

Women's Franchise.

No. 23.

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Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions. Subscriptions for the weekly numbers to the end of March (3s. 3d.), or less if so desired, should be forwarded to the Publisher. Back numbers can still be obtained.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

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

Notes.

ONE of the most encouraging signs of the headway the cause of Women's Suffrage is making among all sorts and conditions of women is the manner in which the subject is received whenever it is, even casually, mentioned in gatherings of women who are met together to discuss other branches of work. This was particularly noticeable at the National Conference of Women Workers which was recently held in Manchester. The applause which greeted every allusion to the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women left no doubt of the attitude of the majority of the audience on the subject. It is obvious that women who are working for the industrial, social, or other improvements in the position of their sex are now practically unanimous in their opinion that the vote is at the bottom of all social reforms, and that none of them will succeed without it. They are also beginning to realize that the subject of equal rights for men and women is not a political, but a deep moral question, and one which goes to the root of things. Opponents of Women's Suffrage are fond of vaguely asserting that politics do not concern women. If this moral side of the question were more emphasized, it would cut the ground from beneath their feet.

THE list of persons supporting the candidature of Miss R. E. Lawrence for a seat upon the Hampstead Borough Council is an unusually influential one. The Woman's Movement in its various aspects is represented by Miss Clementina Black, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Miss Bunney, Miss G. Malet, Mrs. Stopes, and Miss J. Wilson. Literature is represented by Miss Beatrice Harraden, Dr. Robertson Nicoll, and Mrs. Flinders Petrie; Medicine by Sir Samuel Wilks; Art by Mrs. Allingham, Hon. John Collier, Henry Holliday, Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., and George Wertherby; Theology by Rev. Canon Barnett,

Principal Garvie, and Dr. Horton; the Legislature by Sir Henry Cotton and Messrs. Murray Macdonald, Walter Rea, and Byles; the Bar by C. A. Russell, K.C.; the County Council by Aldermen Mullins and Shephard and A. B. Russell; the Borough Council by a large contingent of Councillors, headed by the ex-Mayor (Councillor Hendrick); the Teaching Profession by Profs. Hall Griffin and J. M. Hill, Dr. Sophie Bryant, Miss Benton, Miss J. E. Case, John Russell, and Charles Simmons; the Army and Volunteers by Colonels Heberden and Greig; Philanthropy by Miss Balkwill (a descendant of Elizabeth Fry), who has just consented to stand for a forthcoming vacancy in another Ward, and Ernest Collins, Chairman of the Hampstead Hospital. There are also a goodly number of prominent citizens, including many representatives of the working classes. This interesting list has been promoted by the Hampstead Women's Local Government Association. The polling is fixed for Thursday in next week. We would urge those who can spare a few hours for canvassing to report themselves at the Committee Rooms, 37, Belsize Avenue. Workers or conveyances for polling day are also urgently needed.

MRS. MALCOLM, the only lady town councillor in Scotland, took her seat at the last monthly meeting of the Dollar Town Council. Mrs. Malcolm's name was proposed in connexion with the appointment of a junior bailie, but the lady pointed out that the law did not allow her to become a bailie, though it did not object to her being a provost or a convenor of a committee. A letter was handed in from the boys of the Dollar Institution, in which they congratulated the Town Council of Dollar in possessing the only lady town councillor in Scotland. They also considered that the event was important enough to be celebrated by a holiday, and they suggested that the Council should approach the Governor of the Dollar Academy on the subject.

THERE is little originality in the taunts of our opponents. We would gladly welcome a new gibe or sneer. The American women have lately been told that they must "sit at home by their own firesides" and not invade the professions and trades which men have so long considered as especially their own. Now this is but an echo of what we are continually hearing in England. Mrs. Platt Decker, an enthusiastic champion of the rights of her sex in America, points out that "all women have not firesides; they do not grow on trees." She also reveals the startling fact that there are fifty thousand women in New York who are supporting their husbands. It would be interesting to know how many men in London are being maintained through the exertions of their wives. At any rate we have been told that a third of the children attending the London elementary schools are maintained solely by their mothers.

IT is interesting to note the advance the cause of Women's Suffrage is making in English women's clubs. The members of the Lyceum Club in London have always been keenly interested in the question, and have forwarded it by every means in their power. It will be remembered that a large contingent walked in the procession last spring. The enthusiastic applause which greeted a casual mention of the subject by a member of the Incorporated Law Society at the debate recently held in the club between the two societies leaves no doubt that the interest of members has not abated.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

THE NETHERLANDS.—The situation here is so extremely complicated and so liable to be misunderstood in other countries, that, although recent reference has been made to it in these columns, I think my readers may be interested in a summary of the interesting contributions made to the subject by Miss Martina Kramers in the November number of *Jus Suffragii*. Women are excluded from voting, not by ordinary law but by the State Constitution, which received its present form in 1887. This contains a clause, known as article 80, which states that electors shall be male citizens, who possess the necessary qualifications. Now the constitution can only be changed by 1, an Act stating that such a change is desirable, passed in the ordinary way through both Chambers; 2, a dissolution of the States General and new elections; 3, a two-thirds majority in the new States General.

In 1905 the reactionary Kuyper Ministry fell, and was succeeded by a Cabinet composed of four different political parties (the Free Liberals, the United Liberals, the Radicals, and the Socialists), and enjoying but a small majority. The common aim of the allied Liberal groups is an extension of the suffrage of such a character that it would require the abolition of the qualifications for voting laid down by article 80 of the present constitution. One of the first actions of this new Liberal ministry was the appointment of a Royal Commission to draft a scheme for revision. Six of the seven members of this commission recommended the eligibility of women to the different governing bodies, but article 80, which deals with the parliamentary suffrage, was excluded from the scope of the Commission, and left to the decision of the Ministry.

On October 12th the Cabinet published the draft of the proposed changes in the Constitution, and these must come up for discussion in the course of next year, unless some new ministerial crisis should arise. And in the present condition of parties this is by no means improbable. As to the crucial article 80, the Government propose to draft it thus: "The members of the Second Chamber shall be chosen through direct election by the voters to be appointed by law." This is not entirely satisfactory to the Suffrage Association, which rightly desires the actual inclusion of the words "men and women." Though as yet the Government has not agreed to this amendment, they have introduced into their "explanatory remarks" strong recommendations in favour of the enfranchisement of women, and these serve as an admirable text for the propaganda in the country.

For the first time the subject is receiving serious treatment throughout the Netherlands, and even the chief daily papers are at last forced to take sides on the question. They have been partly driven to this by a political pamphlet, published by Mr. S. van Houten, an influential member of the Free Liberal party, and himself the author of the present law on voting qualifications. In spite of this circumstance he is entirely in favour of altering the law for the benefit of women. "Those who recognize that hitherto men have unduly slighted the female sex are" in his view "bound to seize the first opportunity for reform. It is unjust and illogical to debar women from all ingress until such time as the question shall have been solved whether the gates for men, through which already over 750,000 have entered and some 100,000 more might enter, should be opened wider or not." Such words, coming from a man in his position, cannot be entirely disregarded.

Miss Kramers announces that the Netherlands Association for Women's Suffrage will hold its annual meeting at Haarlem on December 14. Members of foreign associations who understand Dutch, will be welcome. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Mrs. J. van Buren-Huys, 43, Linnaeus Straat, Amsterdam.

A. ZIMMERN.

The Lady with the Lamp.

THE announcement appeared in the *London Gazette* of Nov. 29: "The King has been pleased to make the following appointment to the Order of Merit—Miss Florence Nightingale."

There are twenty members of this Order, some soldiers and sailors, some artists, some men of science, but Miss Nightingale stands alone as the representative of her sex. The story of her life is known throughout the civilized world; how she vindicated the right of women to serve their country, not only in the protected circle of the home, but in outposts of difficulty and danger. Her name now is surrounded as it were by a halo, the halo of the reverential awe and gratitude of England, but when in 1854 she entered upon a certain bold course of action, the great deed was then, as always such deeds have been, worked out through opposition, misunderstanding, and disheartenments. To her other work may be applied the words of Matthew Arnold:—

With aching hands and bleeding feet
We dig and heap, lay stone on stone;
We bear the burden and the heat
Of the long day, and wish 'twere done.
Not till the hours of light return,
All we have built do we discern.

It is unnecessary to tell once again the details of that dramatic story of the Lady with the Lamp passing through the wards of the hospital at Scutari. In "Punch" of 1854 the picture is outlined in a beautiful poem of which there is space only to quote a verse or two:—

Amid the clouds of grief and wrath
That o'er the heart of England brood
One bright star holds its blessed path
Unswerving, unobscured.

A steady radiance breathing balm
To throbbing limb and wandering brain,
Investing death with hallowed calm,
Taking the sting from pain.

A woman fragile, pale and tall,
Upon her saintly work doth move.
Fair or not fair, who knows? But all
Follow her face with love.

Lady, thy very name so sweet
Speaks of full songs through darkness heard,
And fancy findeth likeness meet
Between thee and the bird.

But for our purpose there are three points upon which it is useful to dwell. 1. The remarkable brain power displayed by Miss Nightingale. The Queen remarked in 1856, "We are delighted... with her wonderful, clear, comprehensive head. I wish we had her at the War Office." Thousands of women, and of men too, felt a horror-struck pity for our soldiers in the Crimea. It was, however, Miss Nightingale's lucid intellect and gift of organization that brought relief to them.

2. Her initiative. This virtue is singularly lacking in the average woman. If someone will lead, many will follow, but do a thing that "is not done" they will not. Florence Nightingale accepted the grave responsibility of independent action, and hence her immortal fame and the saving of the name of England from disgrace.

3. This woman, revered by all, when the Queen was young, has been a life-long advocate of Women's Suffrage. Regarding this attitude, she says "I have no reasons. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and taxpayer should have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including as this does interests the most vital to a human being."

A. HELEN WARD.

GUARANTEE FUND TO 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE'

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	66	18	0	Brought forward	60	5	0
Banting, Miss L.	0	2	6	Two Friends	0	2	0
Eley, Miss F. L.	0	2	6				
Stables, Miss L.	2	2	0	Total	60	7	0
Carried forward	69	5	0				

A. ZIMMERN.

Correspondence.

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

DEAR SIR,—And so, Mr. Editor, it has come to this, that the hot-headed and unmannerly (I was almost writing unmanly!) conduct of some ladies, who will persist in questioning Ministers of the Crown on their failure to carry out their election pledges to redress the electoral inequality of women has lost to the cause the good opinion and support of the dear old *Daily News*!

Its smug respectability is outraged that ladies should rise in their seats at a political meeting and ask about "that vote you promised us—where is it?"

That such outrageous conduct should be punished by the rough ejection of the "rioters" is, no doubt, only to be expected by such sticklers for propriety and orderly debate as the ordinary party politician; but that the entire Women's Suffrage Party should be punished is surely a little too cruel!

"Enough evidence now exists to prove that this is the opening of an organized campaign to make Liberal public meetings impossible. With men undoubtedly there would be reprisals which would render the part of the wreckers increasingly uncomfortable. It is probable that the limits of endurance would soon be reached amongst those who had come to hear a particular politician discourse. With women, fortunately, such rough methods of ensuring peace are impossible. Yet the spectacle of women being hauled out of crowded meetings, struggling and shrieking political war-cries, is a spectacle at once humiliating and indecent. And no political meeting can ever return to the same zest and interest after half an hour's interval of such uproar."

Note the exceeding richness of the last sentence: Enjoyment quite spoiled!

This, you will observe, is how women act under the influence of a strong sense of injustice that a strong party deeply, pledged to redress it, make no apparent move to fulfil their promise. You also see how *The Daily News*, where sometimes "we have pleaded in these columns for Women's Suffrage in and out of season," is now forced into a position of antagonism, and almost suggests to its readers the policy of reprisal and the rougher handling of "Suffragettes."

Now let us see how rowdy and intoxicated undergraduates running amuck through a University town, smashing and burning property, is regarded by the decorous *Daily News*. The extract is from an editorial on the same page as that already quoted condemning interruptions at public meetings by women.

"The night of the voting upon women's degrees saw a huge bonfire in the market place. The visit of Lord Kitchener, nine years ago, stirred up a similar demonstration, in which shop fronts, hoardings, wrenched-off doors, furniture, and young trees contributed to swell the flames. Afterwards, in the war victories, the outbreaks became so frequent and the damage done so considerable, that the patience of the town was exhausted. After some angry scuffles a compromise was arranged, by which bonfires were to be allowed, with certain limited materials for fuel, in certain limited places. Yesterday the old anarchy revived. Raids on adjoining property provided the material for many simultaneous demonstrations.

"No one desires to take this kind of amusement too seriously, and considering the youth and high spirits of the undergraduate and the tradition which has accustomed him and his class to 'do as they like' we may be surprised at his customary moderation." Oh, wonderful example of the "moderation" of some men!

But *The Daily News* can be severe, even when dealing with the frailties of the gilded youth insurgent, and cannot permit a misdemeanour to pass unhidden; for it goes on to say:—

"But he should sometimes remember that damage of many hundreds of pounds is an expensive price which other people pay for his night's freak, and that in such demonstrations he generally succeeds in enlisting the worst hooligan elements of the town in an undesirable following."

Yours faithfully, W. HEIGHWAY.

Save us from our Friends!

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., in his answer to the deputation of Women Suffragists does his best to prove to earnest, thinking women that reason, argument, and dignified demand are utterly thrown away on short-sighted Ministers. He remarked that "The enfranchisement of women was such an obviously reasonable thing that he could not conceive the right of men to deny it, and it was an intolerable act of oppression on the part of men to deny the demand." Yet intolerance under an intolerable act of oppression is apparently inexcusable, and only "alienates and hardens friends."

Do all political questions of such vital importance suspend their demands upon our Ministers until they intimate that it will not harass or worry them to attend to them? "Where," Mr. Lloyd-George asks, "is the proof of the demand on the part of the women for the Suffrage?" One society alone of Women Suffragists from March to August held about 3,000 meetings, averaging now about twenty a day. At the last Queen's Hall meeting nearly 6000 were promised in a few minutes. The biggest petition ever signed, and signed by 257,000 women, lay in the House, and was looked upon as an interesting curiosity.

Must we really, as Mr. Lloyd-George suggests, do as the men did at Bristol before obtaining the Suffrage? They burnt many public buildings and shed blood, where we have peaceably questioned a Minister. Mr. Haldane pooh-poohs our methods as pin-pricks, and advises: "If the women wanted to fight a battle they should fight it with weapons that could inflict some damage upon opponents, and not proceed by pin-pricks." This advice from a War Minister is significant.

Does a judge say to a prisoner: "Your claims are just, you have a right to be set free, but it is awkward and inexpedient for us to do so; besides, we have a wholesome prejudice against the idea; therefore pray be patient and suffer injustice and deprivation of your freedom and money until it happens to suit us, for our own ends, to set you free." Is this British fair play of which we boast? Is this a British sense of justice? Even a schoolboy, uncorrupted by selfish prejudices, will give you a better notion of it. It is not pleasant to inherit debts, but it is just that creditors should be paid. We women are the creditors, and we now demand satisfaction. "Another time," "later on," "be patient" has been said to us for the last forty years, and our patience is exhausted. Whose fault is it? As to our methods—of course punishing methods are usually ugly. To see a man hang, shoot, or kill another man or a woman is very ugly; but we condone such methods when we deem them necessary. Legitimate protests, without the power of the vote behind them, are put aside—ignored. At Mr. Herbert Gladstone's meeting a lady asks in a dignified manner for an answer to her question. She is flung out of the hall. Presently a man breaks in with a plaint about discharged workmen, and is given a lengthy and polite answer. This is justice! Are men purposely blind, that they do not see that the uproar and hubbub is not caused by the women, but by the hysterical men round her, who lose their heads at the mere sound of a woman's voice demanding such an unheard-of thing as justice for women. Shame on these male creatures of prejudice and ignorance, and on their leaders who encourage them.

The attitude of the Government in its wise advice to women is that our voices must never be heard in public until we learn how to use them in public without upsetting men's equilibrium. It does not take an abnormally bright child to see through such arguments or such veiled advice as the Spaniards, to avoid irritating the eyes "Rub your eyes only with your elbows." The fact is men will not realize how they would benefit by Women's Suffrage sufficiently, except by an adult suffrage revolution, and so are too bored to look into the matter, or to even acquaint themselves with what has been done for the last forty years by patient women growing grey in the process and almost completely ignored.

Will any man at least be so good as to suggest a plan that we have not tried before criticizing those we are trying?

Yours faithfully,

GEORGINA A. BRACKENBURY, Taxpayer.

2, Campden Hill Square, W.

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.

Hon. Secretaries: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. MISS FRANCES STERLING.

Telegrams: "VOICELSS, LONDON."

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.

Parliamentary and Organising Secretary: MISS EDITH PALLISER.

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, 1907.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON
THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR
MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE
MRS. ALLAN BRIGHT

MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P.
MISS EDITH DIMOCK
MISS L. O. FORD
MISS MARTINDALE, M.B., B.S.

MRS. PECHEY PHIPSON, M.D.
MRS. BROADLEY REID
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

AN Edinburgh correspondent, who was closely interested in the recent judgment given by Lord McLaren with regard to women graduates and the Franchise, writes: "Whatever judgment was given in the graduates' case will not alter the fact that the case was conducted in a manner much more satisfactory to us this time, and the strength of our claim was brought out much more forcibly."

The Women's Movement seems to have made remarkable headway in Iceland. Practically the whole of the women of this ice-bound island have demanded the Parliamentary Franchise, and a petition to this effect has been signed by 12,000 of them and presented to their Parliament. The whole Icelandic community of men, women, and children does not number 100,000, but so unanimous is the demand, that the Parliament, it is stated, will have to accede to it.

Some Impressions of the West Hull By-Election.

THIS has been the first opportunity since our council meeting for putting into practice the by-election scheme, the main lines of which were laid down on that occasion.

Eager curiosity having been shown by fellow-workers as to the working of the scheme, I venture to write down some impressions of a week's work in West Hull.

We cannot, of course, come to any final conclusion after one experiment, and moreover details must vary in each case; but, briefly, having gone to Hull hopefully inclined towards the scheme, I came away amazed at its splendid effect, and convinced that in it lie the germs of growth and advance, such as, perhaps, no one dreamed of. The result of the poll has only confirmed my opinion.

Once again the fact was proved that election time is the moment when men and women are in the mood for considering seriously and carefully a great question such as ours. They expect to be addressed, and are eager to listen. But another fact came out saliently, which should be of infinite encouragement to our workers. When speakers had brought forward all their arguments, and had shown their anxiety for full and free discussion of every aspect of the matter, they called upon the electors to stand by their women, and to do, by means of their votes, what women could not do for themselves. This appeal was made from the first, and was repeated throughout the election. The response was immediate and remarkable. Those parts of the speeches were received with rousing cheers and hearty approval. The comments of the men present showed that they felt the appeal to be just and reasonable, and that they were prepared to act upon it. They eagerly asked for our literature, never being daunted even by the sight of a long pamphlet; cries of "Give us the books!" were often heard on all sides, after a dinner-hour meeting in the docks.

An additional proof of the success of the campaign was that, instead of our large public meetings being less and less well attended as their novelty wore off, and as the candidates' meetings

increased in number, the exact contrary was the case. The halls became fuller and fuller, until over two hundred people had to be turned away (from a hall holding eleven hundred) at our third meeting, and a still larger number from our final one.

The audiences were almost entirely made up of sturdy and thoughtful-looking citizens, idlers and people appearing to come only out of petty curiosity being strikingly absent.

Even before polling-day we had secured a great point, in that a large body of electors had been thoroughly familiarized with the idea of bestirring themselves; that after full consideration they had shown their sympathy, nay their enthusiasm, and had been made fully aware of the importance of the pledges given to them by the two candidates who were our friends.

The advantage was clear of being at once in the field, and of setting the work on foot, even before all the candidates had been announced. By the time their election addresses were out we had a considerable hold on the electors, and they were then asked not to send to Parliament an opponent, but to vote for the Liberal or Labour candidate (both of whom were then fully pledged supporters). This appeal was, no doubt, far more effective than it could have been without the previous propaganda.

When we see by the figures that Sir G. Bartley polled a thousand votes less than the Conservative candidate had done at the previous election, we may surely infer that our work was not in vain, and that many a voter in West Hull carried his sympathy for Women's Suffrage with him into the polling booth.

F. STERLING.

The result of the polling in West Hull last Friday was a pleasant culmination to the active five weeks' campaign carried on by the National Union and the Hull Women's Suffrage Society.

An old opponent of Women's Suffrage, Sir George Bartley was rejected by West Hull, and there can be no doubt that the educational propaganda carried on by placing the case of women before the electors was a factor in the result.

The only questions put by the electors to the speakers were, "Are you asking for women to enter Parliament?" and "Are you asking for every woman to have a vote?" When the reply was given, "No; we are only asking that women who possess the same qualifications as men for the vote, should also be allowed to vote" the comment was,

"WELL THAT 'S ONLY FAIR AND RIGHT."

On Monday evening the last of the meetings in the Committee Rooms was held. Mrs. Stanbury gave an interesting "talk" on Women's Suffrage, which was followed by an informal discussion. The same evening Miss Edith Palliser gave, by invitation from Mrs. Whitaker, an address to 150 women at the Park Street schools.

RIVAL CANDIDATES ON THE SAME PLATFORM.

For the first time in the history of the Women's Suffrage movement, rival candidates appeared on the same platform to advocate the claims of women to the Suffrage during an election for a member to serve in Parliament. In response to an invitation from the Executive Committee, Mr. James Holmes and the Hon. Guy Wilson were present at the final big meeting held in the Royal Institution on Tuesday, 26th. Among those who supported the chair were: Mrs. C.

Richardson, Mrs. Longman, Miss Todd, Mrs. Fratson, Mrs. F. Richardson, Miss Coward, Mrs. H. W. Kirk (Hon. Sec. Hull Women's Suffrage Society), and others.

The hall was crowded; many were turned away, as there was not standing room, and for the first time, perhaps, the secretaries were gratified by a complaint, namely, that a larger hall had not been engaged. Miss Murdoch, President of the Hull Women's Suffrage Society, took the chair. Mrs. Martin (Bristol) and Mrs. Stanbury were the speakers.

Miss Murdoch stated that the course pursued had been to put before the candidates the claims of women, and to ask the electors to vote for the candidates who supported those claims. These were Mr. James Holmes and Mr. Guy Wilson.

Both publicly and privately the Societies would work against Sir George Bartley, not because he was a Conservative, but because he had declared himself to be opposed to granting the Parliamentary vote to women.

The Conservative candidate had given as a reason why he could not support Woman Suffrage that woman was too good and too gentle to mix up in the mire of politics, but it was a remarkable fact that Sir George Bartley had the assistance of a number of ladies to do the unpleasant work of canvassing. She hoped that women would set their face against such work until they could themselves go to the polling station and put their cross to a ballot paper. (Applause.) Another story of Sir George was that a canvasser called at the house, and the husband was not in. The canvasser asked the wife if she would use her influence so that her husband should vote for Sir G. Bartley. She said that her husband had voted Tory all his life, but he could not possibly do it at this election, as the Unionist candidate was dead against Woman's Suffrage. The canvasser, who did not seem exceedingly tactful, said, "Surely you believe man to be an infinitely superior being?" That was quite enough. The lady showed the canvasser out of the door. (Laughter.) They had been told that the Society did not occupy a logical position by supporting two candidates; but they were in very good company, because neither the United Kingdom Alliance nor the Free Church Council had been able to distinguish between the Hon. Guy Wilson and Mr. Holmes.

Miss Murdoch concluded her speech by appealing to the electors not to return the Conservative candidate. Mrs. Martin (Bristol) and Mrs. Stanbury gave excellent and closely reasoned speeches on the need of the Franchise for women, which were greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. Wilson was the first of the two candidates to arrive, and gave his reasons for being present, namely, to support the demand of women for the Franchise on the same terms as men.

Mr. Holmes, who arrived later, when Mr. Wilson had left, also made a short speech, and declared himself to be a supporter of the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same basis as men. Both candidates were accorded a hearty reception.

Some members of the Women's Social and Political Union were present in the audience, and questioned Mr. Wilson. The questions put were:—

"Is Mr. Wilson prepared to move an amendment to the Address in the event of Women's Suffrage not being mentioned in the King's Speech?" Mr. Wilson replied that he would leave such action to those who had been longer in the House, and were better able to do it.

The other question was: "Are you prepared to take part in the ballot, and, if successful, will you give the place to a Women's Suffrage Bill?" Mr. Wilson replied that he could only repeat that he was in favour of Women's Suffrage, but did not at the present time propose to ballot for a Bill himself. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union then withdrew.

A written question was handed up to Mr. Holmes, asking him if he was prepared to move an amendment to the Address. Mr. Holmes replied that he was not prepared to move such an amendment, but that he would submit the proposal to the members of the Labour Party in the House, and he felt confident that a step in that direction would be taken.

A vote of thanks to the speakers, moved by Mrs. Charles Richardson, seconded by Mrs. Fratson (member of the Executive

Committee of the Hull Society), and carried with applause, brought the proceedings to a close.

During the Wednesday and Thursday a large quantity of literature was distributed to the electors at the various candidates' meetings, and large posters were placed on the hoardings in the constituency with the following text:—

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES AND HULL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

WEST HULL BY-ELECTION.

CANDIDATES AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

MR. JAMES HOLMES:

"I would vote for a Bill giving the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same terms as men."

MR. GUY WILSON:

"I would vote for a Bill to give women the Parliamentary Franchise on the same terms as men."

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY:

Voted against the Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons in 1892 and 1897,
And is still opposed to giving women the Parliamentary vote.

ELECTORS OF WEST HULL.

Support the Candidates who are in favour of Justice to Women. A leaflet was also widely distributed, with the substitution of the final words:—

"Do not vote for Sir George Bartley, but return a friend to Women's Suffrage at the head of the poll."

Branch Societies.

CAMBRIDGE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—There was an interesting and somewhat amusing meeting held at Cambridge on Friday evening, Nov. 15th, when the Hon. Bertrand Russell gave an address on Women's Suffrage to members of the University Liberal Club. He was listened to very attentively by some sixty or seventy undergraduates, as he clearly and logically established his points. These were: (1) That political consistency and abstract justice demanded the enfranchisement of women. (2) That the interest of the one sex could no more be safely left in the charge of the other than could the interests of any class be left to any other class, although it was sometimes argued that the fact that nature bound men and women so closely together altered the case. History, however, did not show this. Women had suffered much at men's hands; and there was a good deal to-day in the conditions of women's lives, especially of working women's, and in the laws affecting them that needed alteration. Man's ignorance of women's needs was perhaps as much to blame for women's wrongs as men's indifference. (3) That women, like men, needed political liberty because of its educative influence, its effect on mind and character. (4) That men's own true welfare would be served by women's enfranchisement, and by all that increased woman's worth and man's respect for her. (5) That as in private life the welfare of the home depended on the united wills and activities of the two sexes, so did the well-being and the progress of the State depend on their frank and equal collaboration.

The grounds for women's enfranchisement, said Mr. Russell, are precisely the same as those upon which the enfranchisement of men is claimed; hence, if men mean to avoid unreason and inconsistency, they must either confer political liberty on women, or they must seek out some entirely new grounds upon which to base their own claim to it.

The tone of the meeting was, on the whole, one of approval; but when questions and comments were invited by the speaker there arose some entertaining discussion. The old, well-worn objections were naively trotted out—that women were so absorbed in domestic duties that they had no time to vote or to think

about public affairs; that they were governed by feeling, and not, like men, by reason; that once they had the franchise, they would not stop there, but would be forcing their way into Parliament; and that, as there was a majority of women in the country, Government would end by being exclusively in women's hands! "If women should get into Parliament," said one anxious objector, "is it not likely that they will only be spinsters? And spinsters," though he professed (amid laughter) no direct personal acquaintance with any, were "said to be narrow-minded." "The married woman with a large family of small children," he thought, "could not possibly be an M.P. without neglecting her home." "Perhaps not," rejoined Mr. Russell; "but what about a married woman with a small family of big children." He knew some such who he thought might be very useful in the House, although the prospect of any of them getting there seemed to him too remote for practical discussion. And as for the "narrow-minded spinsters"—of whom the gentleman modestly allowed that he only knew by hearsay, and of whom rumours might prove unfounded—were there not just as likely to be "narrow-minded bachelors," whose political influence might be feared?

In regard to the contrast of male "reason" with female "feeling," the speaker said that in all times and places it was observable that the advocates of any doctrines or measures whatever, always confidently maintained that while fact and reason were their sole guides, their opponents were carried away by prejudice and passion. It was always "reason on my side, mere feeling and fancy on yours!"

The chairman, Mr. Pattison-Muir, as the good-humoured meeting broke up, chaffingly congratulated the Club upon the very advanced knowledge of the psychology and philosophy of the female mind and character that many of the members had shown.

WHITBY AND DISTRICT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—A public meeting of the above Society was held on Tuesday, November 19th, in the Silver Street Lecture Hall, presided over by Mr. Channing Heron, of Esk Hall, Sleights.

Mrs. Carmichael Stopes gave a most interesting address on 'Why women should want the vote.' The lecturer dealt convincingly with the legal and constitutional aspect of the question, showing that women were virtually enfranchised by Lord Brougham's Act of 1850, which stipulated that the word "man" should always include "woman," unless otherwise stated. This Act had never been repealed. Referring to the laws which differentiate between men and women, she pointed out that the difference was always in favour of men, and to the disadvantage of women, and this was due solely to the fact that no woman had any voice in the framing of the laws. Women who thought they did not need the vote were in need of education.

The lecture was enlivened with many humorous touches, which delighted the audience. Before concluding, Mrs. Stopes proposed the following resolution: "That this meeting urges the Government no longer to delay granting to women, on the same terms as to men, the protection of the vote, which is as necessary to women as to men, and which, as taxpayers and citizens, they earnestly demand."

Miss Wiseman, in seconding, said that she supported Women's Suffrage on moral grounds, and because of what she herself had seen of the lives of down-trodden women and children. Progress and social reform was blocked by want of political power. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Miss Pringle, Hon. Secretary of the Whitby Society, in dwelling on its non-party basis, said that personally she would not work for or support any party till women got the vote. She urged the members to order *Women's Franchise* through the local booksellers, in order to keep in touch with the movement. In order to extend the scope of the Society, a list of associates (subscribers of half a guinea and upwards) was being formed. Lady Roberts Austen, Chilworth, and St. George Lefroy, Esq., Derrycashel, Ireland, had already kindly consented to be associates. F. NELSON PRINGLE, Hon. Sec.

WOBURN SANDS.—"Should Women have the Vote?" If the answer to this momentous question depended on the goodwill of the inhabitants of Woburn Sands and neighbourhood,

it would not be long before every lady who possessed the necessary property qualification became the possessor also of a Parliamentary vote. This assertion is based on the feeling expressed, certainly in a negative way, by a large and representative meeting which was held in the Institute on Thursday evening, November 7th. No resolutions were passed, but neither was any opposition shown with the views expressed by the speakers. The majority of those present were honestly of the opinion that the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be a just and equitable step on the part of any administration. Some few, undoubtedly, while keeping an open mind on the subject, would unhesitatingly support the principle if they found it politically expedient, but not otherwise. The meeting, which was promoted locally, was not held in connexion with the militant body of Suffragettes known as the Women's Social and Political Union, but help was procured from the less bellicose but equally useful, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, one of whose secretaries, Miss Frances Sterling, was the principal speaker. Help was also obtained from a recently formed organization, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, who sent down their secretary, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell. The Venerable Archdeacon Miller was in the chair, and in opening he said there was hardly any question of more burning interest, or one fraught with more far-reaching results, than that of the Women's Suffrage. Mr. Mitchell was the first speaker, and he dealt with the question from the standpoint of citizenship. The responsibilities of women as citizens of our great empire were as weighty as those of men, therefore they ought to enjoy the same privileges. Miss Sterling, a lady of commanding presence, handsome appearance, and persuasive manner, was the very antithesis of the popular conception of the female advocate of Woman's Suffrage. From the commencement of her speech she carried the audience with her, and for about three-quarters of an hour placed before them, with telling force, the arguments in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women. At the conclusion of Miss Sterling's speech, questions were invited, and a few were asked.

A vote of thanks to the speakers, moved by the Rev. D. W. Henry, brought a very successful meeting to a close.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—At the kind invitation of Mrs. Alfred Hill, a drawing-room meeting was held at St. Bees, Leamington, on Wednesday, November 27th.

The Local Secretary explained the election policy of the National Union as resolved upon at Manchester. She also emphasized the unity of purpose of the various organizations for Women's Suffrage, different as the methods employed may be.

In the discussion which followed it was ascertained that the fear of two things, viz., Adult Suffrage, and the possibility of women sitting in Parliament, holds many people aloof.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

December Meetings.			P.M.
5th	High Wycombe, Guildhall	Hakluyt Egerton, Esq. Miss F. I. Dove, M.A.	3.30
	Paddington Baths' Hall, Queen's Road, Bayswater	Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D. Mrs. Pember Reeves Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P. Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P. Mr. Granville Barker	8.15
6th	London Society "At Home," 25, Victoria Street, S.W.		4-6.30
10th	Solihull, Drawing-Room Meeting	Mrs. Osler	3
	Wandsworth Conservative Association	Debate	8
12th	Leeds Drawing-Room Meeting at "Parkhurst"	Miss Maud Illingworth. Mrs. Parrish.	

* * * All communications intended for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' columns should be addressed to the Secretary, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and should reach the office not later than first post Saturday each week.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

OFFICES: 18, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

Hon. Organising Secretary: MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.S.C.

MRS. COATES HANSEN
MISS HODGSON
MISS IRENE MILLER
MISS FITZHERBERT

MRS. DRYSDALE
MISS ARADAM
MRS. WINTON-EVANS
MRS. DICE

MRS. SANDERSON
MRS. BELL
MRS. HOLMES
MISS MANSSELL

Notes.

WEST HULL.—The "great Liberal Victory" was gained by the Liberal candidate securing 5,623 votes out of 15,517. Truly a famous victory! The Hull women may console themselves by the reflection that 9,894 voters, in addition to the 25 per cent. of the electorate who did not record their votes, will be, during the life of this Parliament as unrepresented as they are themselves. We have not the slightest objection to the whole town of Hull being unrepresented, except for a mere handful of men. As long as women are entirely left out it is better so—but it is not Democracy. When this remarkable attack on the House of Lords takes place which is to end by ensuring that "The Will of the People shall Prevail," we shall be interested to see how the Liberal Government will set about finding out what the will of the people is. How will they know what the 9,894 Hull voters wish in the matter? How will they know what the will of the women of England is, in this or in any other matter? If to be unrepresentative is a crime for the House of Lords, it must be equally so for the House of Commons. The only difference between them as it seems to us, is that the House of Lords is honestly unrepresentative, and the House of Commons is dishonestly unrepresentative. We prefer the former.

MR. GLADSTONE, M.P., said to the deputation of barmaids the other day: "Our aim is by sane legislation to introduce proper conditions for the licensing trade, and in doing that the Government would give as much and as fair consideration to your legitimate interests as they are bound to give to any other class who are affected by legislation and for which they are responsible." It is a great admission that women should be supposed to have any interests at all, and that those interests should be considered capable of being affected by legislation. It almost amounts to saying that women have something to do with politics. But when a Cabinet Minister tells barmaids that the Government is "bound" to give fair consideration to their interests, we think those barmaids ought to feel quite like voters, instead of going back to Caxton Hall and grumbling. But that is the worst of women. A Cabinet Minister may toil and moil in their service, and never a word of thanks from them, unless they are members of the "Women's Liberal Association."

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE in her 88th year has been rewarded for her services of half a century ago by having conferred upon her the "Order of Merit." It is quite a safe honour to confer upon a woman, as it appears to convey with it no special privileges except that of placing its designating initials next after those denoting membership of the Order of Bath. Thus it would seem that in the case of Miss Nightingale, who is not a member of the Order of Bath, the new honour is rather pointless. But we understand that she shares it with Yamagata, Togo, and Lord Roberts, which is a consoling thought. Nevertheless we believe that she would have preferred to be honoured by seeing the status raised of the skilled and highly qualified nurse of to-day who is the direct result of the heroic work of Miss Nightingale in the fifties, and who is still looked upon as half-angel, half-gamp, and given the wages of a kitchen-maid. The "Order of Merit" may have more in it than the feminine mind can perceive, but we do wish it had been a vote.

Essex Hall Meeting.

In spite of having been somewhat hastily got up, the meeting in Essex Hall, on Monday, November 25th, was very well attended. Much regret was felt and expressed by members at the absence, owing to illness, of Mrs. How Martyn, whose name was among the speakers. Mrs. Fenwick Miller kindly took her place on the platform and made an interesting and eloquent speech. At first it seemed as if the meeting was to be disturbed by Liberal men who were present and who were evidently not there to support the demand of women for justice. But owing to tactful handling on the part of the Chairman, Miss Irene Miller, and to the really splendid speeches, the evening passed off quietly. The antagonistic element seemed to act favourably upon the speakers, and even those of us who are heartily sick of suffrage speeches, felt stirred anew as we listened to the earnest appeals made by Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Holmes, and the others. The men themselves seemed touched, and it is worthy of note that at the close of Mrs. Despard's speech, a male reporter laid down his pen and joined in the applause. Even a reporter, it seems, has a human heart! It should be mentioned that Miss Neilans made her debut as a speaker. She described her police-court protest in a little speech, the tone and style of which promise well for her future usefulness in this direction.

The usual adult Suffrage amendment to the usual resolution was as usual put to the meeting and lost. The arguments in favour of or against it were drowned in a general clamour of voices, the men making up in the last five minutes for their unnaturally good behaviour up to that point.

The presence of members of the Men's League gave us moral support. It is always a comfort on those occasions to feel that every man is not an enemy.

Imagination in Propaganda.

It is said of the Iron Duke that he attributed his military successes to the fact that he could always guess "what the other fellow was up to."

He was endowed, by his Irish nature, with that rare gift of imagination that enabled him to understand the motives and to calculate the movements of others.

In that excellent agitator's handbook 'The Life of Richard Cobden'—which every one desirous of knowing how a great movement can be organized should read—Mr. John Morley says that while John Bright saw only the selfishness of his opponents, which moved him to vehement political anger that had no patience with their bad reasoning, Richard Cobden, who had to see to the ways and means of carrying the movement on to victory, drew his opponents along with him as friends and equals. He had inexhaustible patience in dealing with the mental infirmities of those whom it was his business to persuade. He was wholly free from any unmeasured anger against human stupidity.

Though there was a time in his life when he found that he could do nothing with men; when he could hardly hope to find an audience that would suffer him to speak, he never lost

faith in the English nation as the most outspoken and truthful in the world. It was this sincere respect for his great audiences, this peculiar gift of imagination, that enabled him to appreciate their point of view, however wrong he considered it to be, and demonstrated it to be, that gave him such a powerful hold over the people of England in his great campaign, and finally enabled him to win his brilliant victory over ignorance and reaction.

Nowhere is that gift more necessary than in this movement. In our attempt to bring together the women of England into an effective organization to secure political expression for their sex, not only have we to deal with ancient prejudices that are quite sincere, and ignorant hostility that is quite honest, but we have also to deal with a multitude of opinions drawn from every sphere of the social life of the nation. We have to deal with varying temperaments, from the neutral and lukewarm friend to the hot enthusiast, ready for any sacrifice, who in her impatience with injustice cries out with Carlyle that the country is inhabited by 43,000,000 people, mostly fools. It is, therefore, of supreme importance to cultivate this gift of imagination that will enable us to understand and appreciate varying points of view, in order that we may successfully arrange work and opportunities for every one. In this way every individual member will be encouraged to play her part, however small that part may be, to help forward a cause which so intimately affects the welfare and the dignity of women. M. W. E.

An Extract from the Tin Trumpet, or Heads and Tails, published 71 years ago.

WOMAN.—An exquisite production of nature, between a rose and an angel, according to a German poet; the female of the human species, according to the zoologists; the redeeming portion of humanity, according to politer fact and experience. Woman is a treasure of which the profligate and the unmarried can never appreciate the full value, for he who possesses many does not possess one. Malherbe says, in his Letters, that the Creator may have repented the creation of man, but that He had no reason to repent having made woman? Who will deny this: and which of us does not feel, though in due subjection to a holier religion, the devotion of Anacreon, who, when he was asked why he addressed so many of his hymns to women, and so few to the deities, answered, "Because women are my deities"?

In England the upper classes are generally so much occupied with public affairs, or with local and magisterial duties, to say nothing of the uncongenial sports of the field, that women are obliged to associate with frivolous dangles and idlers, to whose standard they necessarily lower their minds and their conversation. To appear a blue-stocking subjects a female to certain ridicule with those coxcombs who adopt the silly notion of Lessing, "that a young lady who thinks, is like a man who rouges," and who maintain that she should address herself, not to the sense, but to the senses of her male companions. Politics have thus tended to effect a mental dissociation of the sexes, the jealousy of dunces to trivialize the conversational intercourse that still subsists, and women whose unchecked intellectual energies would be "Dolphin-like, and show themselves above the element they move in," are compelled to bow to this subjection, unless they have the courage to set up for blue-stockings—and old maids. Were their supremacy to effect no change in the present general character of the sex, I believe the world would be an incalculable gainer by making them lords of their lords, and committing to them the sole direction of all affairs, both national and domestic. As some of our most distinguished sovereigns have been females, is it unreasonable to conclude that we should ensure permanent good government for the whole human race by acknowledging the sovereignty of the sex?

[An account of the Caxton Hall Debate between Miss Bondfield and Mrs. Billington-Greig last Tuesday will be given in next Thursday's issue of *Women's Franchise*.]

Thirty-one Years Ago.

SPEECH BY MR. CAMERON, M.P.

SPEAKING at a Women's Suffrage Meeting held at the Victoria Hall, Sunderland, December, 1876, Mr. Cameron said that the exclusion of women, otherwise legally qualified, from voting in the election of members of Parliament was injurious to those excluded, contrary to the principle of just representation and to that of the law, as now enforced, regulating the election of municipal, parochial, and all other representative governments. This he (Mr. Cameron) considered was a political question. Among the arguments against women having political power was one that they could not grasp the abstract, and that they should devote themselves to domestic matters which was their proper sphere. It was also said that the mind of woman was somewhat different from the masculine intellect. The answer to this was that the experiment in the world's history had been made, and, if she had shown herself, even in a few instances, to be capable of rising to man's intellect, it proved there was no inherent difference between the two. The same was once said of the negroes. But, like himself, they all knew there was no difference between the brain of the black and the brain of the white man. (Applause.) They found that in nearly every occupation, when woman had the opportunity, and possessed sufficient culture and social position to employ her mind in different directions, she equalled and in some respects surpassed the intellect of man. While enumerating examples, he mentioned the names of Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mrs. Fry, Miss Nightingale, Miss Burdett-Coutts, and others whose intellectual capacity none would gainsay. If God had conferred upon women mind and faculties, those faculties in the creatures of His own creation should be brought out and used for the benefit of those individuals and for the good of the whole world.

Where Women are Respected.

THE Australian Papers to hand by this mail, give glowing and full accounts of the Great Exhibition of Women's Work inaugurated and opened in Melbourne last October by Lady Northcote—the first of the kind ever held in the world. Upwards of 15,000 exhibits were shown, from all countries; the ode for the opening ceremony, composed and conducted by a woman, was performed by a choir and orchestra of women, the number being 15,000. So great was public interest in the event that the city was filled with visitors from all the other states. Governors and their suites, Vice-Admiral Hawkes, and other distinguished people, took part in the opening ceremony. A public half-holiday was suggested to the Premier too late for him to take any action in the matter, but the meeting of the Legislative Assembly was postponed to enable honorable members to attend the opening. Does not this contrast with the behaviour of English politicians, who show no desire to interest themselves in women's work? The paper claims that this great exhibition proves "that our women citizens possess the three essential qualities of a successful people—courage, enterprise, and intelligence." In another column it is instructive to notice the attitude of the Members of the House during the second reading of the Infant Life Protection Bill. The Chief Secretary recommends the appointment of lady Inspectors, instead of police, for visiting the boarded-out children. "Lady Inspectors have done excellent work under the Factories' Act, and in regard to the protecting of infant life." Ladies would certainly be better than policemen. D. M. C.

BRANCH NOTE.—Miss M. Lawson has been elected secretary of the Central Branch in place of Miss Neilans, who is devoting her time to headquarters.

Scottish Notes.

A SERIES of interesting meetings have been held during the last few weeks. Miss Munro, Mrs. Sanderson, and Miss Hopegood were among the speakers, and I have spoken at Stonehouse, Lenzie, Stepps, Glasgow, and St. Andrews, as well as at meetings in England. In the ancient university city of Fife the women students formed a most interested audience. As a result, a Suffrage Society will, I hope, be formed there in a very short time.

The Glasgow Western Branch held a very delightful At Home a fortnight ago, at which Miss Hopegood gave an address on 'The Revolt of Women,' followed by music and friendly intercourse. A number of friends and sympathizers became members.

In Dundee Miss Wilkie, who expects soon to leave Scotland, has resigned the secretaryship of the branch, which Miss Bell has taken. But activities have not suffered. Determined attempts have been made to question Mr. Edmund Robertson, Liberal member for the division. This gentleman has been forced to receive a deputation, and severely heckled at several meetings. The Glasgow Central Branch was especially to the front in the making of the police-court protests. The new Hon. Treasurer of the Scottish Council, Mrs. Moffat, gave valuable assistance in organizing and carrying out the first of these simultaneous protests. The results produced were good. Several of the leaders written upon the subject show a surprising understanding of the principle which urged the protest. Only in one case were we accused of being advocates of lawlessness. For present day journalism this is wonderful indeed.

Money is coming in, though not so quickly as we would desire. A gift of 20l. from Miss Allan, a staunch friend of the cause, and one or two smaller sums reached our Scottish treasurer last week. We particularly appeal for Christmas and New Year gifts during the next three weeks, so that the office, the opening of which is now only a matter of time, may be a reality by the beginning of January. Mrs. Moffat's address is 15, University Avenue, Glasgow.

The sale of Suffragist work promises to be a means of education as well as a source of income. It is now suggested that the different branches or groups of branches should be responsible for different sections or stalls of exhibits. I hope that Scotland will make an effort to show the English branches how such things ought to be done. After the Committee meeting on Saturday next I shall be able to announce the date and the name of the Scottish Committee member to whom Scottish contributions should be sent.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Suffrage Song.

Lo! o'er the forward hills of Life
Is seen a wondrous sign;
A star with splendour fills the sky
Above a land supine—
The star of patient womanhood—
The hours of darkness spent—
The harbinger of Freedom's day
Illumes the firmament.

Chorus—
O, heed the hour ye watchmen all,
Ye woman-hearts arise,
The night that's born of constancy
Shall win the goal ye prize.

A starlight banner proudly waves
Its message on the wind,
Of woman risen to proclaim
Her virtues unconfined.
Her hopes are woven in its folds,
Her children kiss its hem—
The flag that leads to victory
And brighter days for them.

CHARLES H. GREEN.

Please Note.

THAT the Suffragist Sale of Work has been postponed for some weeks, in order that the workers may be able to bring up the articles they are producing to the high standard of perfection required of them.

That the workers consider a fortnight rather too short a notice to enable them to manufacture enough things to bring in some hundreds of pounds—which is what is expected of them.

That the workers, in fact, have struck for longer hours. That the announcement of the earlier date (Dec. 14) is to be attributed to an unseemly desire on the part of the Financial Secretary to get money in at once, and to want of imagination on the part of those members of the Committee who cannot sew, knit, or spin.

That the Sale of Work will be probably held in February or March of the coming year.

That the workers are requested to keep on toiling from now till then.

That Mrs. Morrow, 16, Auriol Road, West Kensington, will be glad to answer all communications concerning the work.

That Passive Resisters to the Income-tax or House-tax are requested to send in their names and addresses to the Hon. Sec. W. F. L.

A list is being made, and it is desirable that it should be a long one. Information as to how to resist passively may be obtained in this office.

That Gentlemen are cordially invited to the "At Homes" held every Thursday at this Office from 3.30 to 6 p.m. We thought this was understood, but a complaint has reached us to the effect that the members of the "Women's Freedom League" behave coldly to men, and do not admit them to their "At Homes." This is quite an erroneous idea. Women know too well what it is to be cold-shouldered themselves to desire to inflict it upon the other sex.

Meetings.

AT CROYDON.—The Croydon branch is very busy arranging a big public meeting, to be held at Sutton on December 16th. Mrs. Despard and Miss Murby have promised to speak. It is hoped that the meeting will do much to arouse local interest in the cause of votes for women, as it is the first of its kind to be held in Sutton.

The committee are arranging a Progressive Games evening, to be called a "Suffragette Frivol," in aid of the funds. The date is not yet fixed.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From December 5th to December 13th.			
			P.M.
Thurs.	Social Meeting, 18, Buckingham Street	Mrs. Billington-Greig	3.30-6
	Central Branch, "At Home" Fulham	Mrs. Despard Mrs. Billington-Greig	8
Fri.	Organizing Committee, 18, Buckingham Street		6.30
Sat.	National Executive Committee, 18, Buckingham Street		10.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.
Sun.	Battersea Park Brockley Park (Central Branch) Clapham Common	Miss Murby	3 3 3
Mon.	18A, Katherine Street, Croydon		3.15
Wed.	High Cross Institute, Tottenham Green Glasgow University	Miss Cox Miss FitzHerbert Mrs. Billington-Greig	8 7
Thurs.	Hackney Clapham	Miss Hamilton Miss A. Otter	
Fri.	Co-operative Hall, Bromley Uddington Public Hall	Mrs. Lewis Mrs. Billington-Greig	8

** All communications intended for the Women's Freedom League columns should be addressed to The Editor, W.F.L., 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

We have received a copy of a Reading paper containing a description of a public meeting held in that town last week, at which the speakers were Mrs. Fawcett, of the National Union, and Mr. Herbert Jacobs, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Men's League. The proceedings were honoured by the presence of a body of students from the University College, and none of the speakers was accorded a hearing. There was no reason to suppose that the rioters were convinced opponents of Women's Suffrage; one or two of them shook hands with Mr. Jacobs in the kindest manner after refusing to hear him speak for half an hour and assailing him with cries of "Pankhurst!"

Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell opened a debate last Wednesday before the North-East London Jewish Society. A large audience displayed considerable interest in the debate, and at the close the voting resulted in a tie; many of the audience afterwards assured Mr. Mitchell that the subject as a serious question was practically a new one to them. They had considered it mainly from the standpoint of the "tactics" which bulk so largely in a certain section of the daily press. "If you will come and discuss it again you will find us more prepared to understand the issues."

Mr. Granville Barker, one of our members, is addressing an important meeting at the Paddington Baths Hall on Thursday next. Miss F. Gladys Wright, the local Secretary, would be glad of the help of stewards, who are asked to be present by 7.20.

Will those who have unsold tickets for our Queen's Hall meeting on Dec. 17th, kindly return them at once?

Lady Graduates in the Middle Ages.

Those who sympathize in the claim of lady undergraduates to the academic honours which they earn, and are still denied, at some of our older universities, may be interested in the following extract from Dr. Hastings Rashdall's learned and entertaining masterpiece, 'The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.' Dealing with the importance attached by modern universities to mediæval precedents, he writes (Vol. ii. Part 2, p. 712):—

"The University of London, after being empowered by Royal Charter to do all things that could be done by any university, was legally advised that it could not grant degrees to women without a fresh Charter, because no University had ever granted such degrees; we have seen that there were women doctors at Salerno."

In a foot-note the author adds—

"I have been informed by an eminent Judge, who was one of the Counsel on whose advice the University acted, that a knowledge of this fact would have modified his opinion."

To the mere layman, who is neither lawyer nor member of Congregation, the reason for withholding degrees for women alleged by the eminent judge and his colleagues will not, perhaps, appear overwhelmingly cogent. The mere layman may, in his ignorance, doubt whether even the most consistent negation of justice in the past is a satisfactory ground for continued injustice in the present and future. But, as Dr. Rashdall shows, there are precedents in favour of women, which might long ago have turned the scale; and though the lawgivers of Oxford and Cambridge might shrink from copying an innovation introduced by mushroom rivals such as Trinity College, Dublin, they might, without any abatement of dignity or of reverence for the past, pay heed to a precedent set by

Salerno, which was at the height of its fame in the eleventh century. The medical science of Salerno was hardly less famous than the legal erudition of Bologna and the scholasticism of Paris. And at the height of its fame, there were many women who lectured and wrote, dosed and operated, on equal terms with the most renowned of its professors. Here, surely, is a precedent hoary enough for the rulers of Oxford itself.

It is not unique. Paris also had its lady physicians, one of whom was rash enough to cure the Royal Chancellor when all the skill of the nobler sex had proved vain. The Medical Faculty of the University, outraged by her audacity, and alarmed at the menace to their privileges and pockets, instituted a prosecution—which failed.

There were also women students and graduates at Salamanca, where one would least expect them. Some were even married, it would seem; for it was from Salamanca that Queen Isabella the Catholic summoned Doña Beatrix Galindo to initiate her into the mysteries of Latin—"long before the Protestant Elizabeth put herself to school under Ascham," as Dr. Rashdall observes.

If the learned Gaspar Marianus de Varrano Lentius may be trusted, which is not altogether certain, it often befell at Bologna that "our ancestors listened to women lecturing on the laws from the professorial chair." He cites, as examples, five ladies, three, at least, of whom were graduates. Among them were Novella, wife of one Joannes de Lignano, who "used to ascend her husband's chair and expound the laws, whenever he was distracted with cares"; and Battisia de Gozzadinis, whose lectures, given *publice in Archigymnasio*, were received *incredibili plausu*. But in spite of a "wealth of corroborative detail," the learned Gaspar cannot be quoted as a safe witness on mediæval practice; for the date of his *Responsum viro Bakavo circa ea que Bononiæ de studiis præcipua notabilia sunt* is no earlier than 1719, despite the antique flavour of its title.

Pavia provides a more authentic instance, in the person of Helena Lucretia Cornelia, whose name suggests a felicitous union of all the graces and virtues of her sex. Helena passed "eagerly and earnestly" through the whole course prescribed for students of philosophy, and finished by receiving the title and insignia of a Master in *Cathedrali Basilica*. A few days previously, the chronicler adds, she had conducted a public argument in Greek and Latin, while the magistrates of Pavia and Venice stood around and, no doubt, looked as if they understood. Her academic career ended in a blaze of glory. She examined two candidates for the degree of Bachelor; she "gladly" undertook to give a public display of her intellectual prowess; and this she concluded by thanking the whole assembly for its condescension in a Latin oration, followed by a Greek ode in praise of the City Fathers.

With these inspiring precedents to justify them, it seems strange that the authorities of our older universities still hesitate—especially as the modern Helenas are less liberal of their odes and orations and disputations.

K. G. JAYNE.

Archdeacon Wilberforce and Women's Suffrage.

A VERY striking testimony to the widespread interest which has been aroused by the movement for Women's Enfranchisement is embodied in a report which has been sent to us of a meeting under the auspices of the Penal Reform League. The meeting was held on November 28th in the hall of St. John's Institute, Tufton Street, Westminster. The Venerable Archdeacon Wilberforce was in the chair.

In the words of the Hon. Secretary, Capt. Arthur St. John,

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 who may seem to associate its policy with hostility towards any one of the existing political parties.]

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

DEAR SIR,—It is to be hoped that the great meeting of December 17th will not pass without an emphatic protest being made against this silly business of interrupting public meetings and disturbing the order of police courts. What the misguided people who act in this way are after it is not easy to see, but it is a thousand pities that a cause so eminently—so pre-eminently reasonable as the cause of Women's Suffrage should be discredited by such irrational performances, whose principal effect appears to be to supply the opponents of the cause with a better show of a case than they could ever have expected to have. For they ask exultantly, If the enfranchised women are going to be as absurd in their action as this, if they are going to degrade politics to a succession of petty disorders and little disturbances, why should we enfranchise them at all? And so these poor prejudiced creatures, who had argumentatively hardly a leg to stand on, now feel as well provided as if they were centipedes.

We know, of course, that the exasperation which these ladies feel can easily be excused. The denial of the franchise to women is a gross injustice, and injustice produces anger; and anger, we are told, is short-lived madness. The complaint here, however, is that the anger is not short-lived, but seems likely to develop into a permanent derangement of intellect. For when are these ladies going to stop? Haven't they already done enough to show their wrath? Haven't they already inflicted sufficient injury on the cause?

Yours truly,
QUOUSQUE TANDEM.

Mr. Raphael's Candidature.

SIR,—I would recommend that Women's Suffrage Societies should support all candidates for Parliament who are known to be genuine advocates of the Suffrage, and who can be relied upon in or out of Parliament, whether they belong to the Liberal, Tory, Nationalist, or Socialist Party, and oppose, or decline to work for, any candidate who does not support Women's Suffrage. To refuse to help one who is of ourselves and trying to further the Cause is treachery to the Cause, and might be the means of converting friends into enemies.

Fortify our friends everywhere, and mass our heavy artillery against the positions of Cabinet Ministers.

Concentrate, concentrate, concentrate, and be known for one thing in every contest.

Glasgow, November 30th, 1907.

J. S.

DEAR SIR,—Please enrol me as a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. . . . As to the question of policy in the Croydon election, I should certainly not oppose a pronounced supporter of the cause, though a Liberal. To do so would be illogical, and the winning of a seat would demonstrate to politicians the influence of women just as well as, or better than causing a reverse to the Liberal party—especially as in this case the sitting member is adverse—and his success, if gained, would not be ascribed to the assistance afforded by women.

Yours very truly,
E. GRAY.

Gray's Court, York.

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

the object of the Penal Reform League is "so to change men's minds and alter the attitude of society towards crime and criminals, that, instead of brutalizing ourselves and our criminals by irrelevant punishment, we shall really protect society by reclaiming criminals to useful activities, or, if irreclaimable, by keeping them out of mischief in permanent kindly care, and, in the meantime, leave off making criminals out of defective, weak-willed, or high-spirited youngsters."

Archdeacon Wilberforce, in the course of his concluding remarks, stated emphatically "We want votes for women," expressing his belief that the work of reforming the unsatisfactory condition of our prison-system is one on which women may naturally be expected to lay considerable stress, and also one with which their sympathetic care and imagination peculiarly fit them to deal.

This striking declaration from a man of Archdeacon Wilberforce's position may well be set beside a similarly emphatic demand from Mr. Atherley Jones, K.C., M.P., speaking at a meeting of the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment some weeks ago. Such statements in their respective contexts constitute a strong answer to the man who insists that women should confine themselves to home duties. Some of the men who raise this objection frankly or unconsciously maintain that women are in the world to make men comfortable; such foolish egotists—monomaniacs rather—are hopeless. But those who do not narrow the meaning of "home" to "man's comfort-producing machine," may well be asked to remember that there is a national "home," with national "children," the fatherless, the poor, the mentally and physically deficient or deformed. Who shall blame the woman who devotes her spare time not to the recognized "womanly" or "ladylike" relaxations of bridge, golfing, Hurlingham, and matinees, but to the study of the needs of the nation's "children"? And who shall blame the woman who, having arrived at definite ideas on such subjects, resents the fact that her Parliamentary votelessness stands in the way of her compelling the legislature to take cognizance of her competent knowledge?

We shall be told with a blandly pitying smile by our friend the monomaniac, that these social topics are just those which a woman cannot deal with, because she is emotional. There is a strong temptation to ask him whether he really fears what he says he fears, or whether he does not rather fear lest a modicum of that emotion, which should be focussed upon himself, might be devoted to some other less worthy, though externally more desperate, cases. He is indeed a tragic spectacle—the Strong, Logical, Unemotional Man in danger of losing, perhaps in the service of his country, a portion of that sympathy which he claims should be concentrated on his own household. "Influence me," he implores, "that I may be as noble in intention as I am strong and effective in government; but I am sorry to say that the emotion which exercises so beneficial an influence on me after dinner in the evening, or when my bootlace breaks in the morning, would be most dangerous if it were allowed to express itself on a voting paper." Since he regards this influence as so beneficial, and himself as so entirely adapted to receiving and transmitting it, how does he explain the fact that the problems of physical degeneration, poverty, the penal system, are still, after thousands of years of civilization, such as to awaken the indignant horror and the earnest endeavours of the finest intellects and the keenest and most qualified statesmen? Does he attach sufficient importance to the possibility that the stream of feminine influence may have evaporated in the arid atmosphere of his own much vaunted common sense, or even have lost itself, like a mountain stream, in the cavernous profundity of his eternal prudence?

At all events we believe—we who are working for Women's Enfranchisement—that there are national problems of a domestic character, the solution—nay, in some cases, the consideration, of which is delayed by the exclusion of women from the Parliamentary Franchise. No amount of external applications will save society from catastrophe if the internal mechanism is allowed to go wrong; and we agree with Archdeacon Wilberforce that women will render a great service to society by compelling candidates and Members of Parliament to attach due importance to the domestic requirements of the nation.

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