cause,
Marching along, hundred score strong,
Great-hearted women all singing this song!

This is our need, women to plead
For down-trodden womanhood passed without heed,
In manhood's strong race, finding no place;
A voice—nothing more 'tis—we beg of your grace;
Marching along, hundred score strong,
Great-hearted women all singing this song!

Womanhood first, but manhood last,
Gainer shall be when our bonds are burst,
And woman will be man's help as you'll see,
Grand and gladder, a womanhood free;
Marching along, hundred score strong,
Great-hearted women all singing this song!

Aid us, then, brothers! sisters, and mothers,
Sweethearts and wives, and all the others,
Whose woman-hearts burn, to take their turn,
Help Right against Wrong its slow triumph to earn;
Marching along, hundred score strong,
Great-hearted women all singing this song!

JEANIE MORISON.

Branch Societies.

LONDON, Highgate and North St. Pancras.—Although hurriedly convened, the meeting on October 2nd, at the Spears Memorial Hall, under the able chairmanship of the Rev. T. A. Lacey, M.A., went with a verve that proved men and women alike were in earnest in pressing the claims of Women's Franchise on Mr. Asquith; and the resolution calling on him to afford facilities for a Women's Enfranchisement Bill was passed unanimously. Miss Cicely Dean Corbett gave a bright and convincing address, and Miss Alice Zimmermann, Miss Lacey, Miss M. Zimmerman, Miss H. D. and Miss J. H. Thomson, and Mr. W. H. Shannon were among the subsequent speakers. Three new members joined the group, two recruits were enrolled in the Men's League, and there was a good demand for literature.

OLDHAM.—Eleven open-air meetings have been held here during the last week. The speakers, Mrs. Cooper and Miss Gardner, received a magnificent reception at every one. Great interest was shown in the Manchester procession, and it is hoped that Oldham will send up a large contingent.

STOCKPORT.—Mrs. Cooper, Miss Deakin (Liverpool), and Miss Gardner went to Stockport on October 10th to hold the first of a series of open-air meetings, urging people to support the Manchester Procession. Grave warnings were received from the police and from various residents as to the dangers of holding a meeting on Saturday night; but when the time came a huge crowd assembled and listened quietly for a full hour, cheering the speakers when they had finished.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON.—During the past week this branch has been engaged in a vigorous campaign, and much interest has been aroused both amongst the public and in the local press. Miss Margaret Robertson has held a series of successful open-air meetings—a novelty in this district—two, at Warwick, two at Leamington, and two at Kenilworth. At Leamington

especially she had large and attentive audiences, and evoked much sympathy with the cause. Mrs. Rackham also addressed three indoor public meetings, one at each of the above-named places. Mr. Corrie Grant, M.P. for the Rugby division, was to have presided at Kenilworth, but was prevented through pressure of Parliamentary business. In his letter of apology he stated that he considered the situation as most hopeful, and expected to see the vote granted to women at no distant date. He considered that men were ashamed to be taking the work of the women and yet withholding the vote.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

			P.M.
Oct.	22.	Bournemouth , Debate, Y.M.C.A., St. Peter's Road	7.45
		Darlington , Invitation Meeting, Westbrook	3.30
		Ealing , W.L.A., Women only, Victoria Hall	8
	23.	Westcott , Drawing-room Meeting	
		Manchester , Joint Demonstrations in Support of Women's Suffrage, Evening Meeting, Free Trade Hall	
	24.	Afternoon Mass Meeting and Procession from Albert Square to Alexandra Park	
	26.	Aldrincham , Meeting for Women only, British Schools	
		Birmingham , Meeting for Women only, Smethwick Town Hall	3.30
		Public Meeting, Smethwick Town Hall	7.30
		Ilford , Congregational Church Literary and Debating Society	8
26 & 27.		Sunderland, Exhibition of Banners , Victoria Hall	
27.		Aldrincham , Public Meeting	
28.		London , Highgate, Suffrage Tea	3.45
		Wimbledon , Drawing-room Meeting	
29.		Cardiff , Public Meeting, Park Hotel	8
		Warwick and Leamington , Public Meeting, Town Hall, Leamington	
30.		Glasgow , Annual Meeting, 58, Renfield Street (Offices of the S.C.W.T.)	
		Windsor , Drawing-room Meeting	
		Wolverhampton , "At Home," St. Peter's Institute	3.30
Nov.	3.	Committee of London Society, "At Home," Doré Galleries, Bond Street	4.30-7
	6.	Windsor , Drawing-room Meeting	4
	17.	Wolverhampton , Meeting for Women only, Y.M.C.A., Darlington Street	3.30
	19.	Wandsworth , Public Meeting, Town Hall	

* * * 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 Hardeastle, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.; to reach her by first post Saturday. Please write only on one side of paper.

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. GRAHAM MOFFAT.

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

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

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

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

Telegrams: "Tactics, London."

The L.C.C.

THESE initials do not, in this connexion, stand for the familiar organization which claims to know and regulate all that happens within the Metropolitan area. But we want to make them just as familiar to our members in their new reading, "The London Constituencies Campaign"; and we want them to prove indicative of a well-planned and far-reaching piece of work, free, too, from the reproach of muddle and incompetency that is, justly or unjustly, so often levelled at the more ancient organization.

Now what this L.C.C. wishes to accomplish is admittedly one of the most difficult tasks imaginable, a task that a few years ago every one would have said was impossible; but, happily, Suffragettes have over and over again proved themselves capable of achieving the impossible. We want to write "Votes for Women" on every spoke that radiates from the hub of Westminster—in other words, we want to rouse every constituency in London to the point of making Votes for Women its most urgent and insistent demand. Now it is clear that this can only be done by persistent and untiring effort.

Miss Seruya is organizing a series of fortnightly meetings in the various City and suburban districts, and we want every member of the League who lives in London to feel it an imperative duty to help to make these meetings a success. Enthusiasm can be utilized in a variety of ways. It has been known to crystallize as an unsuspected talent for selling literature or tickets. Miss Seruya will be charmed to provide opportunities for talents to develop along these lines. Speakers are wanted for the open-air meetings, helpers for the shops that will be opened in all the districts where meetings will be held. There will be no lack of work, and good work for the L.C.C. will bear abundant and, we trust, quickly ripening fruit. It is proposed to send fortnightly petitions from the various districts to members of Parliament; and as constant dropping will wear away a stone, it is hoped that repeated petitions will, in time, make an impression on the granite skull of a Member of Parliament. It stands, of course, much more chance of doing this if the petition be signed by the member's own constituents.

We want, too, to start branches in every part of the county of London, and to strengthen and consolidate the branches we already possess. These local meetings will do much in this way, if well advertised and attended. The desired result of rousing London to a solid and united demand for Women's Suffrage depends entirely upon the enthusiasm and help our members are willing to give. The list of speakers that Miss Seruya has already secured, promises success, and makes the task of canvassing and selling tickets an easy one. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Margaret McMillan, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mr. Zangwill, Mrs. How Martyn, are names to conjure with.

The first meeting of the L.C.C. will take place at The Athenæum, Camden Road, on Wednesday, October 21st, when, in addition to Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mr. L. A. Atherley Jones, K.C., M.P., and Mr. H. G. Chancellor, L.C.C., will speak, and we hope that our members will see to it that the brilliant success of this meeting will set the pace for the rest of the campaign.

A notice of the Peckham Hall meeting, on November 4th, will be found in another column. Judging from the packed and enthusiastic meetings addressed by the W.F.L. speakers during the recent bye-election, it should not be difficult to repeat the experience.

The Anti-Suffrage Manifesto.

MEN'S NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR DISFRANCHISING MEN.

1. It is time that the men who are opposed to the possession of the Parliamentary Franchise by men should make themselves fully and widely heard.

2. An Anti-Suffrage League has, therefore, been formed, and all men who sympathize with its objects are earnestly requested to join it.

3. Let us state the main reason why this League opposes the possession of the Parliamentary vote by men:—

(a) Because the spheres of men and women are different, and therefore their share in the public management of the State should be different.

(b) Because the modern State depends for its very existence on the motherhood of the nation, a condition in the duties of which, men can take no practical part; yet it is on such a matter and the vast interests involved in it that the work of Parliament ought largely to turn.

(c) Because by the concession of the Local Government vote and the admission of men to county and borough councils, the nation has opened a wide sphere of public work and influence to men which is within their powers. To make proper use of it, however, will tax all the energies that men have to spare apart from their work in the shop or the office and the development of the individual life.

(d) Because the influence of men in social causes is diminished rather than increased by the possession of the parliamentary vote. At present, in matters of social reform they are influenced by party politics, and are not listened to accordingly. The legitimate influence of men in politics—in all classes rich and poor—will always be in proportion to their education and common sense. But the deciding power of the parliamentary vote should be left to women whose motherhood is ultimately responsible for the continued existence of the State.

(e) Because all the reforms which are put forward as reasons for retaining the vote can be obtained by other means than the vote, as is proved by the general history of the laws relating to voteless sections of the community during the past centuries. When all the newspapers are owned by women and written by women for women, the channels of public opinion will always be freely open to men. Moreover, the services which men can with advantage render to the nation in the field of social and educational reform will be recognized by Parliament. Men have been included in Royal Commissions and admitted to a share in Local Government. Representative men might be brought into close consultative relation with Government departments in matters where the special interests of men were concerned (and if the Government departments approved).

(f) Because the possession of the vote by some men on the present terms involves an unjust and invidious limitation, and the possession of the vote by husbands of would-be voters tends to the introduction of political differences in domestic life. This can be proved by observation of the harmony to be found in the dwellings which do not qualify the husband for a vote.

(g) Because the possession of full political power by a number of voters debarred by nature from motherhood and from the knowledge and experience open to women is fraught with peril to the country.

Men of Great Britain! We appeal to your patriotism and your common sense. Men can be disfranchised—must be disfranchised—and by men themselves.

“The work of Parliament is one and indivisible. The handling of every subject bears on the handling of every other, and the vote can only carry with it the whole range of Parliamentary power.”

These are the words of Mrs. Humphry Ward, and they sum up our reasons for calling upon men to disfranchise themselves.

Subscriptions should be made payable to Mrs. How Martyn, Women's Freedom League, who has kindly undertaken to act as Hon. Treasurer to the League.

A Goddess among Apes.

SHE walks slowly down the lamp-lit streets—a beautiful young woman, tall and full of grace. Her strong active form, her clear skin, and shining eyes speak of a healthy life, and of clean and wholesome habits.

What are these beings surrounding her, hindering her progress, gibbering and mouthing, leering in her face, throwing foul words at her—words as foul and filthy as is the garbage they clutch in their hands ready to fling at her should she show but a sign of fear?

Apes they are without the dignity of the ape, and men without the intelligence which alone distinguishes the man from the brute. She walks among them, stern and stately. Good God! They are her rulers! Heaven help the country where such things can be!

Notice and Notes.

MEMBERS and friends are requested to remember that the HACKNEY JUMBLE SALE is to take place on Saturday, October 31st, at 31, Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road; private sale of better articles on October 30th, 7.30 P.M.

We are pleased to see that Mr. Tighe-Hopkins, the well-known writer on PRISON QUESTIONS, notices very favourably in The Law Times Dr. Helen Bourchier's last letter in The Daily Chronicle on the effects of imprisonment.

We have to thank Mrs. McDougall of Blackheath for two electric lampstands for the office. A cupboard has been promised by a lady, whose name and address we should be glad to have, in order that we might thank her also.

A Meeting will take place at the PECKHAM PUBLIC HALL, Rye Lane, Wednesday, November 4th, at 8 p.m. Canvassers, Bill-distributors and Speakers at meetings in the shop are urgently needed.

It is hoped that members will do all in their power to make THE DEBATE which has been arranged between Mrs. Billington Greig and Mr. St. Loe Strachey a brilliant success. Mr. Strachey the Editor of the Spectator will advocate the Anti-Suffrage position.

Branch Notes.

Finchley Branch.—The first public meeting was held on October 8th, at the Cookery Centre of the Squires Lane Council School.

The attendance was good, taking into account the natural timidity of the local population and the foginess of the evening.

The chair was taken by Mrs. How Martyn, who gave a most able exposition of the constitution of our League.

Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett—to whom many thanks are due for turning out to speak for us when she was really ill—graphically described the history of the movement, humorously tracing its beginning from Adam's feeble excuse in the Garden of Eden, to the modern day history of the many parliamentary ruses to upset the woman's march towards progress.

Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, of the Men's League, showed us that the possession of the vote, besides being a protection, is an opportunity for serving the State, and therefore no man can reasonably object to woman's claim to it on the ground that she is straying from her proper sphere.

On the 12th inst. Miss Hicks very kindly lectured to the local Socialists on 'Why we do not Work for Adult Suffrage.' The lecture was admirably scholarly and lucid, and greatly appreciated, judging by the energy shown in the discussion that ensued. A member of the Men's League, Mr. Carlton Smith, ably defended us.

Tunbridge Wells Branch.—As a result of the recent campaign conducted in Tunbridge Wells, a strong branch of the Women's Freedom League has been formed, with Miss Dorothy Le Lacheur as hon. secretary. Preparations are being made for a big public meeting, to be held in the near future.

Clapham Branch.—Miss Underwood is now the acting secretary of this branch. She would be glad if all members who have had collecting cards prior to October would send them in now.

Wolverhampton Branch.—Mrs. Sproson addressed a large and attentive meeting on Wednesday on Snow Hill. Wolverhampton branch has very good promise; we are having a week's propaganda among the poorer quarters of the town.

Central Branch.—Will members and those wishing to join please note that this branch (with which is incorporated the Despard Debating Society) meets at 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, on Thursdays, at 7.45 P.M., for business; 8 P.M. for lecture or debate? The debating society will meet on Thursday, 22nd. Subject: 'Is the Manifesto of the Anti-Suffrage Society an Unanswerable Argument against Votes for Women?' Anti-Suffragists invited to attend and back up their manifesto. October 29th Miss Muriel Matters will lecture.

November 5th: No branch meeting; members are asked to go down and help the Constituency Campaign in Camberwell. November 12th: Miss Mocatta's 'At Home' to branch members, 108, Iverna Court, Kensington, 8 P.M. to 10 P.M.

Dundee Branch.—At the branch meeting on Tuesday, October 13th, arrangements were made for the Cake and Candy Sale, which is to be opened on October 24th by Miss Munro. At a meeting held last Thursday, under the auspices of the N.U.W.W. and Social Union, Mrs. Creighton read a paper on 'The Meaning of the Demand for Women's Suffrage.'

On Sunday night members were busy posting up the 'Proclamations.' That on the Town House has remained untouched all the week.

Battersea Branch.—At a recent meeting at the Battersea Free Library, Miss Fitzherbert delivered a lecture to members and friends of the Battersea Branch of the Women's Freedom League on 'The Present Position of the Women's Movement.' During the last three and a half years, said the lecturer, the Women's Suffrage movement had made enormous advances. Women had become politically conscious, and the question of Votes for Women had become an important political question.

Manchester Branch.—A very successful out-door meeting was held on Saturday last in Longsight. Miss Banner, Mrs. Mitchell, and Miss Manning were chairman and speakers respectively. Some literature was sold, and a good collection taken.

No paper was given on Wednesday last, but arrangements for the coming week were made, and two out-door meetings were decided upon for Saturday.

The Demonstration, October 23rd and 24th is now close upon us, and we ask all sympathizers from all branches to come to us. We shall be glad to find hospitality for our friends who help to swell our numbers.

Let me again remind members, of the Social, Portland Café, Thursday, October 22nd, at 7.30 P.M.; all instructions for meeting, &c., on the following Saturday will be given then.

Special Effort Week.

THE result of a special appeal for funds at the 'At Home' at Caxton Hall last Thursday was highly satisfactory, as the following list of donations shows:—

Table listing donations for Special Effort Week, including names like Miss Bennett, Mr. Davison, Dr. Margaret Wilson, etc., and amounts in pounds and pence.

Total .. £40 0 0

Mrs. Herringham promised 2l. if five others would give 2l. each during the following week. Miss Sidley and Miss Tillard promised 1s. 6d. a week each; a small sum was also realized by the collection.

Mrs. Duval and Mrs. Richards, who were in charge of a stall in BATTERSEA, report having had a rough time. On the first day they were received by the chivalrous male with blows and kicks, much of their stock of goods being stolen and destroyed.

The usual stolid policeman—evidently imbued with the usual masculine theory that women who are demanding liberty deserve all they get of insult and brutality—looked on in the usual stolid way. Having thus plundered and assaulted women with impunity, these gallant knights were heard loudly to boast of their brave deeds, and to proclaim that the women would not dare to return.

A member of the HAMPSTEAD branch writes that she will make a green silk blouse if a purchaser can be found for it.

Friends are requested to send in money collected during Special Effort Week.

Proclamations.

PROCLAMATION NIGHT was lively, but successful. Not only in London, but in Scotland and the provinces, were these defiant announcements stuck on to public buildings.

At Stoke the proclamation on the Town Hall was allowed to remain, and was read by an interested crowd. As it set forth very clearly our reasons for wanting the vote as well as our determination to get it, it should have benefited both people and politicians.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

Table listing upcoming events from October 22nd to November 2nd, including dates, locations, speakers, and times.

** 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.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Chairman of Executive Committee: HERBERT JACOBS.
Hon. Secretary: J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

Hon. Treasurers: GOLDFINCH BATE, H. G. CHANCELLOR.
Hon. Literature Secretary: A. S. F. MORRIS.

Notes and Comments.

WE welcome with great pleasure the successful formation of a Men's League in Holland, the *Mannenbond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht*. Its headquarters is at Amsterdam, and the Chairman is Mr. E. W. van Straaten, a prominent lawyer with whom we have for some time been in correspondence. The Secretary, Mr. B. Thoenes, informs us that the League has been started under the most favourable auspices with a membership of more than a hundred. We gather that the Dutch League has not to face the difficulty which has always handicapped our own work, namely an acute divergence of opinion on tactics. It will, therefore, be able to go forward without delay on the really important work of persuading men of the justice and the urgency of the cause.

Our very active friend, Mr. Theedam, has sent us an article, the bulk of which, with certain excisions for the sake of space, we print with great pleasure. The two points he raises are undoubtedly important, and his suggestion for some joint official action on the part of all the societies is, in our opinion, particularly appropriate to the present juncture. It is a plan which we have advocated all along, and from what we hear, there is a likelihood that it will be vigorously taken up, in the near future. It seems incredible that any difficulties of machinery should prove insurmountable, in face of the desirability of the object. The difficulty, of course, is to find a suitable occasion. An important by-election is obviously the ideal scene for such co-operation; unfortunately, there seems to be a cast-iron difference on this very subject. If only the four Societies could agree to support some candidate jointly, irrespective of his party sympathies, just for once, and could succeed in getting him elected in face of all opposition, the whole power of the cause would be shown. During the remaining period of tenure by the Liberal Government, every by-election will, in its turn, be the centre of political interest, and joint action under such conditions would be a tremendous advertisement, especially if a London vacancy could be selected.

We fully understand that no such agreement would be possible on behalf of a candidate who would join the Liberal party. The Women's Freedom League and the National Women's Social and Political Union could not be invited, even for once, to modify their policy. If, however, an absolutely sound candidate could be found belonging to either of the other parties, surely a temporary alliance could be effected. There is no doubt that the contradictory policies of the societies are a great source of weakness. You cannot expect the man whose mental calibre is such that he is still opposed or apathetic, to derive anything but amusement or hopeless confusion from the spectacle of hostile politics under the same banner. The mental effort required to analyse it is too much to expect from the kind of person who, at this late stage, remains unconverted.

At the Present Moment.

I THINK it was Mrs. Philip Snowden who first, from a public platform, pointed out that the militant party owed their existence to the constitutionalists, and that the present advanced stage of the movement was, to a large extent, the result of militant tactics.

People do deny, still deny, that militant tactics have done, or ever will do, service to the cause, but for any who will analyse the situation, there can hardly be any doubt that no reasonably probable sequence of events can be imagined in which the movement could have sprung from what it was to what it is without them.

A large number of people are beginning to see this, and, in fact, most of those in the movement have, I think, recognized it, and do give honour where undoubtedly the honour is due.

The militant party has served a particular purpose, and the strength of both sections is the result of the combined effort, and not of one only.

In the past it was impossible, at the present it is impossible, and in that little future which remains before the victory, it will still be impossible (apart from mere opinion which, however, accounts for large numbers) for all Suffragists to take a militant programme. "The greatest good to the greatest number" is a question many Suffragists have asked themselves when deciding upon the society they should work with in the movement. To the militant section of our forces, it may appear, to a woman at any rate, ludicrous, that any one who has recognized the undoubted justice and practical necessity for the equality of the sexes should take any but extreme action. The isolated position, however, of such an extremist, our friends must surely admit, and if they would but recognize that other persons are nine out of ten times more useful if they remain attached to the cause and keep it prominently before their own circles of friends than if they are, as it were, ostracized, or left out in the cold, the feeling that the constitutional advocates are luke-warm, if not actually insincere, would probably disappear.

Shortly put, the position, therefore, is that the machinery of the movement must remain, in respect of tactics, on a two system basis or on a constitutional basis. There is no other alternative.

UNITED ACTION DESIRABLE.

The latter proposal is probably undesirable, and at any rate is impracticable, all things considered, but that is no reason why the constitutionalists and militants should not amalgamate, a day here and a day there, in order that the united forces now advocating the cause may be arrayed to the astonishment of our opponents.

We are not the Red and the Blue Armies on parade, merely recreating for the purpose of illustrating our knowledge of tactics and the superiority of our tactics over anybody else's. We are out on a campaign with a definite object in view, and though I am quite ready to believe that an absolute amalgamation of forces definitely restricting tactics to a more militant policy might be harmful, I am strongly in favour of a co-operative working of all units as far as is reasonably practical.

Inside influence is much wanted at the present moment.

Hundreds of thousands of women now seek the vote, and a very large number of men now see that it will be to the national and, therefore, to their advantage, to enlarge woman's sphere and power, and it is high time that the women in the various Societies recognized, be they militant or non-militant, that these men are necessary to their success.

During the coming winter's campaign, no opportunity, therefore, should be lost in getting members for the Men's League.

The very presence of a man advocating the vote for women will appeal as a very strong argument, and I seriously suggest that not a meeting should be held by the women's societies without having a member of the Men's League to speak, if only for five minutes, appealing to the men in the audience.

Men have already the power, and if every endeavour were made to obtain their support, not long would elapse before we should greatly enhance the general prospects of immediate or early success.

Secretaries of the various branches, for instance, might write for copies of the League's forms for distribution, appeal at their meetings for names of men interested in the movement, and forward these on to the secretary, and in letters to their press, endeavour, as far as possible, to mention the Men's

League as well as their own. Undoubtedly, the weak link is the small number of men comparatively actively in the movement, and I do trust that this defect, as well as that of co-operation, will now receive adequate attention.

H. MACKENZIE THEEDAM.

Positivism and Women's Suffrage.

MR. FREDERICK HARRISON'S NEW BOOK (continued).

THE last of Mr. Harrison's four essays is devoted to the specific question of votes for women. He remarks, quite justly, that this matter is but an incident in a wider social problem, and not a simple electoral reform, such as were the Ballot and the Lodger Franchise. It is precisely because such a reform cuts down to the roots of family and social life that we regard it as of primary importance. Mr. Harrison affirms that:—

"The whole contention goes on this basis, that social institutions cannot be fairly judged until we have had experimental proof of a society in which for a generation or two the old custom had been unknown.... A wilder or more anarchical plea cannot be imagined."

We deny that "the whole contention," or even part of it, "goes on this basis." We advocate the enfranchisement of women not for the sake of experiment, nor even merely as a matter of justice to those women who perform the same duties as men in society, and bear the same burdens without a corresponding share of citizen privileges. We advocate it mainly because we believe that the influence of women should make itself felt in all legislation relating to education, licensing, poor-relief, the economic position of women and children, housing, sanitation, marriage, and a hundred other matters in which it is desirable that both sexes should co-operate. We deny the Positivist dogma that this influence, transferred to the State, would lose the humanizing and spiritualizing force which, as Mr. Harrison claims, it exerts in the family. In support of our contention we cite not only the experience gained in New Zealand, Australia, the United States, Norway, and Finland, but also the confessedly admirable work done by women in the local administration of our own and other countries.

MILITANT TACTICS.

Many Suffragists, including the writer of this review, will agree with Mr. Harrison in condemning the violent and undignified methods by which their cause tends to be discredited, although they may find some exaggeration in his statement of the case:—

"It is not easy to disengage one's mind from the prejudice cast on the cry by the senseless freaks of certain female larrikins of late. But even rowdyism of so silly and suicidal a kind cannot be altogether ignored in a survey of the situation, and that for at least two reasons. The able and distinguished women who have long urged this claim as a right have not succeeded in checking these follies, even if they have seriously tried to check them.

We are less concerned with Mr. Harrison's version of the facts than with the inferences he draws.

First, as to the possible future, he declares that:—

"If these viragoes ever did worry men into yielding the Suffrage, they would only be heartened to resort to the same tricks to win admission to Parliament. This won, they would yell and ring bells till men yielded them an equal number of seats in the Cabinet."

We should be inclined to commend this admirable exposition of a widely held opinion to the notice of the militant Suffragists, did not certain inconvenient memories obtrude themselves—memories, for example, of the rioting which preceded almost every extension of the Franchise in this country; memories of the antics which, during the past week, have brought one Member of Parliament into the police-courts, and secured the expulsion of another from the House of Commons. To be logical, Mr. Harrison should find both sexes "unfit to exercise political power."

In the matter of logic, however, it is to be feared that the mantle of Auguste Comte—who preached the gospel of intellectual liberty and congratulated the Tsar Nicholas I. on his "wise vigilance" in excluding from Russia the literature of civilized Europe—has fallen upon his disciple. It is amazing that a thinker of Mr. Harrison's eminence should argue that because "a minority of androgynous hooligans... behave in public places like the street arabs of a fighting gang in the East End," therefore "what such extravagances prove is this, that under strong political inducements women, as a sex, lose their heads, their power of judgment, and their self-control." In other words: because some women are headstrong, therefore all women are politically impossible. Shade of Aristotle!

Mr. Harrison tells us that the cause as a whole suffered from "outrages which were as embarrassing to its supporters as they were blackguardly in form." This may be true; but can it be justified? Mr. Harrison seeks to justify it. The dogma implied in his argument is—that it is right for any man to abandon a cause or a creed because a minority among its supporters make fools, or worse, of themselves. A society in which any such theory was practised would be interesting but unstable. Would Mr. Harrison have us call upon the Archbishop of Canterbury to repudiate the Thirty-Nine Articles in order to emphasize his disapproval of the manner in which Anglican doctrine is expounded by Mr. J. A. Kensit, Jun.? Are all politicians to ignore the problem of unemployment because Mr. Victor Grayson has lifted up his voice? Or would Mr. Harrison himself be willing to abandon the Positivist view of marriage because Madame Comte found herself unable to tolerate the founder of the Religion of Humanity?

(To be continued.)

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.]

Mr. Massie and "The Losing Game."

STR,—Having been ill in bed and unable to write before, I hope it is not too late to express what I want so much to say about Mr. Massie, M.P.'s letter to *The Times* of October 12th. In that letter he makes it quite clear that he cannot play a losing game with dignity, when, as a last resource, he refers to the gentlemen of the Men's League as "the lambs (as they are called)."

He evidently holds, with "Lady Sneerwell," that "The malice of a good thing is the barb which makes it stick." But who calls the Men's Leaguers "lambs," excepting Mr. Massie, whose wish that they should be so called is no doubt father to his thought?

I have before me a very vigorous letter written by one of those gentlemen to *The Daily News* of March 3rd, in which his arguments, logic, and justice reduce Mr. Massie's never-ending contributions to the Press on the subject of our enfranchisement to the level of irresponsible petty effusions.

I am more than ever of the opinion that grand old Roger Ascham was right, when he warned lawmakers to take heed what they did, for as they did, so all mean men loved to do, and I feel with increasing conviction that it is because we have so often sent the wrong type of man to Westminster, that so much meanness has filtered down to the people. What made Palmerston and Disraeli such great administrators? *Imagination*; the power to take a mental sweep of a circle and see both points of view at the psychological moment; and what imagination can these meaner men possess, who not only force us into the pillory to gain what Disraeli himself held with and what their own late Chief said was "just" and "expedient," but who try to insult those really manly men who are standing by us in the fight.

MAUD ARNCLIFFE SENNETT.

43, Mitchell Street, St. Lukes, E.C.

October 16th, 1908.

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