

Vol. II.—No. 36.

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1909.

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Notice to Subscribers and Contributors.

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

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

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

'Women's Franchise,'
Editorial and Publishing Office,
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

Notes.

MR. GOULDING has given notice of the following amendment to the motion for the second reading of Mr. Howard's Representation Bill:—

That the extension of the Franchise to Women, now disqualified solely on the ground of sex, should precede the consideration of the further changes proposed in this Bill.

O^N Tuesday in last week Lord Lansdowne, in a debate on the address in the House of Lords, referred to the difference in the treatment meted to the cattle drivers, and that of the Suffragettes.

In 1,000 instances of cattle driving, only 162 cases were dealt with, and treated as untried prisoners, to whom friends had access. Why was it "misguided women," who occasionally made themselves objectionable outside Government and Ministerial buildings, went to prison to spend twenty-three hours out of twenty-four in solitary confinement?

MR. MACNEILL, M.P., in the House of Commons recently asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been directed to the words of Mr. Cecil Chapman, metropolitan magistrate, to the effect that he was not inclined to preach the virtues of patience and contentment to women who had realized their just right to vote, and that every one recognized the right of women to vote except the men who desired to keep them from political independence; and whether, having regard to this expression of opinion from a member of the bench of magistrates who, in the discharge of their duties, have had to deal with cases arising out of the Suffragist agitation, and the purely political character of the offences with which the ladies now undergoing imprisonment are charged, he will see his way to advise their removal from the second to the first class of misdemeanants.

A WOMEN'S Parliament was held by the N.W.S.P.U., in Caxton Hall, on Thursday, February 24th, at 7.30 P.M. The business of this parlement was to send forth a deputation of women, bearing in their hands resolutions, demanding that the Government enfranchise women this Session. The deputation numbered thirty, and was led by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The first obstacle they encountered was a cordon of police drawn up within a few yards of Caxton Hall. At this point the deputation was broken up, the women forcing their way through singly or in two and threes, accompanied by a crowd which made itself audible in a mixture of cheers and jeers. In Parliament Square more obstacles in blue were met, but Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Leslie Lawless succeeded in passing, ouly, however, to be promptly arrested in Palace Yard. There quickly followed other arrests. Meanwhile Parliament Square was being cleared by a miniature charge of a mounted blue brigade. Many members of the deputation were thus thrust outside the protected area. Valiant efforts were made to break the line, and one attempt to scale the railings. More arrests followed. An interested spectator was heard to exclaim, "Bloomin' 'Olloway 'll be full of 'em!" About 9 o'clock the order "no more arrests" was given by a superintendent, and many of the police were withdrawn. This left two or three women, who had later set out from Caxton Hall to as a fairly uniform system, outlined the history of the secular make a second attempt to reach St. Stephen's, at the mercy of the crowd. These were headed by Mrs. Solomon, the wife of the late premier of Cape Colony. Several ugly rushes followed from a crowd bent on amusing itself in rough play. Eventually these women managed to return more or less safely to Caxton Hall.

ON Saturday morning last, the prisoners who were arrested for attempting to interview Mr. Asquith were welcomed on their release by their friends and escorted to a breakfast, held at the Inns of Court Hotel. One of the released prisoners, Mrs. Clarke, said that she was the bearer of a message from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who urged that there must be an increased number of prisoners, they must endeavour to exceed the number of persons who suffered imprisonment for Free Trade in the Chartist movement.

URING the past fortnight or three weeks the Wimbledon W.S.P.U. have been hard at work on an active campaign. Open-air meetings have been held on the Common with great success. The campaign culminated in a large and overflowing meeting on Monday last, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst was the chief speaker. She said Mr. Asquith wanted to force them to enlarge their demands until they were so big that they could not get them through the door of Parliament. As he told a deputation of Liberal Members of Parliament, he would not let a reasonable Bill go through the House of Commons, but some day he intended introducing a big Electoral Reform Bill, when a private member might try to get votes for women included in it. Proceeding to give what she termed "the second chapter in the history of the attempt to side-track the movement," she said Mr. Geoffrey Howard was going to introduce a Bill to give a vote to every man and woman over twenty-one. The intention, of course, was to alarm the country, and to alienate it from the movement, by threatening it with millions of new voters. But the plan should not succeed.

A SUFFRAGE Dramatic Entertainment will be given at the Spears Memorial Hall, Highgate Hill (near Tube station), on Wednesday, March 17th, 8 P.M. Mr. James Ward's successful play, 'Man and Woman,' will be produced by Mrs. Fisher White (Actresses' League), and a dramatic tableau of the 'Ballad of Fair Ladies in Revolt,' specially sanctioned by George Meredith, will be given under the direction of Mrs. S. Fenton and Miss G. M. Bradley (Artists' League). Instru-

mental music will be performed by members of the South Place Orchestra. Tickets 2s. 6d. and 1s., to be obtained from Mrs. H. Rand, 3, Holly Terrace, Highgate, N

MISS TORRY, President and Organizer of the Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush Branch of the L.S.W.S., is taking up her work again after her sad bereavement, and proposes holding Antidote-to-the-Anti's Discussion Teas at her house. 68, Godolphin Road, Shepherd's Bush, N. The first will take place on March 24th, at 4 P.M., when she hopes that all members will rally again to our great Cause.

WE are glad to hear from Mrs. Martel that she has the time and the will at disposal to work and speak for any Suffrage Society that may require her. Knowing her splendid powers of oratory, and that her heart is so completely in the cause for the enfranchisement of her sex, we wish her every

SERIES of lectures, with the interesting title 'The Development of the Marriage Laws of Western Europe, has been given at University College, Gower Street. The lecturer, Sir John Macdonell, Quain Professor of Comparative or civil view of the contract from the time of "hand-fasting marriages," a remnant of the old Norse system. Dealing with the so-called "marriages by sale," marriage under feudalism, as influenced by the Church and also by Roman law, he glanced in conclusion at the age at which a valid consent to marriage may be given, and the effect, if any, of the withholding of the consent of the parents or guardians.

HE total number of women voters for County Councils in England is 563,961, and in Wales 41,945. For county Borough Councils in England and Wales the number is 265,862, and for non-county Borough Councils 137,324.

WE regret that through lack of sufficient revision two names appeared wrongly spelt in last week's issue. We apologize to both Miss Ogston and Dr. Bather; and also that in speaking of the Poor Law reforms the obvious misprint occurred of

WILL Mrs. Genie Sheppard kindly forward her address? as we have a communication to send on.

WE have received towards the expenses of publishing from Miss Gertrude F. W. Torry, 2s. 6d.; Hampstead Suffrage Meeting, 2l. 2s.

House of Lords—Scottish Women Graduates' Appeal

DONATIONS TOWARDS £150 DEFI	CIT.			
DOI DOI DO	£	s.	d.	
Already acknowledged	85	9	0	
The Irish Women's Suffrage Association				
(per Mrs. Haslam)	1	0	0	
Miss K. Balfour	1	1	0	
Lady Wright	4	0	0	
		70	_	

This leaves a present deficit of £58 10s. Those who sympathize with the legal action are asked to send donations to me at Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian. Some of those who have subscribed to our fund have said they would be interested to see a statement of our accounts. This I propose to send to Women's Franchise soon after the 8th of March, on which day our House of Lords expenses are to be taxed, that is finally adjusted, by the authorities. CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec.

New Bills.

MARCH 4, 1909

THE text of the Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities Bill, brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, has been issued. Its operative clauses provide that :-

Every man and woman of full age, whether married or single, shall be qualified to vote at a Parliamentary or local election who resides in the area for which the election is held, and is duly registered, unless disqualified (for a reason other than sex or marriage) by common law or Act of Parliament.

No person shall be returned as a member to serve in Parliament by any University or combination of universities.

No person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage from being elected or being a member of either House of Parliament, or of a borough or county council, or from exercising any public functions whatever "

The Bill is supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Byles, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Hodge, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Robert Pearce, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Sheehan, and Mr. Whitwell Wilson.

We can only repeat what we said last week. All Women Suffrage societies are united in the one demand—the removal of the sex disability. Parliamentarians may believe that they will get the vote for women sooner by means of Adult Suffrage. For our part we do not so believe. To give only one reason—the House of Lords would be less favourable to an Adult Suffrage Bill than to one removing the sex disability, which would enfranchise about one and a quarter million of women, that number being very diversely made up. Even if it were a fact—which we do not in the least believe—that delay may occur owing to our refusal to pander to the intricacies of Parliamentary procedure. then we can only trust that such delay may be used in useful preparation. We especially concentrate on this removal of the sex disability with regard to the vote because we believe it will help to remove the sex disability in many other cases, where the refusal to allow women to take up suitable work is thrusting them into other and less desirable employment. We would refer our readers to a very capable article by Mr. Pethick Lawrence on the subject in the current number of our contemporary Votes for Women, in which the simplicity of the measure we advocate is well set forth.

THE Bill to make better provision for punishing strangers who abuse the privilege of admission to either House of Parliament, which was presented by the Attorney-General, is backed by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Harcourt. Its provisions are as

1. If any person, not being a member of either House of Parliament, while present in the Palace of Westminster during the sitting of either House, is guilty of disorderly conduct, or acts in contravention of any rule or order of either House with respect to the admission and conduct of strangers, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable or contravential be guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable or contravential be guilty of a misdemeanour. demeanour, and liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding £100.

2. Any person who commits an offence under this Act may, unless the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker otherwise orders, be arrested without warrant within the Palace of Westminster, and for the purpose of such arrest any officer of either House shall have all e powers and privileges of a constable.

3. No proceedings shall be instituted under this Act without the sanction of the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker.
4. Nothing in this Act shall affect the privileges of either House Parliament, or any power of either such House to proceed in ordance with ancient usages.

In connexion with the above we have received the following: Sir,—On a recent Appeal to the House of Lords in the case of he Scottish Women Graduates, it was decided that women are for Persons. It should follow logically that the Attorney-General's ill just introduced "to punish brawlers" cannot apply to women, e one enacting clause beginning "If any PERSON not being a ember of either House of Parliament, while present in the Palace of Westminster during the sitting of either House is guilty of disorderly conduct, &c., HE shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable on summary conviction for a term not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding £100." After this Bill passes all Militant Suffragettes should be free in PERSON and purse in the precincts of the two Houses of Parliament.

Faithfully, the two Houses of Parliament.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

JAYA .- We have received the following extract from a

Java has only just had elective municipalities, but voting rights are limited to European ratepayers, and they poll for the European members only. Yet, already there is a Women's Suffrage Association at Batavia presided over by Miss Charlotte Jacobs.

In connexion with the movement, a public meeting was held at Batavia on December 17th, and was attended by about 100 ladies and 10 gentlemen. Mrs. Kooy van Zeggelen a leading Suffragette, addressed the assembly, which listened attentively, as she set out the injustice of denying to women the right of voting given to qualified men. She made the point that women brought up the men and so enabled them to get votes, yet, for all that, they afterwards looked down upon women, and denied them a voice in the choice of their

No one contested the speaker's points, and the meeting closed with a vote of thanks.

FRANCE.—Suffragists of different nationalities at Paris have combined in organizing a society which, under the designation of Congrès permament du Féminisme International, will meet on the fourth Friday of every month, at 8.30, at the Cercle du Progrès féminin, 49, Rue Lafitte. It is hoped that this Society will serve as a link between Suffragists of different nationalities who are passing through Paris, and will help to make felt the international aspect of the movement.

The first meeting will take place on the 26th inst. The The first meeting will take place on the 20th first. The speakers will be: Madame Jane Misme, 'Les progrès du Feminisme Français'; Madame Marya Chéliga, 'Les Femmes et la Paix Universelle'; Madame Marglie Markovitch, 'La Femme dans la Révolution Persane'; Madame Leonard Marshall, 'Les Suffragettes Anglaises'; Madame I. Orka, 'Le Mouvement féministe en Pologne '; Madame Raïssa Herzenstein, 'Le Congrès des Femmes Russes '; Madame Alexandra David, 'La Femme

Admission to the meetings can be obtained from the Committee of the Congrès permanent at the offices of the Française, 49, Rue Lafitte, on Fridays between 4 and 6 o'clock.

Suffragists in other countries may become corresponding members of the Congrès permanent. They should communicate with the Secretary, Madame I. Orka, 38, Rue de Penthièvre.

My thanks are due to the readers who have so kindly sent me the desired pamphlets on Australia and New Zealand. I still live in hope of seeing a copy of the Washington report, though I fear that there are but few copies still surviving in this country. ALICE ZIMMERN.

Irish Societies.

THE Irish Woman's Suffrage Association, which was founded in 1866, is still working energetically, and the newly-formed Irish Women's Franchise League is also active. On Tuesday last, February 16th, a drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Sanderson, Mount Temple Terrace, Rathgar, Dublin, under the auspices of the former Society, when a paper on 'The Rightful Claims of Woman Restated' was read by Mr. Haslam, in the course of which he dealt with many controversial questions, and answered them to the satisfaction of the vast majority of those present. Mrs. Richardson spoke on the educational advantages which would accrue from the extension of the Suffrage to women, by awakening in the minds of the young an interest in public questions. Among the ladies who took part in the subsequent discussion were: Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Fitzpatrick, Mrs. Dudley Edwards, Mrs. A. Webb, Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Hill Tickell, and Mrs. Haslam, Hon. Secretary. Several other meetings are being arranged for.

At the recent meeting of the National Irish Convention at the Mansion House in Dublin, some of the members of the Irish Women's Franchise League assembled outside the entrance and distributed 3,000 publications advocating the cause. Under

Contemporary Club, Lincoln Place, Dublin, on Monday, February 15th, when Mrs. Wyse Power and Mr. Kettle, M.P., the young literateur, spoke in favour of Woman's Franchise. The latter in the course of his observations said that the denial of the right to vote was a spiritual outrage on woman. A meeting is announced for March 2nd, to take place at the Abbey Theatre, Abbey Street, Dublin, when Mrs. Billington-Greig will

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On February 26th a drawing-room meeting, under the auspices of the Irish Women's Suffrage Association, was held at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Keatinge, in Harcourt Street, when Miss Hayden, the one lady on the Senate of the New Irish University, occupied the chair, and Mr. Haslam read a paper.

Afterwards, in the course of an interesting address, Miss Harrison said that when women entered public life they found there were so many injustices in the world to be redressed that they came to see the necessity of Female Suffrage. The Union of Women Workers and the lady poor law guardians of Dublin are examples of this fact. There is a new Woman's Suffrage Society about to be formed in Dublin by young Conservative

Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association-Clifton and Bath.

LAST week Lady Knightley and Mrs. Ashworth Hallett addressed a crowded meeting. Mrs. Gronow Davies, presiding, said that she was glad to see the interest taken in the movement, which promised well for the forming of a branch of the Conservative and Unionist Society. The outlook was a good one with such names as Lord and Lady Cecil, and those of Mr. Balfour's sisters and a sister-in-law. They desired that the vote be granted to duly qualified women, not only as an act of justice, but as the strongest means for putting off Adult Suffrage. Lady Knightley devoted much of her address to criticism of Mrs. Humphry Ward's speech made at a recent Anti-Suffrage meeting held locally. Mrs. Ward had said that a purely fictitious value was placed upon the vote. If this was so, why was the country brought to the verge of a revolution eighty years ago. Mrs. Ward also said that "religion and morals are infinitely greater and bigger than can be brought within the provisions of an Act of Parliament." She should be extremely sorry to dispute that statement, but would refer them to remarks made by the great Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, on the subject, viz.: "I earnestly hope that the day is not far distant when women will also bear their share in the voting for Members of Parliament and in determining the policy of the country. I can conceive no argument by which they are excluded. It is obvious that they are abundantly as well fitted as many who now possess the Suffrage, by knowledge, by training, and by character; and that their influence is likely to weigh in a direction which, in an age so matured as ours, is exceedingly valuable, viz., in the direction of morality and religion.

Mrs. Ashworth Hallett gave instances of famous women connected with Bristol alone, all of whom were advocates for the Franchise, and yet the Anti-Suffrage supporters would have it that "women were debarred by nature from the average political knowledge and experience open to men."

Mrs. Gronow Davies put the resolution to the meeting, Miss Hutchinson Wright seconded. It was carried with one

Miss E. H. Smith proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, and urged all women to read and study this greatest of human movements, and to come forward and help by joining the Society. Mrs. Charles Spencer seconded the vote of thanks.

At Bath on Tuesday in last week Lady Knightley of Fawsley and Mrs. Ashworth Hallett made interesting and convincing speeches. Lady Knightley, who was received with loud applause, referred to Mrs. Humphry Ward's opposition to the movement. Mrs. Ward never referred to a point which, to her mind, was the basis of the demand, and that point was that taxation and Lord James of Hereford writing, "Devoted as I am to the

the auspices of the same Society a meeting was held at the representation went together. Mrs. Humphry Ward said women had a different sphere than men had. That was so, and was all the more reason why they should have the means of expressing their views and opinions, apart from those of men. They should have a fair share in influencing the legislation which governed them as much as men. Alderman Phillips remarked that the majority of the men who belonged to the Primrose League were in favour of votes for women.

Actresses' Franchise League.

A most successful meeting was held by the above League at 3, Bedford Street, Strand, on Tuesday, February 23rd, at 3 o'clock. There was a large attendance, invitations having been issued to actresses, members of the League, and their professorial friends, Miss Winifred Mayo being the hostess. The chair was ably filled by Mrs. Madeline Lucette Ryley, who opened the proceedings by a neat little speech, explaining that she was deputizing for Miss Eva Moore, who was unavoidably prevented from being present. Actresses, she said, belonged to a favoured they worked side by side with men, and obtained equal pay with the men for their work; but actresses had never been behindhand with their help, when they felt others needed it, and this was the spirit of this League. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then gave an able address, setting forth the claims of women to the vote, the value of it when won, and her views on the way to obtain it. She had left other calls to come and speak to them that day, so strongly did she feel the value of their co-operation. On the next day she was to lead a deputation to Mr. Asquith on this subject, and the result would probably her imprisonment for a considerable time. A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Mrs. Lawrence for her delightful speech, and her interesting answers to the questions put to her, and a considerable accession of members to the League was the immediate result of the meeting.

Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society.

ORIGINALLY a branch of the then Central Society for Women's Suffrage, we have, during the last two years, developed into a fairly strong body, and are now independent. Our members include militants and non-militants, and both sections are working harmoniously together. We have numbered amongst our speakers Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Mrs. Stanbury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Baillie-Weaver, Mrs. Toyne. We are organizing a large public meeting for March 25th, at which Mr. Baillie-Weaver has promised to speak. We are arranging for meetings in the adjoining towns, and have been promised the assistance of the Women's Freedom League. Last Friday evening Mrs. Toyne gave an eloquent address to a meeting of shop-assistants. Suffolk is hard to rouse, but it has had the honour of presenting England with its first woman mayor. If there are any Suffragists in Suffolk at present not working for the Cause, I wish they would communicate with me, and work will soon be found for them.

CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS, Hon. Sec. I.C.W.S.S.

Anti Doings.

NORTH BERKS possesses a branch of the Anti-Suffrage League, and owes much, we learn, of the success of the movement to the untiring zeal and organizing capacity of the local secretary. Lady Wantage, at a meeting recently held at Abingdon, said that she was well aware that her cause was not one to inspire popular enthusiasm—"the right we claim is the right to be left alone." Some of those who should have supported her at the meeting took these sentiments a little too literally, however, for we find

Anti-Suffrage movement, and most anxious to help it, I am morality, both of which are so prevalent in this country, and are really not able to deal sufficiently with the subject in a long and amongst the first indications of the decadence of a nation. continuous speech." Mr. Austin Chamberlain also regretted that he was unable to come, not "because he underrates the importance of the Anti-Suffrage movement, but because 'though the spirit is willing the flesh is weak.'" We recommend to our readers' notice a letter which the Hon. H. B. T. Strangways, formerly Premier of South Australia, publishes through The Bridgewater Gazette, in answer to an Anti-Suffrage circular recently sent him.

March 4, 1909

Shapwick, Somerset. DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge your circular of the 31st ult., in which you ask me to allow my name to be added to the Committee for Opposing Female Suffrage. You send me a list of names, and suggest that I shall be convinced by the weightiness of those names, and that I ought to join your society. It appears to me that those names are very similar to those whom Lord Robert Cecil is reported to have recently described as a lot of "old Mandarins," and I cannot complain of that description, as there is scarcely one amongst them whom I should care to rely on as an adviser in any matter of public policy. You inform me that I should not incur any pecuniary liability, and then proceed to follow the frequent procedure of the sex whom you declare to be unfit to have the Parliamentary Franchise by putting the pith of your circular in a postscript-Small contributions thankfully received. You further say that I should not have to take any active part in the movement; in fact, as with those in your long list of names, I should not be expected to express my sympathy in dollars. The lists that you have sent me include many very rich people, and all of them are very comfortably off; but if they had to earn a precarious existence by making matchboxes at three-halfpence gross some of them might, perhaps, be disposed to think, with me, that there are a few things amongst the pomps and vanities of this wicked world that are capable of improvement. The argument that females should not have the Parliamentary vote because they have not the physical strength to compete with men in actual fighting is not of any value in these days, as the "resources of civilization" have changed all that, for a gun with a woman behind it will shoot as hard and as straight as when there is a "man behind the gun"; and though women cannot join the Army and Navy, Mr. Haldane is urging women to become recruiting sergeants to induce men to join the new "Terriers."....Again, it has been alleged that women ought not to have a voice in the management of Governmental affairs, especially in Imperial affairs, which they must consider if they have the Parliamentary vote. is also a false view, for Imperial affairs are not decided by the House of Commons. Such affairs are decided nominally by the Secretaries of State, though really by the permanent officials. Take the two great questions now before the public—the Balkans and the unrest in India. As to both these matters the House of Commons does nothing, and knows next to nothing: the one is managed by Sir Edward Grey, and the other by Lord Morley; whilst if any one asks for information he is told that he cannot have any information, and is invited to show his confidence. People who use women as canvassers, and all Primrose Leaguers who use women to teach men how they ought to vote, but deny to those same women the right to vote, are, in my opinion, what the American calls great "frauds." Though women, as a rule, have not the bodily strength of men, there is scarcely any athletic performance in which women when trained cannot compete, and when a policeman is being brutally knocked about by men it is generally a woman who goes to the rescue, whilst the men either join in the brutalities or stand safely by. "Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur." And those are the best friends of their country who can recognize the necessity for a change when the time for that change has come. I was a member of the Government of South Australia, which in 1861 gave women the right to vote in municipal matters. This worked so satisfactorily that in later years the Parliamentary vote has been given to women, and it has been found that the exercise of the Parliamentary Franchise by women has been a check on insobriety and im-

Yours truly, H. B. T. STRANGWAYS, Formerly Premier of South Australia. George Calderon, Esq., Heathland Lodge, Hampstead Heath, London, N.W.

[Copy.]

Shapwick, Somerset.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, in which you are good enough to say that it is evident that I am very little acquainted with the arguments against Women's Suffrage, and enclose me a selection of the literature that you publish and have for sale. I have looked through this literature in the hope of being able to supply the deficiency that you so kindly suggest, but without success. I do not find any arguments, but merely a number of assertions, some of which have no bearing on the subject, and others are not in accordance with well-known facts. I venture to suggest that if you wish for the prosperity of your society you should suppress all your literature, as the Antis in America have had to do, and ask for support without giving your reasons. Yours truly,

H. B. T. STRANGWAYS. George Calderon, Esq., Hon. Secretary Committee for Opposing Female Suffrage.

The Vote.

From an "Anti's" Point of View.

Why women seek to win the vote In dear old England's land. Why discontent should reign supreme, We cannot understand: For zons they have been content, As mothers of the race, To endure all sacrifice and pain, And soul's desires efface.

The sacred precincts of the home, That holy, pure demesne; The fittest place for woman's reign As mother and as queen. Why worry o'er the nation's woes? When men can set them right? Why struggle for the higher life? Why pander after light?

FROM A "SUFFRAGIST'S" POINT OF VIEW.

Discontent divine has shed Its radiance in the heart: Until we gain sweet justice now. It never can depart. The sordid visions all around. Have hurt the soul within : We long to cleanse a world of strife From sorrow and from sin.

Home's influence shall be purified In the days that are to be When the whole race shall meet on grounds Of perfect equity. Then all stretch out a helping hand, That we may win the fight The human race shall thus attain Its highest moral height.

ALICE E. COLLINGE.

A New Local "Parliament."

CATHOLICS DISCUSS VOTES FOR WOMEN.

From the Wimbledon Borough News.

Conscious of the dialectic skill lying dormant in their midst, the members of the Catholic Institute in Bridges Road have decided to go in for Parliamentary honours by self-election, in order to find an outlet for their "exuberant verbosity. Accordingly, the Rev. Father Rankin, as "Speaker," presided at the opening session this week, when about two dozen "Hon. Members" took their seats for various constituencies, and gravely comported themselves in a manner worthy of the august denizens of St. Stephen's.

Mr. L. Stanton (City of London) introduced a Bill dealing with the question of "Votes for Women," the Hon. Member advocating the granting of the Franchise to women who hold property or pay Income Tax. He quoted an example of a selfmade man, who was lord of the manor, whose daughter had the best of education and inherited his fortune, and became mistress in his place when he died. She owned all the surrounding country, and employed a large number of people, yet she was denied the right of a vote, a privilege which her humblest farm labourer enjoyed.

Mr. Ling (Egham) seconded the Bill, and endorsed every

word the mover had said.

Mr. G. Ralls (Member for Wimbledon), as Leader of the Opposition, opposed the measure, saying if women were given the Franchise, they would not stop at that, but would require their own representatives in Parliament, and in a few years men

would be ousted from everything.

Mr. D. Sheahan, junior (Galway), speaking in favour of the Bill, said that, if it were not for Women's Franchise in New Zealand they would not have secured Old Age Pensions and Wages Boards, which had greatly benefited the working classes of that

Mr. Harp (West Somerset) made an amusing speech; and after several questions, which were ably answered by the member for the City of London, the measure was put to the vote, and carried by a large majority.

Why Not?

WERE I Home Secretary I would direct that women prisoners, should, with few exceptions, have committed to their charge poor orphan children, foundlings, up to the age of two years. Babies sweeten and elevate life, and their influence should be brought to bear where it is most needed.

The desire to-day is to reform, not punish. Babies would supply work with almost incessant care, yet allow of no brooding over sins, follies, or misfortunes. Let us open our gaols to the healthy, humanizing forces of life; turn Holloway, &c., into nurseries, under the strict supervision of qualified matrons. Suffragettes for instance.

Baby is a great reformer. Baby has power to reform, to reconcile, to soften, to console. Baby, all-engaging, all-persuasive, can work miracles, and the chaplain's post shall be a sinecure. Think for a moment what a happy, laughing, trusting, clutching, sprawling baby can effect.

In most cases expansion, not repression, would be beneficial, and baby's presence would magically charge the atmosphere "A little child shall lead them," and become, with hope. if we will, our most reliable social economist.

K KILBURN

[Many articles are again held over in spite of our adding to the number of our pages.

Debate on Woman Suffrage

BETWEEN MRS. FAWGETT AND MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

On Friday, February 26th, at the Passmore-Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, there was a debate—arranged by the London Society for Women's Suffrage—between Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Humphry Ward. The hall was crowded with a keenly interested audience, among whom were Miss Emily Davis, Lady

Strachey, and Mr. Forbes Robertson.

The chairman, Sir Edward Busk, said he had great pleasure in introducing to the meeting two of the ablest exponents of in introducing to the meeting two of the ablest exponents of the question of Women's Franchise—ladies known and respected all over England, Europe, he might say all over the world. He called upon Mrs. Humphry Ward to open the debate in support of the undesirability of the extension of the Franchise to women.

Mrs. Humphry Ward said that it was with diffidence that she, a writer of tales, who could give but a third or a fourth of the property of the contract of the extension of the Franchise to women.

her time to politics, rose to confront so experienced a political fighter as Mrs. Fawcett; but she reminded herself of that famous saying of Dr. Johnson, It was no wonder she should do it ill, the wonder was she should do it at all. She first had the pleasure of making Mrs. Fawcett's acquaintance at some lectures on political economy given by that lady for the Oxford Society in the early seventies, from which the present system of women's education at Oxford had sprung. Those years of the early seventies had a special significance for her, as, from a survey of the years that had since elapsed, she would argue that :-

1. The concession of the Parliamentary Suffrage to women was not necessary for the promotion of any of the special interests of women; the grievances under which they then suffered, or the majority of them, had been redressed without it; while their economic condition was clearly not dependent

2. While the Parliamentary vote was not necessary to their welfare, the practical danger to the nation involved in the granting of it was far greater now than it was thirty

Mr. Harold Cox, writing in Mrs. Fawcett's new review, The Englishwoman, said that it was impossible to trace in English legislation any bias against women, and that a male Parliament elected by men would continue in the future, as in the past, to consider the interests of women as much as the interests of men. If there had been any bias in the legislation it had been on the side of the women, and rightly so; and under that legislation women's wages had risen more rapidly than the wages of men. Speaking at Edinburgh in 1871 John Stuart Mill said: "If there a truth in politics which is fundamental, it is that when a part of the nation are the sole possessors of power the interests of that part get all the serious attention," and on that so-called fundamental truth he based his arguments for Woman Suffrage. Miss Garrett in 1872 had said that by the Franchise alone could the inadequacy girls' education be effectually dealt with. Since that time or girls education be effectually dealt with. Since that this without making their voices heard through the vote, women had made their way into colleges, and into the medical profession, and throughout had been supported by the sympathy of men.

and throughout had been supported by the sympathy of men.

The laws of to-day concerning married women and their property should be compared with those of the early seventies—that time also when, with regard to the guardianship of children, it was possible to quote Baron Bramwell's saying, "A woman's it was possible to quote Baron Bramwell's saying, "A woman's rights over her children are nil." With the Custody of Infants Act a series of enactments began, giving the mother a share in the guardianship of children. Before 1872 women could be starved their homes, save for the fact that men were better than their laws. And while the law was shedding old barbarisms concerning the relations between men and women, the great code of factory legislation, conceived entirely in the interests of women, was being built up. Women factory inspectors were appointed; and in 1888 the merging of the Municipal Franchise into the Franchise for borough and council, and its extension to women, gave them an immense sphere of action, of which they had taken little advanye. Women could now sit on borough and county councils, boards of arbitration, and on Royal Commissions: on all sides could be seen the immense development of their influence in all those occupations and functions where they could bring a special contribution to the life of the nation. Nearly everything that in the early seventies they were told could be got only through the vote, they had obtained without it, and John Stuart Mill's "fundamental truth" was shown to be no truth at all. Men in Parliament had shown a scrupulous and incessant care for the interests of women, and women had profited more than men by the legislation of the last generation.

Men—clerks, inspectors, teachers—were more highly paid than women, but that was because the more productive callings were open to them, and there was more competition for their services.

Suffragists might say the wages of women would rise were the Franchise extended to them, but such would only be the case if physical and economic conditions were artificially overridden, which would be disastrous. The vote had improved the condition of men, but trade unions and the surrounding economic conditions had principally effected the rise in their wages, at the same time the greater proportionate rise in the wages of women proved that a vote was not necessary to improve the economic conditions of women. It was a delusion that economic rivalry could be settled by women's enfranchisement. The falsehoods on that subject told to factory workers at street-corner meetings by members of the Women's Social and Political Union represented "errors clad in lies."

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The reason why Women's Suffrage would be a more dangerous leap in the dark now than it was in the sixties was that, owing to the immense increase of England's imperial responsibilities, the problems to be dealt with by our statesmen were problems of Imperial and international policy—to be solved only by the special owledge of men; and the men who bore the burden should not be hampered by the political inexperience of women. What could the opinion of women be worth on such questions compared with the opinion of men, the opinion of working women compared with that of working men. Men had the rough-and-ready education of the office and the workshop. While men were at political meetings omen were at home bathing the children. As Miss Clementine Black said, "The mere business of being a poor man's wife is enough to occupy all the brain and all the energy of the strongest and ablest woman." The results of Women's Franchise in New Zealand, Victoria, in Colorado or Finland, had no bearing on the case in England—a sovereign nation with international questions to decide. If questions in Parliament could be separated into international and domestic, Women's Suffrage might be feasible; but the vote once given would carry with it the whole range of Parliamentary power. The vast field of local government was open to women; during the last few years women had had opportunities on borough and county councils of dealing with the medical supervision of children, street trading, the extension of playgrounds, and all the problems of great cities—and no work had been more barren of good results. Hundreds of women were now wasting their time in idle lawlessness by the persecution of Cabinet Ministers, and by behaviour at public meetings that had made an impression deeper than, perhaps, they intended upon the mind of the country. It was now possible to know what the admission of women to the offrage would mean: it would mean the wholesale degradation of English public life.

In summing up, Mrs. Humphry Ward said that the long and strengthening resistance to Women's Suffrage by all sovereign nations implied the conviction that men must rule if the State were to be secured. Women's Suffrage would weaken the national vote by a political inexperience, a natural ignorance, unavoidable and irreparable, which must increase the risks of England, and bring in its train penalties from which women would be the first to suffer. She moved that, "In the opinion of this meeting the

Parliamentary Franchise for women is undesirable."

Mrs. Fawcett thanked Mrs. Humphry Ward for her kind personal references, and assured her of her great appreciation of the work she had done, especially for the poor children of London. She would do her best to follow the lines of Mrs. Humphry Ward's argument. Mr. Harold Cox had said that votes were not likely to improve the economic condition of women; Mr. Harold Cox might be a very eminent economist, but she was not therefore compelled o agree with him. If the Franchise did not widen women's sphere of employment it would at least prevent it being narrowed, which was constantly being done by Parliament and the trade unions. Probably there always would be a difference in the wages of men and women, but the difference at present was greater than the difference in the value of their work justified. Owing to their inprotected position in the labour market the tendency was to lower the wages of women; moreover, any work that obtained more than fifteen shillings a week was usually decided by the trade unions to be too good for women, In a printing office no women were allowed to work a linotype machine, though it was work they were quite well fitted to do; in fact she had been told by the proprietor of one firm that the best operator he ever had showing off a linotype at an exhibition was a woman. If a measure were proposed Parliament, likely to be injurious to workmen, 660 members at least would rush to oppose it. Prof. Dicey said that Woman Suffrage was a danger to the country. Some time ago, writing in *The Quarterly Review*, he said that the Trades Disputes Bill would open a terrible field of consequences, another eminent professor had shared his opinion, yet no more notice was taken of their protest than if two sparrows had twittered on a tree, and the trade unions vote had carried the Bill through both Houses.

always endeavoured to deprive him of one. If the child were born in wedlock the father was the only recognized parent, with him rested the decision of the child's upbringing and education; if, on the other hand, the child were born out of wedlock the mother was the only recognized parent, and not fully recognized even then, because if the mother had property and died intestate, her property did not go to her child, and if the child had property and died intestate, the property did not go to the mother. A woman might get a maintenance order against the father of her child for 5s. a week, but no sureties were taken that the money should be paid. and if the payments ceased there were no means by which the

Mrs. Humphry Ward had said that women were slow to take advantage of the spheres of activity open to them, but statistics went to show otherwise, and excellent work had been done by women serving on local authorities. It must also be taken into considera-tion that as the law now stood it was difficult to get the right sort of women to act, as only actual householders were eligible, thus disqualifying many wives and daughters. Women would get their disabilities removed more easily and more quickly if they had the Parliamentary Franchise. Men had not a double dose of original sin, but they were so immensely taken up by their own affairs that women's claims had small chance of attention.

She regretted the contemptuous tones in which Mrs. Humphry Ward had spoken of the Colonies; such tones could surely not be conducive to the cultivation of an imperial spirit. In New Zealand women had been enfranchised for sixteen years, and such men as Mr. Seddon and Mr. Joseph Ward had declared the experiment to be completely successful. Mr. Deakin had told them that Woman Suffrage in Australia had had the expected result of deepening the sense of national responsibility among women, and it had also had the entirely unexpected result of deepening the sense of responsibility among men, and had induced them to take up seriously the question of national defence. We in this country, it seemed, required a sensational play to awaken us to the necessities of national defence.

In the ancient organization of society women counted for a good deal in politics; and in religious organizations on the Continent they had wielded an enormous amount of power. Katherine of Siena, to wit, was "a statesman of European reputation." Modern democracy had deprived women of the power they held in ancient organizations, and had devised no substitute. No truly representative system could entirely exclude one-half of the human race; and she believed that had women been represented in France and Italy, the national tragedy of the Church and State at war with one another would not have occurred.

She did not wish to sow dissension between the sexes. There could be no question of sex antagonism when the very best men in the country were coming nobly to the front to help women to get what they believed to be just. She moved that the motion before

the meeting should not be accepted.

Mrs. Humphry Ward in reply said that adequate representation of the feminine element was required, but not by women having a vote. Did they wish "Liberty to make fools of themselves and publicity to tell all the world they were doing it"? So far from women's interests being neglected in Parliament, whenever a measure was brought forward concerning women or children, an exhaustive account was taken of the advice and opinion of women. Every line of the Midwives' Act and the Children's Bill was considered in consultation with women, and women were abundantly admitted into the preparatory stage of legislation when questions were threshed out in Committee. The level of women's wages might be raised by better training and longer apprenticeship, but not by the possession of a vote. Women had the expectation of marriage, and they went out to work with the object of earning money as soon as possible.

while the object of men was to earn as much as possible.

Mrs. Fawcett in reply said that the consultation of women experts on questions concerning women and children was contemporaneous with the activity of the Suffrage Movement; women experts, in fact, were quite a recent discovery of the Government. The reference to the Women's Local Government Qualifications Act in the King's speech last year was, she believed, the first time for 700 years that an Act having for its aim the development of the powers of women had been so mentioned—that also she attributed to the activity of the Suffrage Movement. There had been many dismal prophecies concerning the experiment of Woman Suffrage in the Colonies. When the women of New Zealand were enfranchised Max O'Rell said: "The fairest spot on God's earth will be turned into a howling wilderness." Ten years later the Prince of Wales, on his return from the royal visit to the Colonies, said that the condition of New Zealand showed the highest level of well-being and general prosperity.

Mrs. Humphry Ward having again replied, the Chairman put the resolution to the meeting, "That in the opinion of this meeting the enfranchisement of women is undesirable," and, amid great The law, as it stood regarding the position of a mother to her child was monstrously unjust, and neglectful of the obvious facts of human life. A child naturally had two parents, but the law enthusiasm, declared it lost, the voting being 74 for and 235 against,

THE business meetings of the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance will be held every weekday, from April 26th to May 2nd, at St. James's Hall, from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. There will also be public meetings in St. James's Hall, and many arrangements for the entertainment of delegates are being made. The Secretary for the International Alliance is Mrs. Gulich, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25, Victoria Street, S.W

The London Society is organizing a public meeting at the Albert Hall on Tuesday, April 27th, at 8 P.M., in honour of the International Alliance.

A pageant of women's trades and professions will form part of the programme, and in the arrangement of this the Society will have the assistance of the Artists' Suffrage League, to whose skill they were indebted for the scheme of decoration which was so important a factor in the success of the procession of June 13th.

THE Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage have removed their offices from 25, Victoria Street, to 58, Victoria Street (opposite the Army and Navy Stores). A new Assistant-Secretary, Miss Whitehead, has been engaged.

As the new premises consist of four large rooms and also four small ones, the office furniture at present in use will not be sufficient at 58, Victoria Street, and it has been suggested that members might be willing to present different articles of furniture to the Society, and help in this way towards the expenses of removal. Offers of help with furniture and money have already been received. It has been arranged to send a van round to collect any furniture that may be promised and convey

The Executive Committee will hold an evening reception at the new offices on Friday, March 19th, 8.30 to 10 P.M. All members will be cordially welcome.

BRISTOL (N.U.W.S.S.).—The Suffrage play 'Man and Woman' was given at All Saints' Hall, Clifton, on February 23rd. At the two performances, afternoon and evening, there were large and two performances, atternoon and evening, there were large and enthusiastic audiences, and a great success was made, thanks to the skilful stage management of Mrs. W. C. H. Cross, and the high level of the actors' dramatic powers. Mrs. A. Daniell delighted the audience with her quiet and natural impersonation of Mrs. Fairley; Miss A. Walters making a fine contrast in her passionate rendering of Mrs. Burdens. Miss Jessie Smith, in her difficult rôle of the Suffragist nurse, was excellent. Mr. Chamberlain and Miss Eva Crew, as Sir Reginald and Lady Bounder, Mr. A. Daniell as the nurse's brother were all admirable, and Mr. H. Hicks as John Fairley was inimitable. At each performance the banners were exhibited some hung round the walls, the others shown on the stage in a series of tableaux, among the banner holders being women graduates carrying the university banners, nurses with the Florence Nightingale banner, physical training students in gymnastic dress, holding the physical culture banner. Explanation was given by A substantial sum will be handed over to the two Miss Tanner. societies by which the entertainment was organized: the Bristol and West of England Women's Suffrage Society and the Women's Reform Union. It is hoped that the play will be repeated in different parts of Bristol.

HAMPSTEAD (L.S.W.S.). - The organizers of the meeting which took place at the Hampstead Town Hall on February 17th wish to draw attention to the fact that it is the first attempt that has been made to bring together on one platform the various forces that are working for the Enfranchisement of Women. There is no difference of opinion involved in the principles which underlie this great movement, as is shown in the resolution to which the seven speakers, members of the seven leading Suffrage organizations, addressed themselves, namely: "That in the opinion of this meeting the Parliamentary Franchise should be granted to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men. Hampstead is the place where we should expect to find such a meeting the success which it was, and we would urge others who are really keen to imitate it in their own localities, and arrange for a similar united platform. It is eminently desirable that the different forces working for the Suffrage should at times compact themselves, and prove to the world that the various methods advocated are only as various as human nature. The great end in view is one and the same, the uplifting of womanhood, and through her the whole of humanity, and for this purpose they must all join

HIGHGATE (L.S.W.S.). - The fact that February was the shortest month in the year seemed to have stimulated the Highgate Branch to an unusual variety of activities. On the 1st of the month an informal discussion of Anti-Suffrage literature was opened by Miss Lilian Talbot, B.A. Ten days later two meetings were held by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, the address in the afternoon being given by Miss Jenner, with the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen, M.A., in the chair, and in the evening by Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, when Mrs. Miall Smith, B.A., acted as Chairman. Interest culminated on the 20th, when Mrs. Ambrose Gosling entertained about eighty Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, and about eighty Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, and there was a spirited debate. The Anti-Suffrage League paid Highgate the compliment of sending five of their principal speakers: Mrs. Wilfred Ward, Miss Fothergill, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mrs. Pooley, and Mr. W. E. Cross. The Suffragist position was well defended by Miss Ransome, Miss Jenner, Miss Cicely Corbett, Mrs. Holman, and Messrs. Shannon and Harrington. Mrs. Russell James was warmly thanked by both sides for her excellent chairmanship, and the general tone of the debate was so earnest that only good could reput from such a fragk interchange of onlying. At the close result from such a frank interchange of opinion. At the close 39 voted for the Suffrage, 23 against, and a few abstained from expressing an opinion. Any superfluous energy has been devoted to the rehearsals for the dramatic entertainment, particulars of which will be found on the second page of this issue.

Under the auspices of the LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE a successful drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. James Frankland, 38, Grosvenor Road, on Monday, March 1st. Lady Penrose FitzGerald, chairman of the Westminster Committee. was too unwell to be present, and the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves

Lady Frances Balfour spoke at some length, and dealt with many aspects of the Suffrage movement. She compared the somewhat Oriental arguments of Anti-Suffragists, both men and women, with those used in Eastern countries in support of veiling the faces and crippling the feet of the women. She alluded to the difficulty experienced in Eastern diplomacy by the late Lord Salisbury on account of the great power—coupled with a complete absence of responsibility—of the women "behind the curtain."

In addition she claimed as supporters of Women's Enfranchise ment many of the greatest statesmen of modern times—Disraeli, Iddesleigh, Balfour, Campbell-Bannerman, &c. She once more demolished the physical force argument (if women do not bear arms they bear soldiers), and dealt with economic conditions, deploring

Lady Frances also spoke of the vitality of the militant societies, and the devotion and sincerity they displayed, whilst differing from them on the subject of tactics.

Miss Olive Birrell discussed the matter from the point of view

of practical politics.

There were present, in addition, Miss Balfour, Comtesse Benckendorff, Colonel Banks, Mr. H. Davies, Mrs. Baillie Grohman, Mrs. Colefax, Mrs. Forsyth, Miss Gurney, Mrs. Thos. Lough, Mr. Paull, Miss Margaret Murray, Lady Selfe, Mrs. Binns-Smith, and

NOTTINGHAM (N.U.W.S.S.). - In one week the Honorary Secretary took no fewer than three debates. Much interest and excitement was shown at all of them. At Gollingham the vote was a tie, a large majority of ladies voting for, and a large majority of the dominant sex voting against "Votes for Women." At the second no vote was taken, but a crowded audience (about 150) listened with eager and very favourable interest. At the third the negative was taken by a lawyer who, in the course of his remarks, said that the law had always been generous to women, and instanced as an example of men's generosity the fact that by a stroke of the pen men had (in the Married Women's Property Act) transferred millions men had (in the Married Women's Property Act) transferred liminates of pounds to women. The audience seemed to appreciate this illustration of the difficulty of the dominant sex seeing the woman's point of view, when the opener in her reply pointed out that the Married Women's Property Act only gave women the legal right to their own possessions. The vote in favour was carried by a large

The monthly "At Home" was held on Thursday last, when the attendance was not so large as usual, perhaps owing to the large attendance last month—about 150. Miss Gittins gave a short address on the Anti-Suffrage League, dwelling on the education the vote would be to women. The Honorary Secretary announced that Mr. and Mrs. Forbes Robertson had agreed to be present at the next "At Home," and that the date had therefore been altered

PONTYPRIDD AND DISTRICT (N.U.W.S.S.). - A meeting, held in the lesser Town Hall on Tuesday, February 16th, was largely attended by an appreciative audience. Mr. H. M. Gregory, J.P., presided, and the principal speaker was Miss Abadam. Mr. Gregory, himself an avowed supporter of Women's Franchise, was glad to say that Sir Alfred Thomas had, in conversation,

case, was glad to say that the Allied Thomas had, in convensation, acknowledged himself to be a hearty supporter of the Movement.

Mr. Alderman Thomas referred to the carping matter introduced by opponents, which it was not necessary to discuss. It was a

question which needed settlement as a matter of justice.

Miss Abadam, who was enthusiastically received, spoke of the general uplifting of the nation that would be the result of the enfranchisement of women. It was a known fact that there were eight men criminals to one woman, which pointed to the fact that women kept the law they did not make. Referring to the scandals exposed at West Ham and Poplar, the judge had said: "I sentence you to lose your rights of citizenship." This was a severe part of their ishment, but after all only put them where every woman in the country was, with lunatics and criminals. Miss Abadam went on to explain the terrible state of affairs among women workers, and appealed to the audience to assist the women in their endeavour to obtain the vote, and enable them to deal with these matters.

The resolution was proposed by Alderman Thomas, and seconded by Mrs. Roberts-Rosser, and carried unanimously, and has been forwarded to the Prime Minister and to the Member of Parliament,

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STEVENAGE. — On the afternoon of February 23rd a very successful meeting was held in the Public Hall, Stevenage, to insuggrate a Suffrage Society for the North Herts Parliamentary Division, to be affiliated to the N.U.W.S.S. The hall, which was prettily decorated, was well filled by a large audience, invited

from different parts of the division.

Mr. T. T. Greg of Buntingford, presided, and was supported on the platform by ladies and gentlemen from Hitchen, Stevenage, Ashwell, Letchworth, Welwyn, Knebworth, &c. After some interesting and sympathetic remarks from the chairman, an address of great force and eloquence was delivered by Miss Sterling of the J.U.W.S.S. It was received with warm appreciation, and punctuated by frequent bursts of applause.

A resolution in favour of extending the Franchise to women on the same terms as to men was passed nem. con., and spoken to by Mrs. E. O. Fordham of Ashwell, and Mrs. Wathen of Welwyn, approached the question from different points of view, and

both in a very interesting way.

Lady Constance Lytton, in a few graceful words, moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by Mr. G. Nowers, M.A., of Letchworth. Afterwards an excellent tea was served kindly provided by friends of the cause in Stevenage, and during this time Lady Constance Lytton kindly undertook to answer

A meeting of the newly formed society is to be held shortly. for the purpose of electing officers, and it is hoped that an energetic propaganda in the division will quickly be set on foot.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON (N.U.W.S.S.). - Dr. Macnamara received a deputation of members of the Warwick and Leamington Women's Suffrage Society on Friday, February 26th.

WINDSOR AND ETON (L.S.W.S.).—A drawing-room meeting took place in Windsor on February 25th, at 4 o'clock, by kind permission of Mrs. Wood, East Mead, Bolton Crescent, Windsor. The room was crowded, the audience consisting chiefly of those to whom Women's Franchise was an entirely new idea. They were much interested and most attentive to a capital paper on the Women's Vote in the Colonies, read by Mrs. Bernard Everett.

Questions were asked by several present, and were answered

Mrs. Gill, Hon. Sec. Miss Street was in the chair.

At the close of the meeting it was voted, with one dissentient, that a petition, signed by the Chairman, should be sent to the Member for Windsor, with a request that he would forward it to the proper quarter.

Meetings of the N.U.W.S.S.

Mar. 4. Uxbridge, Public Meeting

Chair, Miss Edith Palliser 8 Speakers, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Philip Snowden Rev R S 5. Actresses' Franchise League, Miss Abadam

Dover Street, Studios
London, Kensington, Women's Chair. Mrs. James Frankland 3 Suffrage Meeting Speakers, Miss Palliser, Miss Raleigh

8. Leicester, Debate at the Opener, F. S. Herne, Esq.

London, Richmond, Public Chair, Lady Frances Meeting, Freemasons' Hall

North-Eastern, Drawing-

Bournemouth, Prince's Bournemouth, St. Peter's

Altrincham

Kilmacolm, Public Meeting Chair, Rev. A. J. B. Pater- 8

York, at Feasegate Restaurant.

Windsor, Town Hall, Private Miss Abadam Meeting, Women only Town Hall, Men only

ing-room Meeting, 4 court Street, Dublin

Leamington, Drawing-

Southampton, Public Meet-

12. Olton, Public Meeting

17. Cardiff, Public Meeting

Entertainment, Spears Memorial Hall

Suffrage Play, 'Man and 8

Woman'; Dramatic Tableau, 'Ballad of Fair
Ladies in Revolt'

18. Pontypridd, Women only Leicester, Debate in St.

22. **Bournemouth**, Debate, Charminster Road Lectur Hall, Congregational Church Wilmslow, Public Meeting North-Eastern, Drawing-

23. Sheffield, Public Meeting

24. Prestwich, Salford, Bollington,

Nottingham, Discussion

26. Lymm, Cheshire, Bournemouth, Boscombe Temperance Hall

30. Bournemouth, Prince's Hall, "At Home Beckenham, Public Meet-

ng, Penge Town Hall

Balfour Speaker, Sir John Cockburn Chair, Miss Pease Speaker, Miss Margaret Buchanan

Chairman, Mrs. Eddison 4 Speaker, Lady Frances Balfour Speaker, Lady Frances Balfour, against Anti

Suffragist Miss Roper on 'The Indus-trial Position of Women and their Need for the

son, M.A.
Speakers, Miss J. Chrystal Macmillan, B.Sc., Rev. David Graham, St. Gil-

pert's. Pollokshields Chair, Mr. E. P. Holmes 7.30 Speaker, Mr. T. Anderson on 'The Value of the Vote'

Chair, Vicar of Windsor

Speaker, Miss Abadam Irish W.S. & L.G.A., Draw-Hostess, Mrs. J. Thompson Chair, Miss Tremain, B.A. Speaker, Mr. T. J. Haslam of Women Re-stated

London, N. Hackney, "At Hostess, Mrs. Croft Handley Speaker, Mrs. Sadd Brown Hostess Miss Harrison

Chair, Dr. Stancomb Speaker, Mrs. Philip Snow-London, Highgate, Suffrage Hostess, Mrs. Herriot Tea Chair, Miss Alice Zimmern

Speaker, Miss F. Straker Chair, Vicar of Olton Speaker. Miss Ahadam Speakers, Miss Abadam. 8

Miss Abadam Opener, Miss Donaldson 8

Nottingham, "At Home" To meet Mr. and Mrs. 3.30 Forbes Robertson Speaker, Mr. Forbes Robertson Speaker, Miss Howes

> Miss Abadam Debate, Mrs. Harrison Bell, 2.30 Miss Measham, Anti-Suf-

Chair, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D. Speaker, Miss Abadam Miss Ahadam Miss Abadam Miss Abadam Chair, Dr. Sarah Grav Tea as required at 4.30

Miss Abadam Chairman, Councillor Wilson Speaker, Miss Abadam Miss Abadam

Chair. Miss Abadam Speakers, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and other Speaker, Miss C. Hamil-

Apr. 29. Bournemouth, Prince's ton (Diana of Dobson's)

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Freedom League.

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

SCOTTISH OFFICE: 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW. Organising Secretary: MISS ANNA MUNRO. Hon. Treasurer; MRS. WOOD.

NATIONAL OFFICES: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc., A.R.C.S. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Benett. Hon. Organising Secretary: Mrs. Billington-Greig. President : MRS. DESPARD.

Telegrams: "Tactics, London."

Mrs. Despard at Bow Street.

AT Bow Street Police Court on Friday, February 26th, Sir Albert de Rutzen, sitting specially in the Extradition Court resumed the hearing of the charges against Mrs. Despard, Miss FitzHerbert, Miss Sidley, Nurse Gwyther, and Mr. Joseph Clayton who were arrested on the 18th for obstructing the police in the execution of their duty outside the House of Commons. It will be remembered that Mrs. Despard and the other defendants first appeared before the magistrate on Friday the 19th, when the cases were adjourned for a week.

On the 26th, Mrs. Despard, Miss FitzHerbert, and Miss Sidley were each sentenced to a month's imprisonment in default of their finding sureties for their future good behaviour. All three refused to be bound over, and went to prison. Nurse Gwyther consented to be bound over in her own recognisances for six months. Mr. Joseph Clayton was discharged.

Miss Sidley was the first to enter the dock on Friday morning. She conducted her own defence with courage and ability, her cross-examination of the police witnesses being devoted doggedly and persistently to eliciting the fact that she had used no force whatever in her attempt to enter the House of Commons on the night of the 18th of February. She also tried to prove that there was a difference between the methods used by this deputation in approaching the House, and those of former demonstrations, but the magistrate ruled that this had nothing to do with the case. Miss Sidley was constantly told, indeed, that she was wasting the time of the Court, but the interruptions had no effect on her cheerful and courteous demeanour towards the magistrate, the prosecuting counsel and the police witnesses. These witnesses in the course of their evidence frequently admitted that prejudice against the Suffragette as Suffragette weighs so powerfully with the officers of the law that it alone seems to constitute a reason for her arrest. "A suffragette is not a member of the general public," was one of the police epigrams.

In her defence Miss Sidley said that she had been instructed by a public meeting to carry a resolution to Mr. Asquith, and that she had gone quietly to the entrance of the House with it, and had gone alone. She was not aware that there was any law in the land forbidding this procedure. She called several witnesses to prove that her conduct had been perfectly orderly, and that the testimony of the police that she had pushed against them was untrue. Therefore she considered that her offence could not be regarded as an offence against the police regulations. Miss Sidley alluded to the "envenomed spirit" against the Suffragist cause shown by the prosecuting counsel, and made a spirited protest against the illegal assumption in these cases that it is an offence for a woman to try and enter the House of

Although the charge against Miss Sidley was technically unproved, as an observer in Court who is a barrister and a member of the House of Commons, voluntarily admitted to the present writer, Sir Albert de Rutzen sentenced her with the usual comment on the "absurdity" of disobeying the police

Mrs. Despard's case was tried next. By this time the farcical tragedy of the magisterial proceedings was beginning to tell on those few spectators who had managed to squeeze into the small space allotted to them in the Extradition Court. We all knew that the case against Mrs. Despard was morally as paltry —as foolish as the case against Miss Sidley, but we knew equally well that before Mrs. Despard had even entered the dock, she had been tried and sentenced. No one who was at Bow long as I am unrepresented I shall assert my right to go to

Street the other day will believe any longer in the pious fiction that in England a prisoner is presumed to be innocent until he or she is proved to be guilty.

However the comical sarabande of justice has to be danced even when the prisoner's sentence is a foregone conclusion. So we had the usual procession of police constables, headed by Inspector Jarvis, suggesting that Mrs. Despard tried to push up against them and "get past," that she was the leader of a dangerous "raid," and the creator of a serious "obstruction" outside the House of Commons. We then heard four independent witnesses swear on their oath that there was no attempt on the part of Mrs. Despard to use force, and that almost before she had explained her mission, she was hustled and arrested. These witnesses were Miss Catherine Bowen, Miss Dora Storch, Miss Edith Craig (daughter of Miss Ellen Terry), and Mr. Albert Dawson. We listened to the defence of Mr. Baker, who contended that Mrs. Despard was exercising the ordinary rights and privileges of a citizen in waiting upon a member of the House of Commons. We heard the evidence of Mrs. Despard herself, who denied emphatically that she had endeavoured to force her way through the police. "I was hustled, and before I knew where I was, I was arrested. Had I wished to create anything in the nature of a riot, I could have done so, but as a matter of principle, I tried in every way to keep my intention quiet." "I am an old woman," added Mrs. Despard, "and I have tried all my life to fulfil loyally the duties of citizenship. I simply wished to see the Prime Minister, and for this I was arrested and ignominiously taken through the streets to the police station.'

The magistrate in summing up the case against Mrs. Despard, said that he would rely on her own evidence. She had confessed that when she was told by the police to go away she had said she would stay until she was admitted. "Such conduct cannot

When Mrs. Despard was sentenced, there was, according to such reports of the proceedings as reached the newspapers, and were not censored by editors holding the same political opinion as Mr. Asquith, an "extraordinary" scene in Court. The present writer thought that it was the most "ordinary" scene which was witnessed that day-an ordinary, generous, human protest against the iniquity of the machinery of the law being used to twist moral virtue into a crime against the law-a protest against the condition of things which enables the law to send a woman like Mrs. Despard, whose life has been spent in noble services to humanity, to jail as a common criminal. The woman who shouted "Shame! I protest! This is not a court of justice! I protest!" and was removed from the court by the police, was a more dignified figure on this occasion than the representatives of the law.

"The dance goes on." Mrs. Despard, having been disposed of, not alas! without an ungallant magisterial remark, against the weight of the evidence that "she could not use much force, but that she had evidently tried her best," Miss Fitzherbert takes her place in the dock.

This lady also proved that she was in no sense leading a raid on the House, she denied that she had pushed the police, or done anything whatever to resist their authority. The charge of disorder was made to look ridiculous by independent witnesses, but Miss FitzHerbert received the same sentence as Mrs. Despard. Before she left the dock Miss FitzHerbert said: "I refuse to be bound over to keep the peace, because that would be an admission that I have broken the peace, which I deny. As

the House of Commons personally whenever I please. I am going to prison now a second time for doing nothing. I shall take care that the third time I go for something."

MARCH 4, 1909

Mr. Joseph Clayton, who stated that he was in the vicinity of the House of Commons on the night of the so-called "raid" in his capacity as a writer, was discharged, in spite of the sworn testimony of the police that he had been guilty of wilful obstruction. A number of witnesses gave evidence for Mr. Clayton, and it was soon clear that he ought never to have been arrested. It is worth notice that on the morning of his arrest, Mr. Clayton had given evidence against the police in connexion with the efforts of a deputation to see Mr. Asquith at Downing Street.

It is sickening work to describe these proceedings at Bow Street. It is heart breaking to witness them. Let us be outspoken and declare honestly that they are a farce and a sham. It hardly matters whether the prisoners are proved guilty of obstruction or not. Every one knows that they are not sentenced for causing disorder, but because they assert their right to petition for a reform which the Government of this country is ignoring in an unjustifiable manner. Harsh and unjust police regulations are made to put the petitioners in the false position defying law and order. But even in that position, women like Mrs. Despard, endeavour to behave in a peaceful and constitutional manner, and will command more admiration and respect from future generations than their oppressors who called e law to their aid in defying the principles of freedom.

On the night of the 24th when Mrs. Pethick Laurence and her companions were arrested, it was stated in a reputable newspaper, that members of Parliament, safely ensconced behind the large force of police employed to protect the House of Commons against a deputation of women, "much enjoyed the fun."

What a satire on the governing classes of this country! If there were a single member of the House of Commons who was a true lover of liberty—justice, that man would demand the mmediate release of the Suffragists now in Holloway Jail, and on the inevitable refusal, move the adjournment of the House.

CHRISTOPHER ST. JOHN

Suffragettes and Cattle Drivers.

Mrs. Despard has been adjudged one month's imprison ment for refusing to bind herself not to go to the House of Com mons for a year. Sir Albert de Rutzen said he would take no notice of the evidence given by others, but of her own only This was that Mrs. Despard, as a delegate appointed by a large meeting held at the Portman Rooms on February 17th, had gone to the "House" in order to present a resolution, passed at this meeting, to Mr. Asquith. With her were two ladies, armed also with resolutions passed at other meetings, which they wished to give to their own members. Mrs. Despard was met by a posse of police, who refused to allow her to pass, or to send a message. They offered merely to convey the resolution to Mr. Asquith's secretary. Mrs. Despard then said she would stay there "until she was admitted." She stood perfectly still luring the 90 seconds which passed, and was taken into custody at the end of them. This was the offence, and this alone, for we have it from the magistrate's own mouth.

On the face of it, it is incredible that this should happen in free and happy England! Well might Mr. Balfour, in the House, contrast the treatment extended to cattle drivers with he punishment meted out to "Suffragettes." We welcome these words of Mr. Balfour, and see in them a happy augury of fair and upright dealing, when, in the near future, Mr. Balfour will have the power of redressing the laws which degrade women the position of children in some ways, but lays upon them he burdens and responsibilities which should not be theirs if indeed, they are unworthy of freedom.

The magistrate, in this instance, took no notice of the fact hat the Women's Freedom League had arranged a perfectly egitimate and constitutional method of making its voice heard. Delegates were sent from all parts of the country. They had een appointed at various meetings, most of them very large, others not more, perhaps, than 50 persons; but they were not acting on their own initiative. They were performing a duty such self-denial.

laid on them by numbers of their fellow citizens, both men and women. They bore with them resolutions passed at these meetings. Their object was to deliver these peaceably, and to return. It was not in any way their object to be arrestedas so many think—but to accomplish their lawful aim in a lawful manner. This they were prevented from doing by order of the Government. And for trying to do so, they were sent to prison for periods varying from two to six weeks. That same night Mrs. Humphry Ward says "A Parliament of men, elected by men, has shown incessant and scrupulous care in the best interests of women."!

An Error.

Last week we stated that Mary Jones was given the services of a solicitor by the Women's Freedom League. This was an error on our part, which we hasten to correct. Mary Jones obtained the services of a solicitor herself, and she fully recognizes that, had she not done so, she would have been unable to make the policeman confess in court, as he did that he arrested her because she wore a badge"! He afterwards said that she was causing a crowd to assemble. And Mr. Baker made him confess that there was "no one" near at the time, but that she was walking away with four friends, and was fully sixty yards already from Downing Street

Unfortunately, the Women's Freedom League is in no position to offer the services of a lawyer to those of their members who may be unable to defend themselves, but it recognizes the enormous advantage it would be to the Cause in general if some able lawyer would undertake the defence of those members whose duty may bring them within reach of the law. There must be many men whose blood boils with indignation at the sight of the women of the land struggling in vain to free themselves from the network of tyranny which is enveloping them. Who will come to their help?

Cash Received February 20th to 28th.

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It is evident from the above list a great number of members and sympathizers have not yet sent in their "Special Effort" contribution to the funds. Although it is not always possible to undertake duty which may involve imprisonment, it is possible to make other sacrifices of personal comfort to raise money. The Hon. Treasurer will be glad to receive results of

A Message from Finland.

My Dear British Friends,—The kind, nay overwhelming reception you lately gave me on my first visit to Britain, encourages me to address you in the above intimate terms. I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to all who met me with sympathy, and who thereby made my stay in your country like a beautiful dream, which I shall never forget.

I understood, naturally, that the greatest part of your enthusiasm did not concern me personally, as I came a stranger unknown to you. The little you knew of me referred to a far-off country and its small humble people, the existence of which is seldom observed at the modern "Vanity Fair," where wealth and power are noted at the highest rates. But I felt with pleasure that it was just the connexion to my country that touched one of the noblest cords in your hearts, that which vibrates with sympathy for all fighters for justice and freedom. I felt it, and I conceived your applause as an encouragement to my people to keep brave and firm on that outmost post against Oriental lawlessness and despotism where destiny has placed it.

And I saw more. I saw in the enthusiastic welcome your delight to see the same idea realized, were it even in a foreign country, which you yourselves are so bravely fighting for. In these moments I had no thought of myeslf. I only felt I was a banner, borne high before an army which is sure to gain the victory.

Besides, I had a feeling of pride in my countrymen, who in this case have given so noble an example to other people, but also of that deep responsibility which we Finnish women now are feeling, not only for our political behaviour in our own country, but even in regard to the promotion of votes for women in other countries. Then, you see, all pioneers are asked not only to personally prove the justice of their own claims, but besides to overrule the objections of their adversaries.

In that respect the pretentions as to women are so much greater than concerning men. Nobody, for instance, asks a man who is putting his vote in a ballot-box if he is a good husband, a tender father, a zealous official, or a clever tradesman, if he is ready to enlist as a soldier or as a policeman, if he is a manly man (I do not know if that implies smoking and drinking too—earlier, of course, it did), &c. But women who want to vote are asked expressly to prove that they are not going to lose their sex.

This, to Finnish ears, most ridiculous demand is, perhaps, very earnestly propounded in England, as I was told that the secret purpose of inviting me to England was to illustrate the harmlessness of Women's Suffrage by the living example of a woman who has the vote, and not only the vote, but even the honour to represent voters, and who is still a woman. I hope that in this respect I have succeeded in tranquillizing the fears of your trembling Anti-Suffragists. At least, my small stature cannot have suggested to any one the idea that I had conquered my seat in the Diet by a struggle requiring manly strength.

My capacity of a "Finnish article of exhibition" did not prevent me from making some observations on my own account on British circumstances. My attention was naturally principally drawn to the efforts of the women to win political rights in their country, and I must say that all I saw gave me a deep impression of the great earnestness of their purpose, their self-sacrificing devotion, their incessant activity, and the organizing talent of the leaders of the movement. A most wonderful feature was also the enthusiastic adherence of the mighty troops of fighters, for whom the demand for votes has become a vital question. I am astonished that Mr. Asquith does not see what a stranger sees, but is still asking for more proofs that the women want to have votes. It seems to me that British statesmen should be glad and proud to enter in the voting lists persons who have such a high conception of the value of citizenship. That there still are women enslaved by tradition or hard struggle for life, who have no notion of it, is indeed much to deplore from the point of view of the society, but it should be another cause to hasten their enfranchisement. Then from the social point of view, it cannot be a matter of indifference whether a part of the nation is being dragged along like a dead weight in the development of the community, or if all citizens, men and women, consciously take part in the common work.

I remain, with kindest regards, Yours very sincerely, TEKLA HULTIN.

The Green, White, and Gold Fair.

ALL those who are uttering sighs of sympathy for our prisoners in Holloway should rejoice that there is provided for them an excellent opportunity of expressing this sympathy in a practical manner. We cannot all go to Holloway for the Cause, but we can all work and plot and scheme for the success of our Fair—we ought each to do double duty, too, to make up for the enforced helplessness of so many of our best workers. We are going to cheer them on their release with the news that the Green, White, and Gold Fair promises to be a huge success, thanks to the fact that every member of every branch of the League is working with might and main to that end.

No one, however limited her opportunities, is going to hold back. We are all intent upon seeing how much, not how little, we can do—working ourselves up to such a pitch of enthusiasm that others catch fire, and even the chilly indifferent are thawed. Promises of help of every kind are needed, large and small, and should be sent in to the Secretary of the Fair as soon as possible. Let us each see to it that the Caxton Hall on April 15th,

Let us each see to it that the Caxton Hall on April 15th, 16th, and 17th is thronged with sympathizers lured into reckless generosity by the variety of the temptations we shall display on our stalls. Let us publish to all London and the country at large the resource and energy, the taste and skill, the originality and power of the women demanding the vote! Failure is not to be thought of, but success can only come as the result of strenuous individual effort.

Who is going to respond? Who is going to hold back?

Cards for promises may be obtained at the office, and should be widely distributed by every member.

I. P.

Competitions.

A FIFTH prize of 1l. 1s. is kindly offered by Mrs. Tudor for a baby's frock suitable for infants between the ages of three months and three years.

A further supply of handbills giving full particulars of all competitions is now available, and it is hoped that branch secretaries and others will assist in their wide distribution.

The following ladies have kindly promised to undertake the management of the undermentioned stalls:—

Handgemood of the Blouses: Mrs. Snow and Mrs. Fisher.
Fancy Goods and Laces: Miss Pocock.
Household Linen: Mrs. Nevinson.
Literature: Miss Clare Pocock.
Tous: Mrs. Toyne.

complete list of stall-holders will shortly be issued.

The Refreshments.—Mrs. Hicks has kindly undertaken the management of this department, which will be on an extensive scale. A special appeal is made to all members and friends to help by sending contributions of cakes, sweets, jams, marmalades, farm produce, in fact any kind of eatable will be most

acceptable.

In order to facilitate arrangements, promises of gifts should be sent in to Mrs. Hicks as speedily as possible.

Handicrafts.—Miss Tita Brand has kindly promised to show a loom in operation.

Miss Roberta Mills and Mrs. Whipple will exhibit leather working and enamels respectively.

The Fair Committee is in negotiation with other ladies to make working exhibits of bookbinding, dressmaking, woodcarving, spinning, &c.

Altogether the Handicraft Section and the Entertainment Booth (under the management of the Actresses' Franchise League) promise to be highly attractive features of the Fair.

We have just issued a reprint of Mr. Keir Hardie's pamphlet, 'The Citizenship of Women,' adding as an appendix a pamphlet by Miss Clara Collet, giving statistics with regard to the social status of women "occupiers" in London. In view of the remark so often heard from the ignorant that the "limited" Bill will enfranchise only women of property, this should prove a valuable supplement to Mr. Hardie's own figures on the subject. Price 1d., from the W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

How we can thank our Prisoners.

MARCH 4, 1909

EVERY member is feeling very deeply the debt of gratitude which we owe to Mrs. Despard and our fifteen other members who are now in Holloway prison, rather than consent to give up agitating for Women's Freedom.

The responsibility for the disgrace of imprisoning women rather than giving them justice rests with the Government, and the continued refusal to recognize Suffragist prioners as political offenders shows blind and stupid obstinacy on the part of our present Government.

The responsibility for making their imprisonment a source of fresh strength to the League, and an incentive to greater efforts in every direction, rests with all of us who are left outside, each one of us must do something extra to show our thankfulness to

Personal service is required at the office, in canvassing, in selling tickets, in sewing, and other work for the Green, White, and Gold Fair, and in speaking, to replace the valuable services of Mrs. Despard, Miss Schofield, Miss Sidley, Miss Seruya, Miss Fitz-Herbert, Mrs. Manson, Mrs. Duval, and others.

Members and sympathisers who cannot help in any of these ways should give money to enable us to utilize for the work of the League the services of those who are dependent on their own exertions for a livelihood.

To go to prison in the second division is to be cut off from life, to be deprived of friends, to endure the mental torture of solitary confinement, to endure the physical torture of being deprived of fresh air and exercise, to have to see the outcasts of our evil social system and be powerless to help them, but yet our prisoners will feel that they have not endured all this in vain, if we can show them that during their absence the work has progressed through their devoted self-sacrifice.

What are you going to do? E. H. M.

See this week's *Christian Commonwealth* for an eyewitness's account of Mrs. Despard's arrest.

Mrs. Snowden on 'Women's Suffrage in America.'—Wednesday, March 10th, 8 p.m., Holborn Hall.—In view of Mrs. Humphry Ward's mis-statements on this subject, we urge our members to make very special efforts to bring as many people as possible to this meeting. "Antis" will be specially welcome! We shall be glad to send tickets "on sale or return," and hope that as many members as possible will give some time this week to distributing handbills and canvassing with tickets. These may be obtained from the office, reserved seats 2s. 6d. (numbered), 1s., and 6d.

Will those able to act as stewards or literature sellers send in their names to Miss Tillard?

Branch Notes.

Herne Hill and Norwood Branch. — On February 24th a drawing-room meeting was held at 172, Tulse Hill, S.E. Dr. Alice Vickery presided, and pointed out the injustice of the present form of Government, under which women are expected to obey laws, which they had no part in making, by means of which, in all classes of society, women's interests are overlooked and neglected.

Miss D. Spencer spoke in defence of the present militant tactics, and pointed out the necessity for increased agitation until women obtain the vote.

BARBARA SPENCER, Hon. Sec.

Manchester Branch.—Miss Paterson gave, on February 24th a thrilling account of the customs, habits, and life of the Russian people, and of the Revolutionists, during her stay of twenty years in Russia.

On February 25th, at 302, Upper Brook Street, Miss Banner spoke at the usual "cottage meeting."
On Wednesday, March 3rd, Mrs. O. M. Aldridge will speak

on 'The Work of the Women's Trades Union Council.'

Member are especially asked to remember the Cake an

Member are especially asked to remember the Cake and Candy Fair on Monday, March 22nd. Gifts of cakes, sweets, &c., will be gratefully accepted. M. D.

Swansea Meeting.

A VERY successful meeting was held in the Albert Minor Hall, under the auspices of the "Open Brotherhood," on Sunday, January 31st.

The hall was overcrowded, and many sympathizers gave in their names at the end of the meeting.

Mrs. Cleeves kindly offered her drawing-room for an "At Home" on Tuesday, February 9th, and other meetings will be arranged shortly.

Would friends who are interested in extending the work in this neighbourhood please write to me at once, care of Miss Brock, 57, Walter Road, Swansea.

M. E. Manning.

Caravan.—Will any member who can stable the caravan while in London kindly communicate at once with the Hon. Sec.?

Caxton Hall "At Home," February 25th.—A crowded and enthusiastic audience met to show their appreciation of Mrs. Despard's courage and resolution, as we all knew that it might be the last occasion for some time when we could hear her speak. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett's splendid speech and appeal for money brought a response of over £30. Rev. J. E. Hand, Mr. Railton and Mr. Clayton also addressed the meeting.

Lending Library.—Some books have disappeared from the Library, and the Hon. Librarian urges on all members having in their possession borrowed books, to communicate at once with her by post card, giving the name of the book, together with the name and address of the borrower.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. March 4th to March 22nd.

	DIARCH.		Participation of the same of the	P.M.
	Thurs.	4. Caxton Hall, Westminster	Miss Cicely Hamilton	3.30
			Mr. J. T. Grein	
		Manahastan 200 II D I	Chair, Mrs. How Martyn, B.	Sc.
		Manchester, 302, Upper Brook	Miss Alice Milne	
		Street Crowden Massa The Base	10: Tr. 1 20 .	
	4	Croydon, Mecca Tea Rooms	Miss Hicks, M.A.	7.30
V		160, Great Portland Street, W.	Dr. O. Lewin	8
е		Stamford Hill, Northfield School Hall	Mrs. Francis	3
7	Fri.	5. Cheltenham, 14, Lansdown Parad		
7	Sat.	6. Hampstead, 25, Rudall Crescent		0
,	Dav.	o. Hampstead, 25, Rudan Crescent	Mrs. Sadd Brown	8
			Mrs. Beith Mrs. Hicks	
9		Glasgow, Academy Rooms, Par-		-
1		tick	Mr. Joseph McCabe	7
3	Sun.	7. Steinway Hall	Miss M. M. Farquharson, M. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson	
	~	Lower Seymour Street		7
1		25 Wel Sey Mour Street	Miss Bawden, Mrs. Toyne	
1	Mon.	8. Highbury	Hostess, Miss Ada Mocatta Mrs. Beith	
		Sydenham	Earl Russell	0
			Mrs. Holmes	8
			Miss Lawson	
		Loughton, Debate	Miss Hicks, M.A.	8
	Wed. 10	. Holborn Hall	Mrs. Ethel Snowden	
1		Gray's Inn Road	Chair, Mrs. How Martya	8
		Manchester, 47, Mosley Street	Mrs. R. Davids	
,		South Croydon, 65, Coombe Rd.	Miss Hilda Saint Eve	3.30
	Thurs. 1	l. Caxton Hall, Westminster	Miss Edith Craig	3.30
			Mrs. Cope	0.00
			Mr. John Russell, M.A.	
		Cheltenham, Lowmandale	zar, o omi reasson, m.n.	
			Mrs. Manning	
		Street	and a second	
		Stamford Hill, Northfield	Mrs. Sadd Brown	3
		School Hall	The Party of the P	0
	Fri. 12	. Hampstead, The Library, Prince	Dr. Marian Thornett	8
		Arthur Road	Indiana	O.
	Mon. 15	. Midhurst		
	Wed. 17	. Glasgow, Academy Rooms,	Miss Olive Robertson	8
		Partick		0.
	Thurs. 19	3. Manchester, 302, Upper Brook	Miss A. F. Hines	
	Base La	Street		
	Mon. 22	. 47, Mosley Street, "Cake and Ca	ndy Fair."	
	Edir	aburgh By-Election—Committee Ro	oms, 57, Great King Street.	
	03577 FF 10	Name William - 10 11 -	0 500000	

Green, White, and Gold Fair, April 15, 16, and 17.
Suffrage Day, Albert Hall, Sat., June 19.

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

Men's League for Momen's Suffrage.

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Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

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

Hon. Treasurers GOLDFINCH BATE, H. G. CHANCELLOR. Hon. Literature Secretary : A. I. G. JAYNE.

Notes and Comments.

Mr. E. Duval, Mr. S. A. Guest, and Mr. J. Y. Kennedy addressed meetings on behalf of the League last week. The Rev. R. S. Swann-Mason is speaking for us in the Town Hall, Uxbridge, on March 4th; and Mr. Herbert Jacobs is to take the chair at a meeting in the Town Hall, Birmingham, when Mrs. Snowden and others will speak under the auspices of the Birmingham and Midland Suffrage Society.

Though we do not share the delusion of the heathen as to the likelihood of obtaining an answer by "much speaking," we must urge all our own speakers to make a point of sending in reports, however brief, of the meetings they address. Regular readers of these columns will have noticed an improvement in this respect of late weeks, and every item of news is welcomed in many quarters. Nothing so greatly stimulates the more retiring members of the League as the knowledge that other members have done successful work.

The adjourned hearing of the charge against Mr. Clayton of obstructing the police in connexion with the deputation from the Women's Freedom League on the 18th of last month took place on the 26th. Mr. Clayton defended himself, and in the result the charge was dismissed. As many members of the League and other Suffragists are present on these occasions for the sole purpose of obtaining first-hand knowledge of what occurs, in order that they may not be dependent upon the misleading accounts of prejudiced or incompetent reporters, it is satisfactory to know that such conduct is at least lawful.

Liverpool Branch.

WE continue to receive most encouraging reports from our Liverpool Branch, which was formally adopted a fortnight ago. "Members are joining every week, and we shall soon be very strong." Mr. Allerton, the hon. secretary, was invited to address the Waterloo (Liverpool) Liberal Club on the 25th of February, and had an excellent reception. His subject was 'Votes for Women and Current Politics.'

Brighton Branch.

THE prospects of renewed activity on the part of the Brighton Branch are excellent. Messrs. Adrian Brunel and J. Edward Francis are taking up the work vigorously, and we hope that the summer months will show a great advance.

Open Air Campaign.

ARRANGEMENTS are now complete for the beginning of the Open-Air Campaign. The first meeting takes place in Hyde Park next Sunday, at 3 o'clock, when the chair will be taken by Mr. E. Duval. Among the speakers will be Miss Ransom, Messrs, Victor Albery, H. M. Theedam, and the Hon. Secretary.

The meetings will be continued on March 14th, 21st, and 28th. On March 21st Mrs. H. W. Nevinson has promised to speak, and we hope every Sunday to have the assistance of one woman speaker from one or other of the sister societies.

It is most important that there should be a good muster of members of the League to mingle with the audience and support the speakers. A great deal depends on the success of these

Hyde Park meetings, inasmuch as the sub-committee intends. as soon as an organization is a going concern, to tour the parks and open spaces in the London district, paying special attention to the suburban districts.

We have an excellent platform and a banner, which will indicate our presence to a considerable distance.

The hon. secretary of the sub-committee, Mr. A. S. Hopkins (9, Howitt Road, Hampstead), will be glad to receive the names of those who intend to help in Hyde Park on any Sunday in

Mrs. Humphry Ward v. Mrs. Fawcett.

A REPORT of this debate, held at the Passmore-Edwards Institute on February 26th, will be found on pp. 434-5. We may, however, be permitted a few reflections here.

We are glad that both combatants received a courteous hearing. On several similar occasions we regret to hear that some of our friends were unable to restrain their indignation or their merriment, with the result that our opponents scarcely obtained a hearing, and their supporters carried away a very poor impression of the fairness of Women Suffragists. Surely n all such cases a chilling silence is by far the best, as well as the most courteous, means of expressing disapproval. Few speakers, however brilliant, can withstand the effect of icv restraint; nothing annoyed the Huron brave so deeply as the expressionless indifference of his captive under the most exquisite torture.

Let us not be held to compare Mrs. Humphry Ward, however, to a Huron; still less her most cutting sarcasm to the insertion of thorns beneath the finger-nails. We were greatly interested in her speech, which bore all the signs of thoughtful preparation and careful choice of language. What it lost in spontaneity it gained in precision, and the points were, as we expect from a writer of Mrs. Ward's experience, admirably developed. The two most important arguments were, we think, these: (1) Women do not need the vote; this is shown by the history of the last thirty years, during which the needs of women, economic and educational, have received great attention; (2) women are, except in a small section of the legislative field, unfit to deal with national, as compared with local, government.

1. The facts on which Mrs. Ward founded the former proposition must be frankly admitted by all Suffragists. We think that some of our speakers would do well to admit them explicitly. But so far are they from invalidating our case that they actually strengthen it: indeed, we have often utilized them for this very purpose.

The contrast between what women have attained during that period and what they still need is very striking from many points of view. Education has advanced by leaps and bounds ergo women are incomparably more competent. Women's wages have increased in that period more than men's wages, says Mrs. Ward. Agreed; but what are they now? The average wage of women in this country is 7s. 6d. per week; of men 15s. Women doing the same work receive, in many cases, a third, and even a sixth, of what men receive. Trade unions exclude women in favour of men in much of the better-paid skilled labour. Again, during that period economic conditions have forced an increasingly large number of women into the labour market. Of the so-called sweated labourers in the country more than 90 per cent are women—and women, as the mothers of the nation, are precisely those whom the country can least afford to have ruined in health and in mind by sweating.

Finally, and this is the radical weakness of the "no need"

argument, it is entirely unsatisfactory that men should be entrusted with the care not only of themselves, but also of women workers. To enfranchise women would not prevent men from doing their best for women. To keep women unenfranchised means that if, and in so far as, men fail to guard women's interests, those interests are entirely neglected. The whole point is to give women the constitutional weapon so that they may learn protect themselves, and to join with their brother-workers asserting their common needs. The contention that women do not care for voting and will not know how to use a vote if they get it, is just as wise as to say of an infant in arms that it will not want to walk, and could not if it were allowed to try.

March 4, 1909

Mrs. Ward's second contention is that women in the bulk are naturally unsuited to consider high finance, international diplomacy, and Imperial administration. We should like to hear Mrs. Ward in another milieu discussing the *natural* aptitude of the ordinary man for these high questions. We submit that, n adducing this argument, Mrs. Ward has overlooked the elementary facts of our national system. Not 1 per cent of our voters understands these great questions; many of those who know something are by that little knowledge the more unsuited to decide. What actually happens is that the electors indicate at a general or a by-election the kind of thing they want done. and vote for the candidate who says he will work for that sort of thing. International relations are not governed by the voter, nor are wars made and Bills drawn up even by the private member of Parliament, much less by the voter. It is this fact which alone makes a democratic empire possible. It may be that for a while women will be less cautious in selecting their candidates; they may even, as Sir Edward Clarke says, vote on the "dear-wretch" criterion to a greater extent than men udge by the title, motor-car, red-tie, bon camarade criterion. But this is not proven, and if it be true to any extent it will soon adjust itself, and no harm will be done. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Humphry Ward will legislate just as sensibly on the whole when elected by persons male and female who only vaguely know what they are going to do. The only difference will be that they will have to keep their attention fixed on women's needs as well as on men's, and society will be the better for it. To argue that the possession of the vote has no effect on the work done by one's representatives in Parliament s so absolutely impossible, in view of the history of Great Britain ince 1832, and of every country since constitutional Athens n the fifth century B.C., that we cannot believe Mrs. Ward guilty of it. Whenever a sufficiently large number of voters strongly hold a given point of view, that point of view inevitably expresses itself in legislation, sooner or later.

Correspondence.

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

DEAR SIR,-May I draw a moral from some Suffrage exiences this week? I was at the Doré Gallery weekly meeting nd at the Woman's Parliament at Caxton Hall. The former. ough helpful to the earnest worker, lacked verve and driving orce; the latter was full of energy, and the offers of manual elp in various ways, many involving a test of moral courage and social pride, were very striking. That is one lesson to the eredit of the Women's Social and Political Union.

The other is a lesson by them of how not to do things. spent a considerable time in the streets watching the efforts Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others to reach the House of ommons, and anything more futile I cannot conceive. An onest effort to see the Premier it cannot be called, because he ad informed them that he would be engaged elsewhere; as n enlistment of the sympathies of the crowd it was a fiasco. At 7.30 the streets were quite normal, and when at last some excitement was created by the arrival of detached units of the leputation, they were merely surrounded, followed, and hindered

by a crowd, largely street boys and youths, such as will gather for any diversion, whether a dead horse or a Suffragette playing hide and seek with the police. Many of the efforts of the ladies were mere play to thwart the efforts of the constables to preserve order and prevent access to the House, but when at times the quickly-moving crowd surged over the roadways filled with traffic, a considerable danger of serious accident was occasioned, and in one case two Suffragettes were actually rescued by the constables from being run down by a motor omnibus; but not seeing their danger, they resisted, and were saved in spite of themselves, and their rescuers were then accused of rough handling. On this occasion also a number of elderly ladies formed part of the deputation, and, however willing they may be, I do not think that the responsible organizers should allow them to do so, for they cannot protect themselves from the rough-and-tumble tactics of a thoughtless crowd. In their case also the conduct of the police was excellent, for while dissuading them from attempting their purpose, they also protected them as much as possible from being swept off their legs in some of the rushes of the crowd

If these ladies think that their cause is helped by their residing at Holloway for a month or two, I certainly think that their ingenuity is capable of finding a more useful way of getting arrested—for I take it that is their real object, the deputation being only the pretext. Moreover, my male mind does not detect the consistency between this effort at martyrdom and the abuse of Mr. Gladstone, because it involves detention in the second division. I do not remember the martyrs of old who were burnt complaining that the fires were only second-rate.

A MALE WORKER. [This must be taken as an expression of individual

Our Morbid Social System.

HUMANITY may have some cause to feel gratified that our present-day enlightened civilization permits us at least to be able to express our convictions without fear of ending our days in imprisonment or exile, now that the fires of Smithfield and the gallows of Tyburn have been done away with. However, it is not my intention to go at great length into the highly debateable points bearing on one of the existing germs of barbarity in our morbid social system, and whether it is right to make martyrs of our womenkind. It is rather to point out some of the irrelevancies that have become so embedded in the minds of the partial and biassed onlookers of the sexual rebellion that is at present being waged with not a small amount of determination on the one side and passive resistance on the other.

One of the most weighty reasons for withholding the vote form woman is, apparently, the fact of her being regarded as man's inferior in life. It is held that her proper station is in the "kitchen" not in the "House." Let us not stoop to inquire into this vituperative sexual disqualification, but go ahead and meet the logical conclusion, Who gave men that right to arrogate unto themselves that seniority in everything in political and social life? The reply is still to be found in the oracle by "divine right," such as the divine right of kings. Man has himself rebelled against this conviction; he has himself waged war against this belief; he has mercilessly punished those who have assumed this exclusive prerogative over him; and now, after having successfully contested this oracle, steps in with unblushing insincerity, and clings to this conviction to the entire detriment of his sisters.

Another very common argument put forward by the Antis" is woman's inability; but woe to man if he bases his arguments on such ridiculous and altogether illogical datum. The less said on this score the better. Woman has already attained the acme—the summit of perfection in every branch of learning in which she has been permitted by the grace of man to penetrate. Woman has already shown her ability in practically every sphere of life, and she now desires an outlet for her increasing activity; and this outlet is to be found in no other way than by a concession of citizenship.

(To be continued.) ISAAC GOODMAN.

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