

Women's Franchise.

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Contents.

	PAGE
NOTES	561
THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS	562
HERBERT SPENCER ON THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN	562
CORRESPONDENCE	563
SUFFRAGE SATURDAY, JUNE 13TH, 1908	564
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES (Current Topics; Mr. Asquith's Pronouncement; Further Donations to the Procession Fund; Branch Societies; New Society in Shrewsbury; Death of Miss Louisa Stevenson; Programme of Forthcoming Events)	565-567
WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE (late W.S.P.U.) (Notes; The Prime Minister's Declaration; Ungallant Little Wales; Asquith's Prisoners; Protest at Downing Street; News and Announcements; Scottish Council; Branch Notes; Miss Bennett's Protest; Plans of the London Council; The Gospel of St. Asquith; Correspondence; Programme of Forthcoming Events)	568-571
SCOTTISH WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION (Editorial; Stirling Burghs By-Election)	572
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE (Notes and Comments; The Stewards' Corps; Correspondence; Woman's Freedom)	573-575

Notice to Subscribers and Contributors.

May Subscriptions are now due. Weekly Numbers, 1½d. a week post free. Quarterly Subscriptions, 1s. 8d.; yearly, 6s. 6d. Back Numbers can still be obtained, but the Number for January 30th is very scarce, and costs 3d.

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.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,

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

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

Notes.

WE congratulate Mr. Asquith on the fact that, with the Premiership fresh upon him, he has thought it fitting to acknowledge at least a change of opinion with regard to women's enfranchisement, and so seek to range himself beside not only his predecessor, but many great statesmen of the past. The press generally seems to be surprised to find that, instead of moulding public opinion, which it used to consider its prerogative, that office has been taken by a comparatively intellectual few, and the results are becoming apparent. This is not the time to relax effort, but rather to renew the same, in order that, now the Prime Minister has offered to set the legislative door ajar, we may bring the whole of our weight to bear to throw that door wide open.

IN furtherance of the idea expressed in our correspondence columns, of obtaining an advertisement for our paper on the day of the procession, June 13th, we ask for the loan of a motor-car. Will anyone willing to accede to our request, address their offer to the office of this paper, and say what accommodation the car provides.

A PRIZE of one guinea will be given to the writer of the best essay on "Women's Suffrage" which is received at the offices of *Women's Franchise* on or before the 15th of June. Each essay must be accompanied by six penny stamps and the name and address of the sender. The Competition Editor reserves the right of publishing any MS. received, but in the case of so doing he will return the six penny stamps at least.

TESTIMONY to the value of Women's Suffrage in Australia was given recently in an article by the Hon. J. H. Carruthers, ex-Premier of New South Wales, which appeared in *The Daily Chronicle*. In comparing men and women voters he tells us that in Australia "there is a tendency for the woman to view questions from a rather wider outlook. She has the care and nurture of the children as her task, and she is more inclined to think seriously of those evils which are followed by poverty in the home, neglected children, and loss of all comforts. Consequently she is more inclined to vote for principles which are embodied in measures of social reform than the men, who are often carried away by mere faction cries." The following remark is particularly interesting in view of the point so often raised by our opponents that the majority of women must be converted before we can hope to win our cause. "If the question had been left to a poll of the women themselves, Woman Suffrage would not have been granted in Australia, because the majority of women would have voted against it." Mr. Carruthers tells us that now the majority of both men and women are in favour of it. His opinions are of the more value as "coming from one who opposed it."

IT has been reported in some quarters that the appeal of the Scottish Women Graduates to the House of Lords on the question of their right as members of General Councils of Scottish Universities to vote for their University Members of Parliament will be heard in July. This, however, is inaccurate. Miss Chrystal Macmillan, hon. secretary of the Parliamentary Franchise Committee of Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities, writes to say that her latest information is that the case will not be heard before October, the probable date being in the end of that month.

AT a meeting recently held at the headquarters of the North Paddington Conservative Association, Councillor Dr. Chatterton delivered a very able address on 'The Parliamentary Suffrage for Women.' He showed that for centuries, up to the time of the passing of the first Reform Bill, women not only had the right to vote for members of Parliament, but also the right to take part in the legislative work of the country. Dealing with the question of the fitness of women to exercise the Parliamentary vote, Dr. Chatterton pointed to the civic work which was being done by women as members of Boards of Guardians and in many other ways.

MRS. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT has again sent us 4s., being her promised contribution of 1s. per week towards the expenses of publishing *Women's Franchise*. We have received from Miss A. Farmer a subscription for six months on behalf of the Reading and Recreation Rooms at Montgomery.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM.—*Jus Suffragii* for May 15th publishes a list of hotels and boarding houses, which will be very useful to intending visitors. Sympathizers who are not delegates may be recognized as members of the Congress by paying an entrance fee of five Dutch florins. This should be sent to the Secretary of the Central Committee, Meuffrouw Johanna W. A. Naber, 5, van Eeghenstraat, Amsterdam. The preparations for the reception of Congress members are rapidly proceeding. On Sunday, June 14th, the Rev. Anna Shaw will conduct a service in the Eglise Wallonne. The proceedings will be opened on June 15th with a cantata sung by the welcome choir, and a reception will be held in the evening. On Wednesday, the 17th, a meeting will be held in the afternoon for young people, at which the speakers will be Mrs. Fawcett, Dr. Anita Augsborg (Germany), Fru Holmgren (Sweden), Mrs. Waugh MacCulloch (Illinois), and Madame Mirovitch (Russia). On Thursday, the 18th, Women's Suffrage will be discussed from the Christian standpoint. On Saturday, the 20th, there will be a dinner to the delegates, and on the 21st a boat excursion from Rotterdam to the Hollandsch Diep. A large attendance is expected, and everything points to a most interesting and successful week.

SWEDEN.—The Suffrage societies have been hard at work trying to win friends in Parliament before the proposal for Manhood Suffrage is introduced there in the autumn. Here, as elsewhere, it seems that the passing of such a Bill would indefinitely postpone the prospects of Women's Enfranchisement. The only possible course is to work for an amendment, giving women votes on the same terms as men.

On April 29th the Grand Committee, to which the question had been referred, rejected all the Suffrage Bills. The votes were nine to eleven for Women's Suffrage. Next day, Members of Parliament were invited by the Executive Committee of the Women's Suffrage Association to a meeting in the banquet hall of the Grand Hotel. About 150 out of the total 380 accepted. Speeches were delivered by the President of the Swedish National Union, Miss Anna Whitlock, Dr. Wahlstrom, of the Stockholm Society, and Mrs. Dyrssen, wife of a former Cabinet Minister. Miss Whitlock gave an account of the work done by Swedish women for their enfranchisement and the development of the Suffrage Societies, which now number 124. Mrs. Dyrssen treated the question from the point of view of the married women, and Dr. Lydia Wahlstrom dealt with the political situation and the position of women as citizens.

On May 2nd the subject was discussed in both Chambers. In the First Chamber the debate lasted three hours, 40 voted in favour and 79 against. The Second Chamber discussed it for four hours. There were 93 votes for the Bill and 110 against. There seems little hope, therefore, that Women's Suffrage will be included in the new measure of enfranchisement; but in view of the general elections which take place in the autumn, every effort will be made to ensure the return of as many as possible of the friends of the women's cause.

At the demonstrations of Trades Unions on May 1st several thousand women of the working classes marched in procession, carrying banners inscribed "Votes for Women." A. ZIMMERN.

Herbert Spencer on the Enfranchisement of Women.

SOME time ago there was published in *The Times* a letter from Herbert Spencer to John Stuart Mill. This letter was written in 1867, in reply to a request that Mr. Spencer would associate himself with a movement for the enfranchisement of women.

Mr. Spencer expresses his opinion as to the ultimate necessity for woman's enfranchisement, but he declines to take part in the movement then on foot, as he considers that the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women would tend rather to enslave than to free them!

Mr. Spencer's argument is as follows: The vote is a means to an end, and that end is the greater freedom of the individual. Women tend to rely too much upon authority, whether it be ecclesiastical or political. This being so, they would bind faster the fetters of Church and State.

Another objection to the enfranchisement of women is due to their narrow outlook. This would lead them to relieve

present distress, regardless of the fact that they might by so doing be augmenting the evil for the future, or bringing about a worse state of things than that which they seek to remedy.

The forty years which have elapsed since Herbert Spencer used these arguments have done much to show women in a very different light. Women have learnt to think for themselves, and are rapidly emancipating themselves from unthought-out beliefs, both religious and political.

Yearly the university lists tell their tales of successful women graduates. Women are now well established in the medical profession,

and a recent tribute to their worth is the large-minded throwing down of all barriers by the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, who now receive women on the same conditions as men. They have bravely faced the fortress of the legal world undaunted by its verbal volleys of "precedence" and "prejudice." Their success as educationalists is proverbial. In every branch of science and art they have now many distinguished names, and this in spite of innumerable obstacles placed in their way, obstacles that are carefully removed from the path of men. They have done so much in the last forty years that our hopes rise high for what they may achieve in the future when a full measure of freedom has been accorded to them. Such women no longer have a narrow outlook. Like wise physicians, they will seek for the cause of evils, and not content themselves with allaying symptoms. In their dealings with Poor Law administration they have shown themselves capable of this wider outlook, and their work on boards of guardians is of a very high order. The election of women to county and borough councils is another step in advance. The persistence with which this movement for the enfranchisement of women has been carried on is a proof of its durability. The steady pressure and the steady progress of the last halfcentury will continue until the removal of the sex disability is seen to be a necessary yielding to the social evolution of woman. We desire no War of the Sexes, but rather a Congress of Peace, in which men and women will sink their differences and work together for the good of the nation at large. With 420 members of Parliament pledged to support our claim, and such a record of work as we bring, we look forward with hope.



THE LION-TAMER.

But had he forgotten the lioness? (As Mr. Punch did.)

Correspondence.

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

The Refunding of Income Tax to Married Women.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

THE paragraph on this subject on the front page of your issue for April 23rd, taken from *Public Opinion*, may perhaps be literally correct, but it is misleading. A married woman who is living apart from her husband, even though there be no judicial separation, or even deed of separation, can get her income tax refunded to her, where she is entitled to exemption or to an abatement, without the help or consent of her husband. She must, however, state in the claim that she is "a married woman living apart from her husband," and the income in respect of which the claim is made must be income accrued since the separation. The words in italics probably explain why in the case to which you refer the married woman's claim was refused. As proof that my statement is correct, I may mention that I have on several occasions got income tax returned for such a married woman. The income of a married woman living with her husband is, by the Income Tax Acts, deemed to be the husband's income, and so, even where the husband has no income, and the wife is supporting him out of her income, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue will refund the income tax deducted from the wife's income to her husband only. In this way, at the present time, 5 per cent. of the wife's separate income is liable in such cases to be transferred from her to her husband. I believe the attention of a prominent member of a former Government was called to this fact, but nothing was done to remedy the injustice. It may be well to mention that there is one exception to the rule I have quoted, and it is this: where a wife living with her husband earns an income independently of her husband by the exercise of her own personal labour, and the joint income of husband and wife does not exceed £500, the profit so earned by the wife may be treated as a separate income for the purpose of claiming exemption or abatement of income tax.

Yours truly,
Bowdon, nr. Manchester. CHAS. W. PIDDUCK.

Letters to Editors.

34, Amwell Street, E.C.
DEAR SIR,—A few days ago, after the action of Miss Molony at Dundee, I ventured to write to *The Daily News* expressing my adverse opinion of such militant tactics, but at the same time setting forth (and this formed the greater part of my letter) that militant tactics, taking them as a whole (instead of considering isolated cases as the whole), were justifiable, and had proved successful in the opinion of the majority of those who by an inside knowledge were in a position to judge.

Very unfairly *The Daily News* in its subsequent issue places my adverse criticism on record, but omits the whole of my letter dealing with the general question of militant tactics. It is doubtful if under a *nom de plume* such a partial insertion would have been justified, but signed and with my address I think you will agree with me that such a step was highly unjust and grossly unfair.

I am opposed to any action which seems to me to fail in the forwarding of our cause, and I feel that the interrupting of meetings is as a rule an unwise step.

But I am one of those who strongly feel that we owe to a very large extent the present promising position to militant tactics, and I was therefore considerably annoyed when I saw the quotation of my letter in *The Daily News*.

At the same time I very earnestly plead for greater discrimination in carrying out, or abstaining from, future militant action.

Yours faithfully,
H. MACKENZIE THEEDAM.

To Help 'Women's Franchise.'

DEAR SIR,—I enclose 5s. from sale of lace which I advertised in your columns.

Mrs. Bouchier Hayes, of Rathkeale, co. Limerick, makes a good offer, i.e.—If any lady will have a drawing-room sale of lace she will send a large and beautiful selection, and they can give 3s. from every 20s. which they receive to *Women's Franchise*.

I enclose a second 5s. order from another source. Last week I wrote to the Cistern Hygiene Company the following:—"As I do not indulge in anything beyond the necessities of life in order to help on [the Enfranchisement of Women, I cannot avail myself of the services of the Cistern Hygiene Company, which I regret." I received the enclosed kind reply.

Yours faithfully,
A. POWELL.

[Reply from the Cistern Hygiene Company, Limited, received April 27th, 1908.]

Mrs. Powell,
34, Dalebury Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.

MADAM,—We have your post card of 24th inst., and as a proof of our complete sympathy with the movement to secure Votes for Women, will be pleased to continue our contract with you, free of charge, if you will permit us to carry out the work.

Wishing you every success,
Yours faithfully,
THE CISTERN HYGIENE CO., Limited.
(HARRY BAX, Director.)

[Part of letter received April 29th.]

The Cistern Hygiene workmen are in your neighbourhood to-day, and I have instructed one of them to call and carry out the work (with your kind permission), and if you will regard it as a small contribution to the "cause," instead of a personal favour to yourself, your objection is removed. Is it not so?

Yours very truly,
HARRY BAX.

DEAR SIR,—Cannot the procession on June 13th be made the occasion of a great advertisement for *Women's Franchise*? I would make the following suggestion, in the hope that it will be improved upon: That "banners," stamped in large letters with such words as "Advertise in *Women's Franchise*," "Read *Women's Franchise*," "We support Advertisers in the *Franchise*," &c., should be distributed, say, every fifty yards or so, to those walking in the procession. Many of your readers would, I have no doubt, be only too glad to carry them. The "banners" might be made of strong paper, and if printed by The Woman Citizen Publishing Society, could, I presume, be sold for a few pence, which those who have the honour of carrying the banners would probably be very glad to pay (thus avoiding any expense to the Publishing Society). If it is necessary that the banners should be of linen, perhaps some of your readers with leisure at their command would volunteer to "paint" the words on them.

I wonder if the many men and women who are so anxious to help *Women's Franchise* realize that they can best do so by advertising in it, or obtaining advertisements for it from good firms. The whole movement owes so very much to those who up to the present have borne the anxiety and expense of publishing the paper, that we, the rank and file, should make every effort to make that burden lighter. The most effectual way to do so is by obtaining advertisements for it.

Yours faithfully,
R. POWELL.

[Owing to lack of space, we are obliged to hold over some Correspondence, Reviews of Books, and other Articles.]

SUFFRAGE SATURDAY, JUNE 13th, 1908.

Grand Procession to Mass Meeting

IN

THE ALBERT HALL.

Since Mr. Asquith's pronouncement that an overwhelming demand by women for the vote must be shown before the Government moves in the matter, it is more important than ever that women of all shades of opinions on Suffrage methods and of all religious and political parties should resolutely sink their differences and speak with one voice on the subject.

The representative character of those speaking at the Albert Hall mass meeting on June 13th is a testimony to the way in which this is being done by the leaders of the various branches of the women's movement in the country. Our leaders show that for a great cause we women are prepared to sink our most cherished convictions on other points, for the time being, recognizing that the Suffrage Movement is, at bottom, the greatest moral and spiritual movement of the age.

The procession, headed by Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. Fawcett, wearing her scarlet doctor's robe, will assemble at 2.30 o'clock at Victoria Embankment, Northumberland Avenue, and march, *via* Piccadilly to the Albert Hall. It promises to be a stirring sight. All sorts and conditions of women are taking part in it. The university women will walk in their robes, and other professional and industrial women including teachers, artists, writers, musicians, nurses, gardeners, women in business, and trades unions, and members of political societies of all parties.

This will provide a strong element of pageantry for the decorative element in the procession has been undertaken by the Artists' League for Women's Suffrage who have specially designed and artistically carried out over seventy large banners, which will be borne by women in front of the different contingents, while in some cases smaller ones will mark subdivisions. They are made of rich velvets and satins in deep crimsons and pale pinks, glittering greens and golds, purples and mauves. Each banner bears a different design and wherever possible coats of arms and heraldic devices add to the artistic beauty of the whole.

The Newnham and Girton students are taking a prominent part, and will walk under their banner, which they have worked themselves. It represents the badges of the two colleges on a pale blue ground, with the motto "Voteless Women of no Degree" upon it. Students from Dublin, Manchester, Liverpool, Oxford, and London universities are also appearing.

Each town is bringing a banner, and these in many cases represent events or persons of local celebrity. The Portsmouth banner, for instance, bears a representation of the anchor of the Victory, as mounted on Southsea beach, and the motto is Nelson's Trafalgar signal and the one he always used when going into battle: "Engage the enemy more closely." This banner is intended to symbolize hope, victory, and the heroic traditions of the home of the branch. The Hull brigade will march under a beautiful banner of blue silk with the three gold crowns of the city upon it. These banners are being displayed in shop windows, and are attracting great interest; it is an excellent occasion for propaganda work, as literature is sold within.

Tribute will be paid to the notable women of the past; to three famous Queens of England, Victoria, Elizabeth, and Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni. George Eliot will be among the writers, also Jane Austen, on whose flag will be depicted an

open book with her initials across the pages. Banners are being designed for Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Charlotte Bronte. Two women astronomers, Catherine Herschel and Mary Somerville, will have their names inscribed above astronomical devices; Lydia Becker's name will be associated with the pick and shovel of the pioneer and the motto "Pioneer of Pioneers"; and Somerville College has decided to march under a banner of their own.

There will also be 700 bannerettes—red, pink, blue and green, as well as the customary banners of the Women's Societies who will officially take part in the proceedings. "Liberal Women demand the vote" will be conspicuous among the forest of banners and the Forward Suffrage Union (members of the Women's Liberal Federation) will also be represented.

For the first time in the history of England the "home makers" of the country—the lady whom the old Anglo-Saxon word designates the "loaf-giver," those whose profession it is to execute essential home duties and those who tend the very young, will appear in a public procession to demand the right to care for the homeless. They will march under a banner on which will be depicted the fire and lamp of the home.

Under another banner bearing the honoured name of the Freewoman of the City of London—Miss Florence Nightingale—will march nurses in their distinctive uniforms.

Representatives are also coming from Hungary, the United States, Russia, and South Africa, and will march behind an international banner under their national flag.

Those who have not taken part in the procession but have gone direct to the Albert Hall will see the banners to advantage as they are brought in and ranged round the orchestra. Mrs. Layton, the first woman to be admitted to the Royal College of Organists, will play a voluntary.

We are very glad that *Miss Marie Brema* has kindly consented to sing to us.

In this connexion we must add that the seats are already selling so well that those who wish to be present must apply for tickets without loss of time to the Secretary, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.

The poster, which has been designed by C. M. Watts, and which will be seen on countless hoardings and in other places all over Great Britain during the next fortnight, is a beautiful work of art, and represents a woman trumpeter, standing on ramparts, flag in hand, and blowing an inspiring call to the women of Great Britain to come out and stand by their sisters in this fight. This poster can be obtained in two sizes.

To those who join in the procession with their *cars and carriages* we beg to say that these must form into line between *Northumberland Avenue and Waterloo Bridge*, heading of course towards Northumberland Avenue.

Secretaries are requested to get some of the particulars given above into as many papers as possible, as the publicity thus obtained would be a great help to all organisers.

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

Organiser: MISS E. M. GARDNER, B.A.

Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.

OFFICES: 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
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 MARGARET ASHTON
THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR
MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE
MRS. ALLAN BRIGHT

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

MRS. BROADLEY REID
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

WE hope our secretaries will take advantage of the Procession news in this week's number of *Women's Franchise*, and will use it as the basis of letters or articles for their local papers. The day, time, and place of meeting are most important items; also the price of tickets for the Albert Hall.

It is with special pleasure that we shall publish next week an article by Mr. Cecil Chapman, J.P., who has been Metropolitan Police Magistrate since 1899. Mr. Chapman served on the Labour Commission 1892-4, and succeeded Lord Cadogan on the L.C.C. as member for Chelsea in 1896.

We hope that as many of our friends as possible will be present with us at the Congress at Amsterdam. Visitors from England will be especially welcome, as in the opinion of the countries represented on this occasion England is the centre of the International Suffrage Movement.

By the courtesy of the Zealand Steamship Company there will be special cheap return fares.

The cost of the tickets, second class rail and first class boat, will be 1l. 13s. 6d. The party must travel outwards together on Saturday night, June 13th, leaving Victoria, S.E.R., 8.35 P.M., Holborn or St. Paul's 8.37 P.M.; arriving Queenborough 10.15 P.M., Flushing 5 A.M. June 14th, Amsterdam 9.25 A.M. Tickets are available for sixty days, and the holders may return individually, 56 lbs. luggage allowed. Those intending to join us should write without delay to the Zealand S.S. Co., Electra House, Finsbury Pavement, Moorgate, London.

The Committee of the New Reform Club have invited to dinner Mr. H. Y. Stanger, K.C., M.P., who is responsible for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare will preside at the function, which is to take place at the Westminster Palace Hotel on June 3rd, at 7.30 for 7.45. It is hoped that members of the Club will take this opportunity of complimenting their old fellow-member, Mr. Stanger, and applications for tickets (accompanied by remittance—5s. 6d. each) should be forwarded to the Secretary as soon as possible, and not later than Monday, June 1st. Non-members may obtain tickets from Mrs. C. H. Corbett, 75, Victoria Street, S.W.

News comes to us of the progress women are making abroad in various branches of work. The New York State Bar Association has admitted a woman to membership for the first time, after recently refusing the honour to two women. In Russia, a woman doctor, Madame Eolovin Skrijnsky, has just been heard as an expert before the St. Petersburg District Court in a criminal case where the prisoner was charged with drugging his victims. The University of Heidelberg recently awarded the Moos prize to Maria Kobele, a medical student from Baden. It is said to be the first occasion in Germany that an academic prize has been conferred on a woman medical student. In Greece, the Legislature, after strong opposition, has for the first time admitted women to posts in the telephone service.

It is hardly realized how much professional women give up for the cause of Women's Suffrage—for instance, one member of the Artists' Suffrage League has been devoting herself for six months to work for which she has sacrificed 30s. per week.

Mr. Asquith's Pronouncement.

MR. ASQUITH'S promise to the deputation of Suffragist members is the most important event which has yet occurred in the history of the movement. The effect of his promise is that, provided we can retain our majority in the House of Commons, Women's Suffrage will—barring unforeseen accidents—become incorporated in a Government Bill. It is therefore to all intents and purposes as good as if the Government had directly taken up the enfranchisement of women. Unless the House of Lords rejects the suggested Reform Bill, there is therefore every likelihood that women will acquire votes before the next General Election.

The two points which seem of most importance for those who wish to further the cause of Suffrage are, first, that such a measure as Mr. Asquith foreshadows will be rejected by the Lords unless they feel there is a really strong movement behind it, and secondly, that a Women's Suffrage Amendment, if it is to fulfil Mr. Asquith's conditions, must not merely propose to extend the present franchise to women, but must be so drafted as to enfranchise the majority of working women.

As regards the first point, it is evident that the likelihood of the Lords accepting the Bill depends upon the force behind it, and that this will be the united force of the Suffrage Movement and the Government. Whatever, therefore, strengthens either increases our chance of success during the present Parliament, and whatever weakens either diminishes *pro tanto* our chance of success during the present Parliament. This consideration points to the necessity for the utmost activity in Suffrage propaganda, and to the unwisdom of making such propaganda, in future, actively hostile to the Government.

As regards the second point, it will not, of course, be the business of the Suffrage Societies to draft the Amendment to be proposed, since the nature of this Amendment must be decided, when the time comes, by our friends in Parliament. But it will be the business of the Suffrage Societies to support whatever Amendment our friends in Parliament may introduce, rather than to stifle for the precise formula which would express our avowed objects. To many of us a wider extension than would be afforded by the present qualification would be very welcome; to all, presumably, it would be better than nothing. For the present, therefore, if we wish to further women's enfranchisement, it would seem desirable to keep an open mind as to the exact shape in which it is to come.

Success is now at last in sight. All that remains is that we should do our part in retaining the friendship of the House of Commons, and in extorting the respect of the House of Lords. The Government no longer needs to be intimidated, but the Lords may; and therefore now, as before, the road to victory lies through the creation of an overwhelming public opinion in our favour.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Further Donations to the Procession Fund.

Miss Amesbury	£0 2 0
Miss Garrett Anderson, M.D. .. .	15 0 0
Anonymous	0 2 6
Mrs. Ayrton	5 0 0
Mrs. Dexter	1 1 0
Miss A. Freeman	1 1 0
Miss Agnes Gardiner	1 0 0
Mrs. Gibb	0 2 0
Miss Ada H. Green	0 10 0
Miss E. T. Hallows	1 0 0
Mrs. Thomas Hardy	0 5 0
Mrs. Hodgson	5 0 0
Miss Henshon	0 1 0
Mrs. Ives	0 2 6
Miss Lethbridge	0 1 0
Mrs. McLearn	0 2 6
Miss Paul	0 17 6
Mrs. Runnals	0 2 6
Miss D. Smith	0 2 0
Mrs. Spokes	1 1 0
Miss Jean Stone	0 11 0
Mrs. G. Thompson	5 0 0
Mrs. Tubbs	2 2 0
Miss Walker	0 2 6
Miss F. L. Wickelgren	0 2 6
Wimbledon Branch W.S.S.	0 5 0
Miss D. F. Cholmeley	0 5 0
Mrs. Andrews	0 10 0
F. J. Dryhurst, Esq.	1 1 0
Mrs. Pratt	0 1 0
Miss F. Street	0 10 0
Miss A. M. Catchpool	0 10 0
Miss E. D. Coats	1 1 0
Mrs. Dowson	0 15 0
Miss M. Chave	0 2 6
Miss L. Thompson	0 2 6
Miss I. Sinclair	0 2 0
Mrs. Williams	0 5 0
Mrs. Rushton	0 2 6
Mrs. Saveraux	0 2 6
Miss Rose Paul	0 2 6
Miss E. M. Chesson	0 1 0
Miss Brackenbury	0 2 6
Mrs. Webb	0 10 0
	£47 2 6

Branch Societies.

BIRMINGHAM AND MIDLAND.—The annual meeting was held on May 13th. Dr. Furneau Jordon took the chair. There was an unusually large attendance, who were greatly moved by Miss Abadam's stirring speech—the result being that many joined the Society, and many promised to join in the Demonstration in London on June 13th. The Birmingham and Midland Society are running a special train, and hope to bring at least 200 women to walk in the procession. Mrs. Osler, the President, made a strong appeal for support at the end of the meeting. There was a very good collection, and altogether one felt there was a greater stir towards enthusiasm than one had ever known before.

A drawing-room meeting was held on Thursday, May 21st. Mrs. Gregory was hostess. Miss Jackson was speaker, whose remarks led to a long and animated discussion on the present position in regard to Mr. Asquith's pronouncement.

It was agreed that strenuous work was more than ever needed at this juncture. The following resolution was passed unanimously, and the President directed to send a copy of it to the Premier: "This meeting wish to convey their thanks to Mr. Asquith for his pronouncement in furtherance of Women's Suffrage, it being their conviction that the enfranchisement of women is absolutely necessary for the good of the nation."

BRADFORD.—On Wednesday, May 20th, three drawing-room meetings were held, at which Mrs. Swanwick and Miss Margaret Robertson spoke. On Thursday, May 21st, Mrs. Swanwick addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting of men in the Mechanics' Institute in the dinner-hour. At this meeting a resolution in favour of granting the franchise to women was passed with only seven dissentients. Mrs. Swanwick addressed another drawing-room meeting before she left Bradford that afternoon.

BRISTOL.—The first of a series of "Musical Franchise Teas" was held on May 19th at St. Margaret's School, Bishopston, by the kind invitation of Madame de Laval-Hastings. There was a large attendance. Mrs. R. Talbot, who was in the chair, spoke of the use men made of women in elections. The Government had asked for numbers, and in their procession, June 13th, they were going to give them numbers.

Mr. Donald Fraser, in an excellent address, spoke of the great need the country had for all its intelligence; it could not afford to leave out any. The "man in the street" had to be impressed now, that is why the women were making this big demonstration. In conclusion Mr. Fraser said that tradition only was keeping the movement back. Miss Tanner and Miss Mabel Duncan gave particulars of the procession, and the arrangements they had made for trains. Donations were given, and help promised.

On May 20th another meeting of the same kind was held in the garden at 18, Belgrave Road, Clifton, by the kind invitation of Miss Clarice Ryall-Davies, which was a great success. Miss Ryall-Davies's pupils provided a most excellent programme of music during tea. A brisk sale of Suffrage literature went on. Mrs. Green-Armytage was in the chair, and gave a most able address. Mrs. Spencer, in her usual most delightful manner, gave fourteen reasons why women should have the Suffrage, the first being that "The person that pays the piper should call the tune." Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Willis proposed votes of thanks, and Miss Mabel Duncan gave an account of the arrangements made for the Women's Procession, June 13th. Donations and promises of help were given, and several new members joined.

HULL.—How to take our part in the Procession on June 13th, 1908.—The Committee on ways and means decided that the Procession must be loyally supported, and Hull must send at least 100 women to walk in it. On that all are agreed; but how is it to be done? Fortunately we have, at least, one brilliant member with ideas and a magnetic personality. Where she leads there will be followers. "We will have Franchise Teas and talk upon the subject." The first is held at Miss Murdoch's, when promises to find 70 women and 40l. are made. Stimulated by this success our Treasurer, Mrs. Coysh, and Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Kirk, determined to hold a Garden Party, with a Cake Sale and Café Chantant as entertainments. So on Friday, May 22nd, a large number of members of the Hull Women's Suffrage Society and friends had a pleasant time talking of the Procession, the Premier's recent announcement on Women's Suffrage, and listening to delightful vocal and instrumental music. The speed with which the home-made cakes and marmalade sold proved that a wish for the franchise was not incompatible with domestic pursuits. When the guests had departed the hostess joyfully realized that the entertainment had resulted in several new members and a net amount of 30l. to hand to the Local Procession Fund.

LONDON, Brixton.—The branch has not been idle during the winter. Two small meetings and one large one of the drawing-room type have been held, at the last of which Mr. J. Raphael spoke and Capt. Slack took the chair. The final and most important meeting of the season is fixed for May 29th, 8 P.M., at Rutland Lodge, Mr. Waldron's well-known men's club.

Ealing.—The large Victoria Hall was well filled on Tuesday evening, May 19th, for a public meeting, of which Mr. Herbert Nield, M.P. for the Ealing division of Middlesex, was announced as Chairman, and the speakers were Miss Abadam, Mrs. Clare Goslett, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, and Mr. J. E. Raphael. Mr. Nield, however, succumbed to influenza two days previously, and the chair was taken by Mr. Malcolm Mitchell. Mrs. Goslett was also detained at the last moment and unable

to be present. Unhappily the example of other places had had due effect even in this usually well-conducted suburb, and the lower end of the hall was the scene of unseemly and disgraceful disturbances during the whole of the proceedings, though the stewards, helped by the personal and very effective prowess of Mr. Raphael, did their best to turn out the more noisy demonstrators. It would, however, have taken a far more numerous and powerful body of stewards than Ealing at present possesses to keep the meeting quiet. The speakers did their best, and that portion of the audience nearest the platform heard a certain amount of what was said, especially after a motor horn of substantial size was valiantly captured and handed up to the platform, the owner following it and being accommodated with a seat beside the chair, where he remained quietly. The resolution, "That this meeting is of the opinion that the time is now ripe for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women, and calls upon the Government to give facilities for the further discussion of Mr. Stanger's Bill," was ultimately carried with only one dissentient. The interruptors, apparently, were not objecting to the principle of the resolution, but endeavouring to retaliate for methods employed by other Suffrage Societies, showing, as the Chairman told them, their complete ignorance on the whole subject. It is more than annoying when meetings are thus disturbed, speakers given the trouble of coming considerable distances for no purpose, and the audience deprived of the information which many of them had paid to hear. But the effect on Suffragists is to strengthen their resolve to work for the cause, while this senseless behaviour on the part of the male elector drives the thoughtful of all classes to ask themselves whether it is not, indeed, time to introduce another element altogether into politics.

The Committee of the West Middlesex Branch have immediately arranged another meeting, this time of "women only," for Saturday evening, May 30th, when Miss Abadam has kindly promised to come again and deliver her interrupted address.

[Some notices of Meetings of Branch Societies are held over till next week owing to want of space.]

New Society in Shrewsbury.

As a practical outcome of the crusade carried on during the recent by-election by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, a W.S. Society has been formed in Shrewsbury. On May 15th, at 3 P.M., the inaugural meeting was held at the Women's Suffrage Committee Room, Dogpole. A good many names having already been given of sympathizers with the movement who wished to form a local Society, the committee room was well filled. The ladies and gentlemen present who entered their names for membership elected from their number a committee of about a dozen. The committee afterwards elected the following officers—Treasurer, Mrs. Stevens; co-Secretaries, Mrs. Timpany and Miss V. Hills. A president has not yet been chosen. The Society contemplates various activities, and has every intention of keeping this great reform to the front in Shropshire.

It began work by holding its first—a drawing-room—meeting at the house of one of the members, on the afternoon of May 22nd. About thirty were present; some were converts already, and others came to be converted. The head mistress of the Girls' High School presided at considerable personal inconvenience. I gave an address, explaining the objects and policy of the National Union, and showing the absolute necessity of representation for women, in order to get their legal grievances removed and their economic position established. A very interesting discussion followed, showing the various points of view from which the subject appealed to different individuals. The Society now numbers between thirty and forty members, and so earnest and energetic is the committee that the number will soon be much larger. They have adopted the county motto, "Advance Salopia!"

ISABELLA ROWLETTE.

Death of Miss Louisa Stevenson.

THE National Union must unite with the Edinburgh Women's Suffrage Society in the following resolution, passed at their last Committee meeting:—

"We record with deep regret our loss in the death of our

honoured member of Committee, Miss Louisa Stevenson. The death of Miss Louisa Stevenson is a loss not only to our Society, but to the whole community. We are grateful for all that she has done for our city of Edinburgh, and especially for her work associated with the raising of the status of women. In the fight for University teaching for women, including the special contest for medical training, over forty years ago, she took a leading part; and to her unwavering courage and energy is largely due the position which women now enjoy as students at the Edinburgh University. It was a great gratification to all who knew her when, a few years ago, the University acknowledged her highly valued labours in conferring upon her the honorary degree of LL.D. We are grateful, too, for her early work as member of the Parochial Board, and later as member of the Board of the Royal Infirmary; and also for what she accomplished in connexion with the School of Domestic Economy and the nursing profession for women. But to us the nearest point of interest is the part of her life which united her to our Society for Women's Suffrage. She became a member of the Society in those early days of the struggle for the higher education of women, and to the end she remained a devoted supporter of our movement. She often stated that her work for the political enfranchisement of women lay nearer her heart than any other, and she never missed an opportunity of showing the need of the franchise for women, in order that they might win other reforms, and also retain those that had been already won. For all this, and much more, her memory will be affectionately revered among us, and we beg to tender our deep sympathy to all those who are now mourning her loss."

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

May and June.		P.M.	
28th	London, Beckenham, Public Meeting, Howard's Assembly Rooms	Chair, Miss Abadam Speakers, Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Dice, Mr. Stanger, M.P., Mr. Cholmeley	8
29th	Battersea, Drawing-Room Meeting.		7.30
	Bedford Park, Drawing-Room Meeting	Speaker, Mrs. Corbett	8.30
	Brixton, Drawing-Room Meeting, Rutland Lodge, Effra Road	Speaker, Mrs. Lethbridge	8
	Croydon, Meeting for School Teachers		
	N. Paddington, Drawing-Room Debate	Opener, Miss Abadam	8.15
	Westminster, Drawing-Room Meeting	Speaker, Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D.	
30th	Ealing, Meeting for Women Only, Prince's Room, Town Hall.	Speaker, Miss Abadam	8
JUNE			
1st	Fulham, Invitation Meeting, West Kensington Lecture Hall	Speakers, Mrs. H. Percy Boulnois John E. Raphael, Esq.	
	Macclesfield, Public Meeting, Town Hall	Speakers, Mrs. Walter Greg, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Margaret Ash-ton, Miss Margaret Robertson.	
2nd	London, Battersea, Drawing-Room Meeting	Chair, Miss Lowndes	8
	Croydon, Drawing-Room Meeting	Speaker, Miss Sterling	
	Highgate, Members' Annual Meeting, 26, West Hill	Hostess, Mrs. Garnett Speaker, Miss Janet Case.	
	Ladies' Imperial Club	Speaker, Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D.	
3rd	Walton-on-Thames, Drawing-Room Meeting		5.30

Saturday, June 13th, Procession and Meeting in Albert Hall.

Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d., and Boxes various prices.

To be obtained from Miss Strachey, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.

** Kindly address all communications relating to the work of Societies in the N.U.W.S.S. and all paragraphs intended for these columns to Miss Harcastle, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.; to reach her by first post Saturday. Please write only on one side of paper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

SCOTTISH OFFICE: 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

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

Organising Secretary: MISS ANNA MUNRO.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. GRAHAM MOFFAT.Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc., M.R.C.S.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

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

Notes.

"DOCILE HACKS."—Mr. Asquith virtually says, "I will not grant facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill during the life of this Parliament. I will not do anything at all for women—I don't believe in them. Every minute of the time of this Parliament is pledged; I cannot introduce fresh matter. I therefore will produce a highly contentious brand-new Reform Bill that the electorate has not demanded, to which I am not pledged, and which will have the effect of extending the Franchise to more men. In connexion with this Bill I shall fling an opportunity for a Women's Enfranchisement amendment into the gutter; if any private Member likes to grub for it and pick it up out of the mud, he can; we—the great Ram-jams, with the little button o' top—shall not oppose him, unless the amendment is undemocratic or unless we are persuaded that the whole of the women are not 'eager' for it, or that the male electorate do not desire it."

Mr. Asquith having delivered himself in this logical wise, the Liberal women break into a chorus of thanksgiving, address each other as "future electors," and talk about "a glorious day of rejoicing." Lady Carlisle informs her followers that "the Government is free from reproach upon the whole of the democratic creed," and that she regards this "as a committal on the part of the Premier to the woman's cause." Lady Carlisle also adds that "Faith was better than Hope," in which remark there is under these circumstances much truth. The Liberal women have obviously taken up a Christian Scientist attitude on this question, and imagine that if they believe hard enough that Mr. Asquith is a suffragette, and that they have got the vote, then it is so.

Those of us who are not "in a state of grace" with regard to belief in the integrity of certain politicians, and who do not believe in the cultivation of faith or hope without a reasonable foundation of fact whereupon to build these abstract virtues, are unregenerate enough to agree with Mr. Corbett, the much-daring sceptic who rose in that grateful multitude and gave it as his opinion that the only reason for Mr. Asquith's statement was to get the women's support to the Liberal cause. We fear that this is the short and simple solution of the whole matter. Lady Carlisle's phrase "Trust begets trust" sounds very plausible, but is fallacious. We have no more right to trust our sacred cause of liberty to the keeping of a man who has proved himself an enemy to women's liberty than we have to trust our little children to the care of those who have shown themselves untrustworthy in such a matter. Women have got to learn to give up their trustful simplicity. Trust begets deceit, when the person trusted is unworthy of it. The gullibility (which is a less poetical term for trust) of the Liberal women is a direct incitement to politicians to gull them. The Prime Minister would be more than human if, knowing that the Liberal women can swallow anything, he did not trade upon this capacity. The General Election has to be considered by a man who loves power and position; if by a dexterous stroke he can assure himself of the allegiance of 100,000 enthusiastic canvassers, he would be less than a politician if he held his hand. And this prating of democracy—let us not trust that. There is only one test of a democrat—that he should desire freedom and justice for all. The man who desires justice for one section and not for another, freedom for men and not for women, is no democrat, and when he uses the term we may be sure that he does it to advance his own personal interests.

The Prime Minister's Declaration.

EMPTY EVASIONS.

THE Prime Minister received a deputation of friendly Liberal Members of Parliament on May 20th. They asked him to give facilities for the passing into law of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and they received from him a lengthy and important reply. Stripped of all unnecessary verbiage, the Prime Minister's reply was a direct and emphatic official refusal either to facilitate the passing of the present Women's Enfranchisement Bill, or to introduce a special Government measure to secure the same end.

The Liberal members who formed the deputation asked from the Government a loaf for the women. This loaf has been definitely refused. The refusal is injury enough to the women of the nation; but to it Mr. Asquith added what we consider insult. Before the eyes of the women asking for bread he produced a loaf—for men only. He promised to the delegates of women seeking freedom for their sex an Electoral Reform to men, and he refused to include women in this measure. Had a definite pledge of the inclusion of women in this Reform Bill been given by the leader of the Government our position would have been still one of great danger. Such a wholesale electoral measure as is suggested has little chance of passing the House of Commons in such a form as to give votes to women, and has practically no chance of passing the Lords at all. Indeed, it is very questionable as to whether Mr. Asquith intends it to pass the Lords. It is probably intended as one of the innocents sent up to the slaughter in order that the House of Lords agitator shall be fed and kept alive.

But had a pledge been given by the Prime Minister that women would be included along with men in the promised Reform Bill one could understand the women who are followers of the party in power talking about gratitude and confidence. Under existing circumstances confidence is impossible. Wherever servility and blindness is absent there must be disgust, anger, and resentment.

Mr. Asquith's promise is mere political bluff. It is no promise at all. The Government is secured from any danger of a charge of a broken pledge by a series of carefully provided loopholes, through any one of which it can escape with ease. When to the problematical Reform Bill there is moved a more problematical amendment, the Government, as a Government, "cannot oppose." This does not commit the members of the Cabinet to support either individually or in a body—it leaves them free to do anything short of opposing as a body. But such questionable support is only to be given under certain conditions. A series of "ifs" are scientifically arranged to secure every possibility of retreat. The Government will not oppose, as a Government, if the amendment is sufficiently democratic, if the women of the country satisfy Mr. Asquith that they are overwhelmingly desirous of having the vote, and if political accidents do not intervene. Did women surmount this series of dangers they could only get the vote by surmounting another series, if the cautious and conservative and anti-women vote combined did not throw out the amendment, and if the House of Lords did not reject the whole measure or that part of it including women. The action of the Government in backing only that portion of the Reform Bill that refers to men is an undeniable invitation to the House of Lords to secure itself from protest while gratifying its conservative instincts by slaughtering,

not the whole Bill, but the women's amendment. The Government practically says to the Lords: "We indicate the part of this Bill that you may consider as fair game. It refers to women, about whom we are not concerned, and whose claims are not officially supported by us. You may wreak your will upon this portion of the Reform Bill without danger of protest from us; but touch the portion referring to the rights of men and we will go to the country against you."

There is indignity and danger awaiting women if they rely upon any "Great Reform Bill." There is a special danger if they are only to be included by the agency of the private member. The only safe and self-respecting attitude for women to take is one of protest against any postponement of their claim. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill must be passed before any further electoral reforms are considered. The sex-disability must be abolished now. We cannot wait. We dare not wait. The present measure must be saved—must be passed in this present session of Parliament. Against the insult of evasion and political trickery we must protest with all our strength. Only thus can we win unconditional surrender, and unconditional surrender alone spells victory. T. B. G.

Ungallant Little Wales.

IN Wales we have been having stormy reverberations of the election campaign. Three meetings were held there. Monday at Cardiff; Tuesday, Caldicot, near Newport; Wednesday, Pontypridd. Mrs. Fawcett, that veteran leader of the woman's movement, who has behind her forty-one years of hard service in the cause, represented the National Society, and I, the Women's Freedom League.

Not only were we denied a hearing in the Cary Hall, Cardiff, but scenes of violence and rowdiness took place both inside and outside the hall, which called for the intervention of the police, and resulted in four arrests. We held our meeting, however, in another hall, which was packed mostly with women; and the enthusiasm of that little crowd when I arrived upon the scene, after having spent about an hour in the streets dodging crowds of hooting young hooligans, I shall never forget. Mrs. Fawcett, whose dignity and coolness never once deserted her during the whole of our trying ordeals, had then addressed the meeting, and a young clergyman, a Mr. Graham, was holding the ground for me.

A word as to the sequel. The charges were disorderly conduct, assaulting the police, breaking windows, both at Cary Hall and at the police-station. One case was dismissed; the remaining three were fined 20s. or fourteen days' imprisonment. Compare these sentences with those meted out to our women, Dr. Lewin a 10l. fine for resisting a tax; Mrs. Pankhurst six weeks' imprisonment in the second division for attempting to drive from Caxton Hall in the direction of Westminster; six weeks—some third and some second division—on the women of our League for seeking to interview the Ministers of the Crown! Those who, with an open mind, consider these things will not fail to understand what lies behind our campaign.

At Caldicot, which is a small place, we had a much better hearing. Our friends Mrs. Corben and her son and daughters had taken every possible precaution. There was occasionally a little outburst of rowdiness in the gallery; but Dr. Corben and his gallant wife by their presence there and their influence with the unruly element held it in check, and there were moments when the silence was absolute. It is felt that the effect of this meeting, with the At Home in the afternoon at Mrs. Corben's house, which was well attended, will be excellent. The interest of those already convinced will be quickened, and many will inquire further.

We went on to Pontypridd, where we were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Gregory, in a lovely old-fashioned house surrounded by a beautiful garden. Mrs. Gregory, an ardent Suffragist, was chiefly responsible for convening the meeting, which we heard was to be held in the largest hall in the town. All the tickets had been sold, and still inquiries for more came pouring in. The town was full of excitement about the meeting, and there were uncomfortable rumours floating about as to what certain persons

were going to do. I observed there as I have in other places: "In any case, the phase of indifference to our movement has passed away. If we take ourselves seriously it is perfectly certain that our opponents are in deadly earnest about us."

Never shall I forget that quiet afternoon in the beautiful old garden, with the throbbing anticipation of the evening's tumult before us—the messages, the rumours, the consultations, the calm resolution of our host and hostess, who had taken all possible precautions to ensure success. Yes; and we feel that success was achieved. When, an hour before the meeting opened, we drove to the Hall, we found it surrounded by a great crowd. Some of the women who were to occupy the galleries had been let in. Half an hour later news came to us in our waiting-room that the hall was quite full, and that many were still clamouring for admittance. The tumult was tremendous—shouting, cat-calls, ringing of bells, bursts of laughter, and occasionally, in mellow voices, snatches of some Welsh song, the music coming as a welcome relief from the hideous clamour.

We laid our plans carefully, but they were frustrated. Our appearance on the platform was greeted with shouts, waving of flags and handkerchiefs, applause, booping and jeers. It was easy to see that there were two distinct elements in the crowd; but those bent on mischief had artfully disposed their leaders in different parts of the hall, so that when for a moment or two the tumult died down in one quarter it was renewed in another by some lusty political person, who would leap on a chair and gesticulate violently. Beginning with the chairman, who remained quite cool, we all tried to gain a hearing. I suppose the scene which, though I have taken part in some strange meetings, I have never seen paralleled, lasted for about an hour. Then the chairman, who had been communicating with the crowd by means of a blackboard and chalk, put up our resolution, declared it carried, and we retreated to our room while, with extraordinary tact and patience, the police, Mr. Gregory, and the stewards cleared the hall.

Then came a curious finale. It was proposed that, with the stewards and a few other sympathizers, we should hold our meeting on the big stage of the hall; and this was done. The lights were put out; the curtains were lowered, and we met together quietly. The police even checked applause, for fear those outside should get wind of what we were doing, and try to break in the doors. "This is, indeed, a unique experience," said Mrs. Fawcett, when she got up to speak, in the hushed and reverent silence. We felt like conspirators, standing on that dimly lighted stage with devoted friends about us.

But I think the result will be the formation of an active woman's society, either National Union of Women's Suffrage or Women's Freedom League, in Pontypridd, and, as important, a Men's League. I said we had been successful. It is here that our success comes in. Those who oppose us have little idea of the spiritual force that is generated in such scenes as the meetings at Cardiff and Pontypridd. Had they kept away from us altogether, or had they tried to induce indifference in the neighbourhood, they would have played their game much better. As it is, they have helped us, and we thank them. These ultra-passionate outbursts from party politicians, smarting with the consciousness of failure, prove conclusively that our methods are winning along the whole line.

C. DESPARD.

Asquith's Prisoners.

ONCE more members of the Women's Freedom League are enduring imprisonment for the sake of their cause. They are Dr. Elizabeth Knight, Miss Irene Miller, Miss Cecil Molony, Miss Olive Ibbotson, Miss Elizabeth Gibb, and Miss Nellie Bacon.

The protest which led up to the arrests of our friends was against the insulting and tricky manner in which the Prime Minister has thought fit to deal with the enfranchisement of women. The London press has published an unembroidered account of the proceedings for the first time in the history of our movement. The police behaved on this occasion in a gentle and restrained manner, with the result that the large crowd which

gathered in Downing Street remained quiet and orderly. Hitherto the police have themselves created a "violent scene" by rushing about in the crowd, hustling innocent onlookers, throwing women about in an objectless manner, and thus inciting the male roughs to do likewise. Scenes thus created have been reported by an intelligent and truthful press under such headings as—'Female Hooliganism,' 'Woman rolls Policeman in the Mud,' 'Rowdy Suffragettes.' The press and the police are certainly to be congratulated on having abandoned, on this occasion, their foolish and hysterical methods.

The sentences range from one week to three weeks' imprisonment. As the "crime" was precisely the same as those committed by our last protesters, who were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, we are confirmed in our former suspicion that the magistrate in those cases was actuated by personal spite. That this should be possible is a serious reflection on the present system of administering the law, and to reform the system will be one of the first duties of enfranchised women. Meanwhile we are powerless, but not for long—in spite of Mr. Asquith.

Protest at Downing Street.

THE BUBBLE BURST.

ONE cannot say how long the Liberal women would have been left in happy misconception and the Government in peaceful enjoyment of Mr. Asquith's statecraft if the Women's Freedom League had not existed. But that League does exist, and prides itself upon being the promptest political organization of the century. Mr. Asquith's empty bubble was floated into the political atmosphere on Wednesday, May 20th, at about 4 P.M. Twenty members of the League assembled at 10, Downing Street, at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning, May 21st, to show the Prime Minister that his game of bluff had failed, and to protest against the repeated denial of human right to the women of the nation. The bubble was burst in less than twenty hours! Our Hon. Organizing Secretary regards this as the cleverest and most justifiable protest that has yet been made. T. B. G.

News and Announcements.

DR. HELEN BOURCHIER has been appointed **Social Organizer** for the Women's Freedom League. The Thursday afternoon social gatherings will take place for the future at Caxton Hall (Room 18). This side of our movement has been rather neglected hitherto, owing to the great strain imposed upon the active members of the League by the political propaganda; but now, with Dr. Bouchier in command, the social development of the League is assured.

The National Executive Committee has decided to open a campaign in **Mr. Asquith's Constituency** of East Fife, to be continued without intermission until the next General Election. To the usual propaganda work will be added vigorous denunciation of the man who must be regarded as an enemy of progress, and the most dangerous opponent that women have to encounter. If Mr. Asquith is returned to Parliament again it will not be the fault of the members of the Women's Freedom League.

A splendid illustration of official red-tape was afforded last week by the refusal of the Temple Gardens keeper to sanction the placing of a floral tribute on **John Stuart Mills' Statue**, on the ground that it was "not a wreath." It was in the form of a garland, therefore was subversive of all law and order. It was suspected that the words "Votes for Women," formed by the arrangement of the flowers, had something to do with the refusal, but this unworthy suspicion was disproved afterwards. The dangerous garland having had its two ends united, was then declared a wreath, and was placed on the statue to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig were not allowed to express a few simple words of gratitude from the base of the statue of the man who fought whole-heartedly for their sex so many years ago. Could John Stuart Mill have come back to life at that moment he would have beheld his countrywomen still disinherited, still degraded and despised, driven away from

his statue by the police, and forced to hold their meeting in the street. The demand for freedom—so dangerous and demoralizing to the flowers in the Temple Gardens—proved acceptable to the crowd outside, who listened to the speakers with every mark of interest and encouragement.

A Jumble Sale will be held at the Despard Club, 2, Currie Street, Nine Elms, on May 30th, at 3.30 P.M. A private sale will also take place on Friday, the 29th, at 7 P.M., for members of the Women's Freedom League, a special feature of which will be a new china stall.

It is proposed to start a **Lending Library** at the offices of the Women's Freedom League, and Miss Mocatta has been good enough to make a present of some books with which to begin it. Gifts of books will be most welcome, and a lock-up cupboard is also needed.

Scottish Council.

Dundee Branch.—One result of our work at the recent by-election was seen on Tuesday evening, 12th May, when our room in the Gilfillan was found to be too small for all who wished admittance, and we were obliged to adjourn downstairs to a larger hall.

Miss Clunas presided, and the speakers were Miss Husband, and Mr. Stirton, of the Men's League. Our summer campaign was discussed, and it was suggested that, besides holding open-air meetings in our own town, we might visit the district round about, particularly Broughty-Ferry, Monifieth, Carnoustie, and other small towns and villages in Captain Sinclair's constituency. L. C.

Glasgow, Pollokshields Branch.—This branch makes a very promising beginning. We have now had three meetings, all well attended, and our membership increases steadily. Great interest is shown and discussion is lively. On Monday (May 11th) Miss C. H. Joekel, M.A., gave us a very clever paper on 'Adult Suffrage,' which aroused great interest, but failed to convince any one that Women's Suffrage is not the right thing for women to work for. Miss Eunice Murray is to address us at our next fortnightly meeting. C. A. A.

The Western Branch, Glasgow, met on the 20th to hear Mrs. Gemmell's address on 'Pioneer Women.' It was given in friendly style, particularly when relating some incidents in her acquaintance with some of these earlier workers. The discussion that followed was freely taken part in by the members. We hope soon again to hear Mrs. Gemmell. An interesting little ceremony took place afterwards. Mrs. Montgomery, who last March spent a fortnight in Holloway, was presented with a prisoner's badge by Miss Whyte in the name of the branch. In thanking the members, Mrs. Montgomery made a somewhat touching reply, recalling the incidents that led to her becoming a prisoner.

After a vote of thanks to Mrs. Gemmell, the next meeting was intimated for June 3rd, when Miss Anna Munro will relate some experiences of the recent by-elections in Scotland. A. C. M'LAY.

[We regret that Miss M'Lay's name was incorrectly reported as M'Kay in last week's issue.]

Branch Notes.

Hampstead Branch.—Suffrage meetings have been lately once again a series of alarms and excursions, and the citizens of West Hampstead are to be congratulated upon their quiet and orderly behaviour on Thursday evening. The chairman, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, had an easy task, as there was no singing, nor bell-ringing, nor other orchestral accompaniment, and the strain on the nerves and voices of the speakers was reduced to a minimum. Distrust of Mr. Asquith's new Reform Bill was the keynote of most of the speakers—Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Crickmay, Mr. McCabe, and Mr. Coumbe, L.C.C., and the audience left with a clearer insight upon this present crisis. The resolution calling upon the Government to give some definite pledge for women's enfranchisement was carried with only one dissentient.

Central Branch.—Members are reminded of the next meeting of the Despard Debating Society, June 4th. The subject will be the 'Anti-Government Policy.' Miss Fitzherbert will open the debate, and Miss Pitts, of the Women's Liberal Federation, will oppose her. All supporters please attend to back up our policy. P. H.

Manchester Branch.—Our branch meeting, held on Thursday, May 21st, was very successful. Miss Banner gave a paper on 'Women,' and an excellent discussion followed.

Final arrangements for Mrs. Despard's visit were made. We are holding an At Home in the Portland Café, Portland Street, Manchester, on Wednesday, May 27th, and a public meeting on Thursday in the Sale Public Hall. All members must attend and bring friends.

Permanent Office.—Owing to the energy displayed by the Misses Hines and Fildes, we have secured an office in Mosley Street, splendidly situated, and of an excellent size for meetings. We hope to be in possession in the second week in June. The guarantee fund is opened, and contributions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Miss Fildes, Springbank, Whitefield Road, Ashton-on-Mersey.

Arrangements are being made for outdoor meetings during the summer.

At the next meeting of the branch Miss Heatley will read a paper on 'The Necessity for Prison Reform.' ALICE MILNE.

Lewisham Branch.—To safeguard against the latest danger threatening the attainment of our object, the danger of evasive trickery on the part of our avowed enemy, the Prime Minister, who has been forced to admit our undeniable strength, six brave women have sacrificed themselves. One of these, Elizabeth Gibb, is a member of the Lewisham branch. Our debt of gratitude to our pioneer prisoner is very great. Well done, Elizabeth Gibb, for "Lewisham and Liberty!" K. M.

Miss Benett's Protest.

THE distraint levied on Miss Benett's goods for refusal to pay her house-tax was followed by a largely attended protest meeting last week at Hanley, Staffs. Mrs. Morris took the chair, and Miss Benett, Mrs. Manson, and Mr. Beechener were the speakers.

Mrs. Manson reports that the proceedings were enthusiastic, the usual resolution being carried with only two dissentients (Adult Suffragist). During the meeting the following telegram was received by Miss Benett from London: "Women's Freedom League sends heartiest thanks and congratulations on the stand you have made for women's freedom, and hopes hundreds of women will follow your example." Mrs. Heath's poem, 'The Marching Song of the Suffragettes,' was sung to music composed for it by Mrs. Hyde. Mrs. Morris promised that a branch of the Women's Freedom League would shortly be formed in the town. Miss Benett may, therefore, congratulate herself on the excellent result of her protest.

Plans of the London Council.

In honour of our prisoners now in Holloway the Council will give a **Supper** on Thursday evening, June 11th. The time, place, and price of tickets we hope to announce next week. In the meantime members and friends desirous of attending will do well to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, as the number of tickets issued will be limited.

It has been decided to commence an **Open-air Campaign**, and arrangements will be made for meetings to be held in the following places from the beginning of June onwards: Wandsworth Common, S.W., on Sunday mornings; Brockwell Park, Herne Hill, S.E., on Sunday afternoons; Finsbury Park, N., on Sunday afternoons; and at Hilly Fields, Lewisham, on Thursday evenings.

A London Cycle Corps is in course of formation for scouting and open-air work.

Members wishing to join "The Scouts," and those willing to help by speaking or otherwise assisting at the open-air meetings

above mentioned, are earnestly requested to send in their names at once to the Hon. Secretary to the London Council, Marie Lawson, W.F.L., 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

The Gospel of St. Asquith.

"I do not come here to preach a new gospel. The old gospel is good both for maintaining all that is good and fruitful in what we have inherited from the past, and what is a still more important matter, in securing for all classes of our people a wider outlook, a more even level of opportunity, and for each and for all a richer and a fuller corporate life." (Cheers.)—Mr. Asquith at the Reform Club.

Mr. Asquith's theory of the old gospel is one that will scarcely appeal to women. They, at any rate, need a new gospel, one that will take a thought for their necessities and potentialities. We should be most interested if Mr. Asquith would explain how the application of the old gospel, as we have heard it preached by him, will secure for the female classes of our people the wider outlook, more even level of opportunity, and richer and fuller corporate life. But I forget. Of course, the term, "our people" in the mouth of a Liberal statesman, has no reference whatever to women. E. PURDIE.

Correspondence.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL was pursued by Miss Molony with a bell during his Dundee election. In allusion to the incident Mr. Winston Churchill considered that "force against force would be an excellent plan." No doubt this advice, for such it practically amounted to, had its due effect in influencing the hooligans who later stormed the hall in which Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Fawcett spoke, not to mention a similar incident a day or so later. A Cabinet Minister who advocates force against women can scarcely be said to be quite fitted to rule the country as yet.

Writers' Club, 10, Norfolk Street.

C. CLYDE.

The report of the Van Campaign arrived too late for insertion. A full account will be published next week.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From May 28th to June 10th. P.M.

Thurs. 28	Suffrage Social, Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Theodore Wright Miss Cecil Molony (recent prisoner)	3.30-5.30
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	Mrs. Meredith Mrs. Toyne Miss Neilans Miss Otter	8
	Islington, 10, Highbury Hill Hornsey, National Hall, High St. (close Hornsey Stn.)	Dr. Helen Bouchier	8
	Middlesbrough Co-operative Hall, Duologue Portland Café, Manchester Social Meeting	Mrs. How Martyn Miss Hodgson Mrs. Despard	7.30
Sat. 30	Edinburgh, Livingstone Hall Sale and Prison Cell	Mrs. Despard Mrs. Sanderson Miss Munro	
Sun. 31	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	Mrs. Brindley Miss Alice Milne Miss Mary Smith	3.30
JUNE			
Wed. 3	Holloway Gaol	Release of two prisoners	8 A.M.
Thurs. 4	Suffrage Social, Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Despard and released prisoners	3.30
	Central Branch, 18, Buckingham St., Debate	Miss Fitzherbert Miss Pitts (N. U. W. S. S.)	8
Wed. 10	Holloway Gaol	Release of two prisoners	8 A.M.

Special "Suffrage Day," June 13th,

Meet on the Embankment (Northumberland Avenue), 2.30 P.M.,
Albert Hall, 5 P.M. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d.

** 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., and must reach her not later than first post Saturday morning.

Scottish Women's Social and Political Union.

Convener of Committee: MRS. JOHN HUNTER.

COCKBURN BUILDINGS, 141, BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Nat. Telephone: 416 DOUGLAS.

Organising Secretary: MISS HELEN FRASER.

Telegraphic Address: "SUFFRAGE, GLASGOW."

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

Editorial.

POLITICIANS have so long been accustomed to associate Women Suffragists with the humble beggar at the gate, that it comes as a new surprise every time proffered charity is resented and justice demanded instead. Such a reception now to Mr. Asquith's gracious suggestion of possible prospective crumbs falling from the master's table at some future indefinite date, must appear therefore as merely further evidence of unnatural ingratitude on the part of those who have no right to expect more than their superiors may choose to bestow. The sweetly innocent and trustful jubilation of the ever hopeful Liberal ladies must be grateful and comforting in the extreme as a contrast! It is unfortunate, however, that it is just the habit of these ladies in the past of accepting meekly and joyfully every sop thrown to them in response to their timid appeals for direct representation that has encouraged male politicians in their unsympathetic attitude towards this question.

It is a common remark of these that "women don't want votes," that "when they do, they will get them." The majority of thinking intelligent women *do* want votes, *do* want the position in the country which the recognition of their equal citizenship with men will give, but so long as they continue to allow themselves to be drawn off the direct course towards this end by every political red-herring that may be trailed across their path, so long will they give an appearance of justification to the taunt that women are not seriously in earnest in their demands.

In the past they have dissipated their energies in seeking to obtain particular reforms instead of concentrating every effort on obtaining the right to share in making reforms—a weakness that is taken advantage of by the political schemers who are using the present Licensing Bill to stir up dissension in Suffragist ranks. They have allowed themselves to be led astray also into franchise considerations instead of holding firmly to the position of repudiating every other consideration except that of removing the sex disqualification.

It is here that Mr. Asquith's so-called "concession" is both unsatisfactory and misleading. In addition to its refusal of any active support from the Government, it deliberately shifts the position of the question from that of the just and equitable administration of existing laws, irrespective of sex, to one of franchise considerations in the future. It is merely an ingenious but dishonest attempt to shelve the real question at issue, a subterfuge quite worthy of the gentleman who escaped a straightforward dealing with it on a previous occasion by means of his own back door.

It is fortunate for the progress of the Women's Movement that its political opponents are apparently quite oblivious to the fact that it owes quite as much to the "methods" they have adopted against it, as to any of its own, "militant" or otherwise. Continued repression of a natural and inevitable revolt against injustice, instead of any attempt made to remove the grievance complained of, followed by the contemptuous relegation of the question of the rights of women to a position subordinate to that of extending the privileges of men, cannot do other than give a still greater impetus to an already growing agitation.

That the movement is growing in Scotland no one can deny who has the opportunity of observing the increasing interest taken in the question. Last Saturday's most successful meetings

in Glasgow were significant of the fact, even perfect summer weather conditions unexpectedly failing to interfere with the audiences. Our own afternoon meeting, at which Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Gawthorpe gave effective addresses, was specially noteworthy for the large turn-out of ladies, and their appreciative response to the various points in the speeches.

Edinburgh friends will please keep in mind the opening of new branch offices there on Wednesday afternoon, June 3rd, at Albert Buildings, 24, Shandwick Place, when all will be made welcome. Weekly "At Homes" thereafter.

Stirling Burghs By-Election.

SUFFRAGISTS who work in Scottish by-elections must be philosophers, or the results would have a discouraging effect. Stirling Burghs gave a majority of 1,361 to the Government, but there is no need to feel the slightest depression over this.

The present policy is an excellent advertising and educative policy, eminently suited to this stage of our fight, though not, in my opinion, in its present form the final political policy.

Outside political pressure must be the pressure of educated public opinion, which we are creating—the only really valuable pressure in the long run—for there can be no forcing of equality or freedom—it must be conceived and carried out by the people before it is reality.

Inside political pressure we need—and despite Liberal Members, deputations, and vague promises, there is too little of it. We must add to it.

In Stirling we have gained many active supporters, and have practically converted the whole town, so much so that on polling-day the people came and asked us to hold more meetings, although on the day before we had held between us at least fifteen meetings, one of which was a women's meeting, at which we gained many new members. Miss Edith Ure has consented to become our Hon. Secretary, and has given valuable help during the by-election. Miss Una Dugdale, Miss Morag Burn-Murdoch, Miss Esson Maule, Miss Maconochie, and myself have been speakers, and our meetings in Culross, Inverkeithing, and St. Ninians have all been very successful.

I have been amused to hear how much our methods of working are admired—the Stirling people are delighted with our pavement-chalking and our way of getting up meetings so quickly and cheaply.

Mrs. Martel held one open-air meeting, at which she so thoroughly converted an elector who had supported the Liberal party for twenty-nine years that he came to tell me he was going to "vote against the Government." Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Mary Gawthorpe had also an excellent meeting on the eve of the poll.

Altogether it was a very pleasant campaign; the people were delightful, and "Votes for Women" is a real living thing to most of them now.

So ends for the present our Scottish by-elections. We waited a long time for one—we have had four, and those of us who have gone through them have learnt a very great deal which will be valuable. We have had excellent results—magnificent opportunities to convert and educate—and we have used them.

HELEN FRASER.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

THE great event of the past week has been Mr. Asquith's reply to the Women's Suffrage Deputation of May 20th. That the Prime Minister refused to grant facilities for Mr. Stanger's Bill is what we all expected. He made, however, a further statement, the significance of which has been the subject of animated discussion, namely, that the Government intends before it goes out of office to introduce an important Reform Bill. This Reform Bill will not contain any reference to the enfranchisement of women, but if an amendment with that object is moved by a private Member, the Government will not oppose it. In other words, the House of Commons will decide for itself on non-party lines.

Two conditions, however, are attached by the Prime Minister, in the absence of which presumably the Government will abandon its attitude of neutrality. The amendment must be "on democratic lines," and it must be shown that it has the "overwhelming support of the women of the country," as well as the approval of the present male electorate.

This pronouncement has been received—as might have been expected—very differently in various quarters. The representatives of the militant societies have expressed their dissatisfaction unequivocally, and have decided to pursue the policy of opposing the Government candidates. They regard the statement as a sop to the Liberal women, a device for splitting the Suffragist forces. The Liberal women are satisfied, and a large number of others, without attaching great significance to Mr. Asquith's undertaking, regard it as "something on account," and more hopeful than circumstances had led them to expect.

The Executive of the Men's League has not as yet come to any decision. There are, however, certain aspects of the question, some satisfactory, others the reverse, which deserve immediate consideration. *The Westminster Gazette*, which is, on the whole, friendly to our cause, emphasizes the "unsatisfactory position" created by the possibility that a problem of such grave national importance should be left to a private member's amendment to an Electoral Machinery Bill. Women's Suffrage is a question for which the Government must accept responsibility. On the other hand, *The Times* and *The Spectator* regard Mr. Asquith's words as implying that Women's Suffrage is now to all intents and purposes on the Government programme. Mr. Asquith promises the opportunity, knows that many members will seize it, and promises that the Government will not oppose. Certainly this seems tantamount to official adoption.

Now *The Times* and *The Spectator* are both opponents; they both regard the statement as a gain to the cause. At all events, our opponents are alarmed. So far, so good; and both these journals are responsible organs, accustomed to weigh their decisions, and to take account of facts. *The Daily News* welcomes the pronouncement, *The Express* describes it as Mr. Asquith's "surrender." If, therefore, we gain nothing else, we are this much better off, namely, that a considerable body of opinion now exists that the prospect of Women's Enfranchisement is distinctly nearer.

As *The Westminster Gazette* points out, the difficulty lies in the conditions. By what criterion shall we satisfy Mr. Asquith that we have "overwhelming support," and what are "democratic lines"? Of course, if we assume that Mr. Asquith has deliberately prescribed conditions which, under any circumstances, will provide him with a loophole of escape—if, in other words, he is a cynical hypocrite—then the anxiety

of *The Times*, and the satisfaction of Lady Carlisle, are equally vain. *The Westminster Gazette* speaks of a referendum among the municipal electors. Such a method might be useful, but Mr. Asquith might reply, in face even of a great majority, that the municipal register is not a democratic one, as regards women especially, and, therefore, that his second condition was not kept in the spirit. Evidently we must pursue our propagandist work vigorously.

Then as to democratic lines, what are these? Surely if the amendment is on the ordinary lines, "on the same terms as men now enjoy it" [including, e.g., married women who qualify in their own right], Mr. Asquith cannot reply, "No, undemocratic." He cannot demand that the amendment should propose to confer on women a franchise wider than men enjoy. This would be not only stupidly unjust, but also provocative of widespread hostility.

On the whole, if Mr. Asquith really attaches weight to these conditions, and intends to use them in the letter, his promise is of slight value. But we find it hard to believe that his colleagues will accept such a position. "Overwhelming support"? The Prime Minister will pass the Licensing Bill, and the Education Bill, if he can. It follows that they must have "overwhelming support," in his opinion. But both these Bills have met with considerable opposition. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues know quite well that none of their big measures has had or will have overwhelming support except in the party sense. We do not think that our friends in the Cabinet will lightly allow Mr. Asquith to exact a higher measure of support for the Suffrage amendment.

However these things may be, we must work with increased vigour, so that Mr. Asquith may have no excuse for denying that there is a real demand. We must provide the Parliamentary Committee with all the information at our disposal, so that they may be encouraged and armed at all points.

The Stewards' Corps.

THE resources of the Corps have been heavily taxed this week. Miss Molony's exploits at Dundee—whatever view we Suffragists take of them—have naturally brought about reprisals from the younger members of the sex which monopolizes political capacity, and depends for its methods on the inferior sex. These mimetic young gentlemen pursue the time-honoured policy of "an eye for an eye," and attack, with a fine disregard of their own principle, the militant societies and those which dislike militant methods.

We regret that in several cases in which we were invited to be present the invitation came so late that practically nothing could be done. Will organizers of meetings kindly observe that a week's notice is essential? Apart from the time taken in correspondence, it must be remembered that the stewards do not, on joining the Corps, bind themselves to abstain for ever from making evening engagements, in order that they may always be ready at a day's notice.

During the last ten days stewards have been present at meetings held by all three of the women's societies, and in each case have found their work anything but a *dolce far niente*. At Muswell Hill one of our stewards received an injury which will compel him to carry his arm in a sling for some weeks. For more than an hour attempts were made to rush the stairs which led to the hall. We subjoin an account of the fray from one who took part in it.

The Stewards' Corps had a field day—or perhaps we had better say, an evening engagement—on Tuesday, May 19th. The occasion was a meeting organized by the Muswell Hill

Branch of the N.W.S.P.U. at the Muswell Hill Athenæum. Countess Russell presided, and the speaker was Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. Judging from the proceedings at recent meetings, and from the number of young men waiting admission, we fully expected a lively time. Our hopes—or fears—were fully realized, but we had the great satisfaction of carrying the meeting through to a conclusion. All tickets had been sold before the meeting, and a large number who wished to obtain admission were disappointed. Among these were some forty or fifty young men who had evidently come to disturb. The outer swing-doors were rushed and carried, and the lobby was filled with a crowd of people. Here was an open staircase and the inner doors to be guarded, and these were continually besieged. Time after time were they rushed, but the line of stewards on outpost duty successfully repulsed each assault.

Inside the meeting some twenty to thirty young men with bells, whistles, and bicycle-horns frequently interrupted Miss Pankhurst, who with her good-tempered repartee held the meeting. Soon, however, the courage of the youths began to rise, and they commenced such a din that it became necessary to interfere. The meeting was stopped for ten minutes—a keen scrimmage took place, some dozen or so disturbers were ejected, and several bells were captured as trophies of war. The skirmish was sharp whilst it lasted, several coats, shirts, and ties suffering severely, and we had to pin together the garments of one steward before we could allow him to proceed home. Asked afterwards to give a description of the struggle, one steward replied that, as a row of chairs and five persons also were on top of him, he did not see very much of the conflict.

Demonstrations were also made in the street and at the station, and the train steamed off amid the groans of the growing "citizens" of Muswell Hill.

We do not want such proceedings frequently—in fact, we do not desire them at all, but the Stewards' Corps has shown its *raison-d'être*, and at all costs in the future we must prevent meetings being broken up. Who will help to swell our numbers? L. W. P.

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.]

Suffragists and Bell-Ringing.

SIR,—Too much credit is given to the Dundee bell-ringer—too much and too little, as I hope to show. Rowdy interruption began on the other side—mice, tin trumpets, cat calls, flung missiles, and personal violence were employed by the men long before the appearance of the bell. This last was not employed, as were the former, in order to destroy freedom of speech, but because a real outrage had been offered to the Women's Suffrage Societies. Behind that woman's protest lay the many injustices women have suffered at men's hands, and any want of generosity in the way they are treated during this agitation, and while they are still unrepresented, is and must be a crowning injustice. There is a short and pithy word in the English language which describes men who make, or insinuate, charges against women like those credited to the new Member for Dundee, and the explanation made by him had not, in the judgment of fair-minded persons, any of the characteristics which his position demanded.

No doubt among the large number of women—and of men—who want Woman Suffrage if it can be got with no breach of the laws of (middle-class) nature, the bell incident is a stumbling-block; and no doubt there are members of Suffrage Societies who would like a public disclaimer of any share in such doings. The horror which exists among the English middle classes of being "unladylike" (and it may be added that the fear of being "unfeminine" which haunts the lower middle class is by no means tantamount to a fear of being unwomanly)—a horror fully shared by the menfolk—is a truly appalling factor, which has played and will yet play a considerable part in the present agitation. We do not read that the duchesses, countesses, and

other ladies of the eighteenth century who thumped and kicked for hours at the doors of the House of Lords, and eventually invaded the peers by a feint, apologized next day to the male public; nor that the other peeresses of the land found it necessary to explain that they, the Duchess of A. and Lady B., had never kicked and thumped doors, though it was now apparent that other duchesses and ladies might always be found who would do both.

I think the women can well await some sort of disclaimer of the hooliganism and coarse ebullitions of male spite and violence which sometimes greet the women, and of speeches conceived in the spirit of Mr. Churchill's, before dissociating themselves from the harmless young Irishwoman who rang a bell. Think of the coercion habitually used by men over women by every means in their power, including that of the laws they have made to her detriment! Of the methods traditionally used by men, in the heat of political contests, to shut the mouths of opponents, and show detestation of a hated policy. Of the long series of injustices and outrages offered to women by law and custom through centuries of history. Yet on the question of the franchise for women what do we find? The woman, with all that real provocation in the background, uses means so harmless, with no trace of malignity, paying, as the woman always pays, for her own acts—getting herself put into prison, for instance. Compare with these things the doings of "the brave men of Gourdon," chronicled in *Women's Franchise*, for May 14: "In quite a heroic fashion they tore the hat off the head of one lady and pulled her hair. Their courage rose to still higher flights. Being strong in numbers, they... with truly asinine fervour shouted themselves hoarse in order that the speakers on the platform might not be heard." Male hooliganism has had as its avowed object to prevent women from getting a hearing when they asked for a constitutional right; and it has been cowardly, cruel, and brutal. None of these elements enter into anything yet done, during this contest, by a woman.

Let us commend these facts to the well-talked-of chivalry of men.

The horseplay of women will not degenerate into the horseplay of men—but do let us abandon the silly cant which pretends to expect "ladylike" conduct of every woman; we are not all "ladies," and moreover those who are most so are least afraid of the quality rubbing off.

Finally, the suggestion that by ringing a bell Miss Molony desecrated the sacred rights of argument, is both far-fetched and disingenuous. Everybody knows that neither political principles nor arguments for the Suffrage were in dispute; and women Suffragists, less than any class or body in the community at this present moment, need fear such a suggestion, with 40 years of patient unanswered arguments behind them—in a cause of which Charles Kingsley said: "As for ridicule... I suppose it is used because there are no other arguments to be found"; and of which the late Lord Salisbury said: "I can conceive no argument by which they (women) are excluded." M. A. R. T.

SIR,—I am afraid that to expect all sections of "the cause" to alter their tactics because of the new attitude of the Government towards Woman's Franchise is to exceed probable realization. To me, however, it seems that during the next twelve months or so previous to the introduction of the promised Reform Bill, the advancement of our movement mainly depends upon educative work of a constitutional character. The psychological effect of militant—and especially anti-Government—tactics will undoubtedly be more of an adverse nature than previously, and (unless it be an exceptional case) likely in its balance of advantage to show a deficit.

Let us fully recognize that, had militant tactics not been resorted to, it is reasonable to suppose that our cause would not have been sufficiently powerful to obtain what is to all intents the co-operation of the Government. Militant tactics are, however, but a means of propaganda which the Prime Minister's promise should to a large extent take the place of. Educative work always has been the important item, and I am of the opinion that it should now become practically the only method. I do not mean to suggest that the matter be

now left in the hands of the Liberal Party, or that the various societies should become for the time being pro-Liberal. The suggestion I would make is that the societies merely adjust their methods to the altered circumstances. Such alteration in my opinion would be best if it took the form of opposing any Liberal candidate (or Conservative) who refused to put in his address that he supported Women's Suffrage, but not as hitherto to oppose him as being a Government candidate.

I would suggest a still greater election propaganda, but a non-party one where the Government candidate is favourable. Remember, it is not a question of Liberalism, Conservatism, or Socialism, but of Women's Suffrage and the best road to it. The tactics adopted should, irrespective of personal feeling, be those best calculated to obtain the support required and the least opposition (especially Government opposition) practically possible.

We have not got exactly what we wanted; we have got more than we expected; and what we have got must either be turned into a true friend or a powerful enemy.

To be offered terms and refuse them is worse than to have no terms offered, and I personally feel that the best plan of all societies will be to make these terms serve their purpose.

Yours faithfully,

H. M. THEEDAM.

Woman's Freedom.

CHATS ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

No. 7.—John Aylmer, 1521–1594—(continued).

WHEREFOR chaunsing upon a boke, about a yere past, intituled the first blast, co'teining new broched doctrine to disproue the regiment of women. After I had red it, I wished that some notable learned man wold haue answered it, that, like as those which be stonge of scorpions use to fetch remedy of the same: so this cause being wounded, or rather a little scatted with some theme and appa'ce of learning: might be again healed with such plaisters as through the truthe of the matter, true lerning ministreth. And for as much as I hoped of this at som mens ha'ds and hard of one, which is now gon to God, that he had take' it upon him: I ment not my self for a time to meddle with it, least that a good cause by il handling shuld in the iugement of some seme the worse. But whan the length of time taught me that he that me't it, was take' fro' it, a'd such as could haue throughly don it, made no hast to it: I thoughte it better rather by my splendre handling of it to show mi good wil, tha' by the common silence to seme to winke at it. And so much the rather I tok it in hand: because if no ma' shuld do it: all our side shuld seme to bear with it, which I knowe to be so far of that none that I know (I speake of the learned) be further giltly in this poynt, than that by ther declaration they haue not shewed the' selues giltles. I know the credit, the old proverb hath, qui tacet co'se'tire videtur, he that winketh at a matter, semeth to think the same. And therefore as it was necessary that som in the behalf of al, shuld utter the minds of the rest, so ment I, though more boldly the' wisely, yet not so rashly as necessarily, nor as I trust more rudely the' profitably, to let the world unaersta'd that this infectio' is not blown in by the blast to al mens breasts, yea I dare be bold to saye that al the best learned be of the same iudgeme't herein that this my simple treatise shall utter me to be of.

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"In the sifting wherof, I mynd to use suche modestie that it shall appere to all indifferent men, that I seke to defend the cause, and not to deface the ma'. Seing this errour rose not of malice but of zele: and by loking more to the present crueltie, that the' was used: then to the inco'uenience that after might follow. Wherin surely his doying is somewhat to be pardoned: consideryng the grief that like a good member of that bodie which then suffered, he felte to his great sorow and trouble. For lyke as the eye being ful of teares, is the more unable to se: so is the mind full of sorow much the les hable to iudge. As we se in Euripides Polymnestor being for his mording of Polidor extremeli punished of Hecuba a'd other weme' (who pricked out

his eyes with pins) cryeth out not only agagyn them that hurt hym, but agaynst the whole sexe that neuer came nere him.

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"1. The argumentes as I remember, bee these, not many in number, but handsomly amplified. Fyrst that what so euer is agaynste nature the same in a common wealth is not tollerable, but the government of woma' is agaynste nature. Ergo it is not tollerable.

"2. The second, what so euer is forbidden by scripture is not lawfull. But a wo'am to rule is forbidden by scripture. Ergo it is not lawfull.

"3. The third, if a woman may not speke in the congregation: much lesse she may rule. But she may not speake in the co'gragacio', ergo she may not rule.

"4. The fourth what the civil lawe forbiddeth, that is not lawfull: but the rule of a woman the Civill law forbiddeth, ergo it is not lawfull.

"5. The fift, seing ther foloweth more inconueniee of the rule of wome' then of mens gouernme't: therefore it is not to be borne in a common welth.

"6. The last, the Doctors and Canonistes forbidde it, ergo it can not be good.

"These, (as I reme'ber) be the Proppes that hold up this matter, or rather the pik axes to under mynde the state.

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"Well, now to the first argument: You say in your minor that the rule of a woman is agaynste nature, because the woman is by nature weake, unskilful, a'd subject to the ma' etc. well, before I answeare to these, we muste se what is ment by this worde nature, howe farre it stretcheth, how it must be taken in this proposition, and then how the rule of a woman maye agree or not agree with it. Nature is nothing els but a general disposition ingraft of God in all creatures, for the preseruatio' of the whol, and of eueri kind, or as Seneca saith, Quid aliud est natura q, deus et diuina ratio toto mundo uniuersisq, eius partibus inserta.

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"Now if this hathe so bene ingrafted in the nature of al menne, that no woman shoulde gouerne, but all women shoulde be subjectes: then were there no more to be saide, the matter were ended. But because we see by many examples, that by the whole consent of nacyns, by the ordinance of God, and order of lawe, wemen haue reigned and those not a fewe, and as it was thoughte not agaynste nature. Therefore it came not bee saide, that by a generall disposition of nature, it hathe bene, and is denied them to rule. But let us here consider, whether it be in a woman agaynste nature to rule, as it is in a stone to moue upwarde, or in the fire not to consume. In the stone or in the fire is no manner of aptnesse, either for the one to go upward, or the other to preserue and not destroy, and neither can be done in eyther, withoute uolence and outwarde force. But in a woman is witte, understa'ding, and as Aristotle saith the same vertues that be in a man, sauinge that they differ, Secundum maius et minus, that is, moore in the man then in the woman. There is the same shape, the same language, and sometime more giftes in them, then in the man, as was in Artemesia (as Justine reporteth) more prowes and witte to rule the armie, then in the great Monarke Xerxes. Only we can pul from them that they be not strong of body, or commonly so couragious in minde, graunte that it is so: must they therefore be utterly unmete to rule: nay if you said unmete, then men: we woulde not much wrastle with you... But to reason thus wemen be not so mete as men, Ergo, it is agaynste nature is an euill consequent...

"Saynt Paule speaking of yong wydowes saith let them mary, tende their busines, and rule the hous *οικονομοειν*. No man I am sure, will deny but that the government in the house is a kynde of superiorie and that ouer men: Onles you wyl as the Buoi dyd, that the men shall rule the men, and the wiuies the women, or you will apoynte them such familyes as shall haue no men in them. If then they may gouerne men in the house by saynt Pauls commission, and an household is a lytle common welth, as Socrates in Xenophon saith: Then I can not see howe you can debarre them of all rule, or conclude that to be heads of men is agaynste nature. Whiche if you graunt, is enough for the disprouing of your minor.

(To be continued.)

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