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Notes.

THE following resolution was carried by a large majority at the Conservative Congress, held in Cardiff last week: "That in view of the unsatisfactory position of women with reference to Parliamentary elections, this Conference supports the claim of women possessing the right to vote at county, municipal, and parish councils to have their names entered on the register of Parliamentary voters."

SPEAKING about the enfranchisement of women at an I.L.P. Meeting in Blackburn last week, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., said, "This was a question which threatened to shake politics to their foundation, and might even disrupt the Government....." His experience had been that just in proportion as a class became enfranchised, so was the whole status raised.

THE first national autumn conference of the League of Progressive Thought and Social Service was held at the City Temple last week, when the following resolution was adopted, with only four dissentients:—"That this conference believes in the equal citizenship of men and women, and is in favour of the immediate extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same terms as it is granted to men."

THE Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association will hold a meeting at 33, Belgrave Square (by kind permission of Mrs. Maurice Rüffer), on December 8th, at 3.30 P.M. The chair will be taken by the President, Lady Knightley of Fawsley, and the speakers will include Lord Robert Cecil, Lady Doughty, and Mrs. Ashworth Hallett. Tickets can be obtained by sending stamped envelope to the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, 34, North Audley Street, London, W.

The same Association has also arranged a series of three lectures on 'The Story of our English Franchise' to be given by Miss H. Packer (Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford), on November 30th, December 7th and 14th, at 3.30 P.M., at the

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.

Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, S.W. Admission 6d. Lady Knightley of Fawsley, will preside. These lectures will be useful to speakers, writers, and organizers when called upon to explain the historical aspect of the demand for Women's Franchise. The lectures will be followed by a discussion.

THE newly formed North and East Essex Women's Suffrage Society, of which Lady Rayleigh is the President, held two successful meetings on Nov. 16th; one in the afternoon at Miss M. R. Courtauld's house in Bocking, and a public meeting in the evening at the Institute, Braintree. Mrs. Rackham (of Cambridge), spoke at both meetings, and was supported in the evening by Miss Courtauld and Miss Tabor. Mr. C. W. Gray, J.P. (formerly M.P. for the division), was in the chair. The large hall was crowded, and the resolution carried almost unanimously.

WE are glad to note that the question of citizenship was brought up at the annual conference of the Union of Girls' Clubs and Classes, held last Thursday at Birmingham. Miss Gittins, of Leicester, spoke of the value of right teaching of citizenship. Among girls the same love and self-sacrifice which they desired to inculcate in home life were needed for purifying the world outside, where women are ever wanted.

MRS. DIXON DAVIES is sending a copy of this paper to the Nelson Free Library each week, and Miss L. H. Soutar to the Free Library, Falkirk. We have received from Miss M. Booth Scott and Miss Joyce Bertram 2l. towards the publishing expenses of this paper.

IN our second paragraph on page 230 last week we spoke of Miss Matheson opening a discussion in favour of the Franchise to women, at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. It should, of course, have been Miss Malleon.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

Finland.—The first session of the second diet is just over, and Parliament is prorogued till February 1. Of the Bills introduced by the women deputies only one, that raising the age of consent from 12 to 15 years, has as yet passed the second reading. The Diet has been asked to introduce a Government Bill next session fixing the age at 15, and making the punishment for offences against the Act imprisonment without, as at present, the option of a fine. Other Bills introduced, which did not reach the second reading, were, to extend the mother's right over her children, to secure to married women the right to their property, and to abolish the husband's guardianship over his wife. Largely signed petitions from women of all classes have been sent up in order to strengthen the hands of the women deputies and prove that it is not merely one section of women who demand a reform of the marriage laws.

A. ZIMMERN.

House of Lords.

Second Day's Hearing.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH, 1908.
NAIRN AND OTHERS

v.
UNIVERSITY COURT OF UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS
AND OTHERS.

The report of the first day's hearing appeared in our last week's issue.

MISS MACMILLAN: May it please Your Lordships, in speaking of the University Franchise in Scotland, I said it was distinct from ordinary franchises in that it is dealt with in enactments peculiar to the Universities of Scotland. In the 1881 Act a duty is imposed on the Registrar with regard to sending out Voting Papers to the members on that Register, namely to

every one whose address is in the United Kingdom or the Channel Islands. The action of the Registrar made it impossible for us to bring our case before the Special Court established by the amendment to the 1868 Act, which was passed in 1881. I omitted to draw a comparison between the manner in which the University voter is safeguarded with the manner in which other voters are safeguarded. The University voter is twice safeguarded, and similarly the voter in Counties and Boroughs is twice safeguarded. In Counties and Boroughs it is possible to object to an undue insertion or undue omission from the Register in the Sheriff's Registration Court, and from that Court there is an appeal to the Registration Appeal Court in which the question can be again discussed and the rights of the voter are again safeguarded. In the case of the Universities the franchise is quite different, but there is the same double safeguard. It is possible to bring a case of undue insertion or undue omission before the University Court, and the decision of the University Court is final. But a Court is established by the Franchise Act in which the Vice-Chancellor, *i.e.*, the Returning Officer at the election, considers questions such as the qualification of the voter. That is in Sub-section 10 of Section 2 of the 1881 Act. In that Sub-section 10 the special duties of the Vice-Chancellor are laid down: "It shall be lawful for any candidate or the agents of the candidates who may be in attendance, to inspect any Voting Paper before the same shall be counted, and object to it on one or more of the following grounds"—and the grounds follow. Now, of course, in ordinary County and Borough elections an objection may be taken by any individual who has a right to be on the Voting Register. It was not necessary to make that provision for the University Election, because when the Register is made up and corrected before the Registration Appeal Courts there are no candidates standing, but in the case of the Vice-Chancellor's Court the votes are being counted, and the candidates are the parties most interested in the election, and it is not probable that any bad vote would not have an objection taken to it. For this reason, too, over and above the other reasons I have stated, it seems very clear that we should have had judgment given on the point by the proper Court established by the Act. That is the proper time when our right to vote should be determined. It would be a strange thing if the right of the University voter was not safeguarded as well as the rights of the voters in other constituencies. We say that it was the duty of the Registrar to issue that paper, and if your Lordships do not give a decision on that point, the duties of the Registrar are left uncertain; and it is important that his duties should be made quite certain, and for the various reasons I have stated I think that these duties are certain. The Registrar in refusing these Voting Papers took upon himself to do more than was given to the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor has only the power to reject the votes on objection being taken, and it would be very curious if the Registrar, who is a mere servant, can reject the votes when no objection has been taken. And, besides that, I would point out that the Vice-Chancellor is not a member of the University Court. It might be said that, if he had been a member of the University Court, his opinion had already been given when the question of the Register came up before the University Court. But he is not a member of such Court; he, at the poll, sits as a Higher Court of Appeal on the subject. That is my argument, and the first point is we are entitled to have the Voting Papers. It is quite independent of the other questions; it stands by itself. The argument of the Respondents on that point is that they consider the one question depends on the other. But I think your Lordships will see from the particulars I have brought before you that the points are distinct, and that we are entitled in law to have these Voting Papers issued by the Registrar, and to have a decision given on them by a proper Court.

But the main point of our argument is what follows. You will find the section which confers the right to vote on Universities on page 16 of the Appellants' Case at letter "f." I will read that section of the Act again, as it is the section which confers the franchise on University Graduates. It says that "every person whose name is for the time being on the Register, made up in terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth, of the General Council of such University, shall, if of full

age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, be entitled to vote in the election of a member to serve in any future Parliament for such University in terms of this Act."

There are a great many very important provisions in these lines. To prove that we women appellants have the qualifications for the vote in University elections, we must show that we are "persons," that our names are entered on the Register "of the General Council of the University," "in the terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth," that we are "of full age," and that we are not "subject to any legal incapacity." The point that we are on the General Council is common ground. That is admitted by the Respondents, so the two main questions to be argued are; that we are "persons," and; that we are "not subject to any legal incapacity," within the meaning of this section of the Act. If we satisfy your Lordships on these two points, we claim that we are entitled to exercise this franchise in the Universities under the Franchise Act of 1868.

To take first the word "person," and my argument on the word "person" differs from my argument on the expression "not subject to any legal incapacity," because the meaning of the word "person" is expressed in an interpretation clause which is embodied in this 27th Section of the Act. But the Act itself does not interpret "legal incapacity." The 27th Section points out that "person" means any one "whose name is for the time being on the Register, made up in terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth," and this "person" is so defined. The meaning of "person" there is referred to the meaning of "person" in the following section, Section 28, which states the qualifications necessary for any member of the General Council. We are referred for the meaning of the word "person" in Section 27 to this Section 28, which gives the explanation of who is to be a person. Now that is one of the points which is admitted by the other side, I mean that we are persons within the meaning of the 28th Section of the Act, because the Respondents have admitted that we are rightly on the Register. And this word "person" of Section 27 being interpreted by Section 28 it is obvious that the word "person" in Section 27 includes the women referred to, and admittedly referred to, by the Respondents, in Section 28. It is unnecessary to say much on the natural meaning of the word, because every one admits that the word "person" does include both men and women. But this is made more apparent in this particular Act when we contrast it with the word which is used in the other, enabling sections of the same Act. The other enabling sections which deal with franchises in Counties and Boroughs use the word "man" in conferring the franchise. I will read one of these enabling sections in the 1868 Act, Section 3. There it sets forth that "every man shall in and after the year... be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered, to vote at election member or members to serve in Parliament for a Borough," "if of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity." The same restriction is imposed on the "man" which is imposed on the "person" in the other section of the Act; and Sections 4, 5, and 6 use this same expression "man." It is very remarkable that the word "person" in the section of which we are speaking should be different from the word "man" in the other enabling sections of the Act. I would refer your Lordships to a case which will, no doubt, be brought up against us by the Respondents—that is the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*. It is to be found in vol. iv. Court of Common Pleas, 1868-69, 32 Vic., on page 387. The Report begins on page 374, but I am going to read from page 387. Although I am not using the book itself, I am using a verbatim report which I have in another form. In that Report of the case at page 387 at the top of the page Chief Justice Bovill says: "The conclusion at which I have arrived is that the Legislature use the word 'man' in the Act of 1867-8 in the same sense as 'male person' in the former Act, that this word is intentionally used in order to designate expressly the male sex." Now, he has definitely stated that the word "man" is used in the 1867 Act definitely meaning "male person." At page 385 of the same case the same Chief Justice Bovill says: "In construing the 3rd Section of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, regard must be had to the whole of the enactment with a view to ascertain whether the word 'man' is there used in the sense of a 'person' or as equivalent to the expression 'male person.'"

Now, he understands by the word "person" that women are included. He has stated that in two different forms that I have read to your Lordships. To give you other examples of the use of this word "person," I would refer you to the School Board Act of 35 & 36 Vic., c. 62. The qualifications of a voter are there set forth in Schedule B., Sub-sec. 2, and the same words are used in conferring the franchises on those who are to vote for members of School Boards as are used in conferring the Franchise on the Universities, and your Lordships know well that women have always voted for members of School Boards. That Act was passed within two or three years of the 1868 Act of which we are speaking, and if the contention brought forward by the Respondents that women may not exercise a *munus publicum* is correct, it would have been impossible for women to vote under this section. There is no question that the word "person" in the School Board Act does refer to women. There was one case which arose in Scotland, and the question was whether a married woman had a right to vote under that Act. The case was decided in the Sheriffs' Court by Lord Fraser, who was Sheriff Fraser at the time, and he decided that a woman, even if married, was a "person" within the meaning of that Act. The case is *Ramsay v. Craig*, and is to be found in the 20th 'Journal of Jurisprudence,' page 483. No other question has arisen on that subject. Then again, if we look to other Franchise Acts we find in England, for instance, the Municipal Act of 1835 gave the franchise to "male persons." That Act was amended in 1869, and in 1869 the word "male" was dropped out of the Act, and that was taken to mean that women thereby acquired the right to vote. The Acts are 5 & 6 William IV., c. 76, Sec. 9, and 32 & 33 Vic., c. 55, Sec. 1. Again, we find in the Electoral Code of New Zealand the same expression is used, "persons not subject to legal incapacity." The date of the passing of that Act in New Zealand was 1893, and under that Act women have always voted for the members of Parliament in New Zealand. The word "person" is used in that Act. Similarly in the Isle of Man, the words used in the Franchise Act in the year 1881 are "persons not subject to any legal incapacity," and that was declared to have conferred the franchise on women. It is true that in both these Acts women are referred to in other sections, but the point I am making at present is that the word "person" in these Acts applies to women. There is no interpretation Clause in either Act. It is made to apply to them. Nothing said about women in other sections of the Act would bring the meaning of the word "woman" into a word which had not that meaning. Then, too, in the 1881 Amendment to the 1868 Act we have the word "person" used in certain sections which admittedly apply to women. That Act, Section 2, Sub-section 16, I have referred your Lordships to before. It is the 1881 Act we have spoken of. It is in the Appellants' Case, 44 & 45 Vic., c. 40. That is the Act which is substituted for the repealed sections in the 1868 Act, which is read as part of the 1868 Act, and there in Sub-sec. 16 we have: "On and after the passing of this Act no person shall be allowed after examination to graduate at any of the Universities of Scotland until he shall have paid, the General Council Registration Fee, in order to be entered on the Registration Book," and at the end of that sub-section we have the proviso: "Provided always that no person subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to vote at any Parliamentary election, or exercise any other privilege as a member of the General Council of any University." Now all parts of this section have been applied to us. We, as persons, have not been allowed to graduate until we paid this Registration Fee, and under the word "person" in the proviso at the end of the sub-section we exercise all the privileges as members of General Council, except the privilege which the Respondents suggest we may not exercise. So we are persons within the meaning of this section of this Act, and this Act is substituted for the repealed sections in the 1868 Act, which confers the franchise on us. It is purely an election Act. Its title, as I mentioned before, is "An Act to make further provision in regard to the registration of Parliamentary voters, and in regard to the taking of the poll by means of voting papers in the Universities of Scotland." So it deals purely with election matters, and that section has always been applied to us. Then I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks on the word "person" that Section 28 of the 1868

Act defines the meaning of the word "person" in Section 27 which confers the franchise. And the definition is, "All persons qualified under the 6th or 7th Section of the Act 21 & 22 Vic. c. 83." The Act referred to is an 1858 Act, which deals with University matters, which established General Councils and laid down conditions for members of General Councils; but it makes no provision for the registration of those members. The first provision made in the statute for the registration of these members is in this 1868 Act in this particular section from which I read that extract. Sec. 28 further says, "All persons on whom the University to which such General Council belongs has, after examination, conferred 'certain degrees,' or any other degree that may hereafter be instituted." We have obtained these degrees and we have been registered under this section, and this word "person" has been applied to us, and admittedly and rightly applied to us. The Respondents have admitted that fact, and this Section 28 is the section which interprets the meaning of the word "person" in the conferring section of the Act.

We have in support of our contention that the word "person" refers to women, a case called *The Queen v. Cross-thwaite*, 17th Irish Common Law Reports, page 157. That was a case dealing with the Town Improvements (Ireland) Act, 1854. Sec. 22 defines the qualifications of voters at the election of Town Commissioners: "Every person of full age who is the immediate lessor"; also, "every person of full age who shall have occupied as tenant or owner or joint occupier, or shall have been immediate lessor of any land." The decision held that women of full age were admissible to vote under this section. And the further question was whether women were eligible as Town Commissioners. But that second part does not concern us. On page 161 Chief Justice Lefroy said: "It will be found, I think, in this case, as has been said in other cases by very eminent judges, that the soundest construction of the Act—or as I would rather say of the document, whether it be a deed or a will or a statute—will be made by what appears within the four corners of the instrument, and accordingly we have attentively considered the various provisions of this Act in reference to the particular question which we have to decide, and we think it will be found that the rule which I have laid down for construing a document or statute, and which has been sanctioned by the highest authority will be fortified in respect of its usefulness and correctness, particularly in this instance." That is the opinion of an eminent judge that the construction of an Act is to be found within itself. He further goes on to say on page 162, about the middle of the page: "One main ground of the prosecutor's argument has been that we cannot arrive at the conclusion that females are entitled to vote for Town Commissioners, because the inference would follow that they might also be themselves Town Commissioners, and that the absurdity which would attend such a conclusion as that would necessarily attach both to the qualification to be a Commissioner and to the qualification to vote for Commissioners. That is, no doubt, a strong ground of argument to the title of the Act, and the duties to be performed by the Town Commissioners. I may say that nothing can be more distinct in respect to the provisions of the Act than the difference between the qualification to be a Town Commissioner and the qualification to vote for a Town Commissioner." And that statement, made there by this judge, has been borne out by legislation referring to the giving of votes to women for other bodies, and of their right to sit on these bodies. On page 165 the same Justice says, "Having disposed of the question who were to be entitled to have a notice to be summoned, we will now proceed to the 7th Section, which gives the qualification of the persons entitled to be admitted and to vote at that meeting. After specifying that the persons hereinafter mentioned shall be the persons entitled to be admitted to vote thereat. How are they described? Thus—that is to say, every person of full age who is the immediate lessor of lands, tenements, and hereditaments within such town." There is here an omission of the word "male" which would limit the qualification for the right to vote, leaving it open under the word "person," and where the Legislature meant to impose any restriction upon the word "person" they have done so. Here it is, "every person of full age," without any restriction in point of sex; clearly indicating that where the Legislature meant to restrict the meaning of the general term "person" they did so

expressly. Well then, the right to be admitted to vote at such meeting is given in the terms I have stated; and therefore *ex vi termini* includes every person not restricted who could be embraced under the general term "person" so qualified as is set forth in that section." On page 166 the same Justice goes on to say: "But when we come to the meeting which is to be convened for the election of Commissioners it is enacted that at the first and every other meeting for the same purpose the persons admitted and entitled to vote shall be qualified as follows: 'Every person of full age'—not a word about sex—'who is the immediate lessor of lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the value of £50; and also every person of full age who shall have occupied as tenant or owner or joint occupier, or shall have been the immediate lessor, rated to a certain amount.' Upon that section depended, in fact, the case which is now before us. We must decide upon its interpretation, not only by the affirmative words where qualification was designed by the Legislature, but by the omission of words which would be essential to disentitle the claimants here. We find a qualification which is not now the question of the subject introduced; and the omission of a qualification which would be the essential one upon which we are to inquire. We think both on the affirmative and the negative evidence the claimants who now complain of the non-admission of their votes were entitled to be admitted, and to vote for the election of Commissioners." On page 167, Justice O'Brien agrees with these views. It is not necessary to read his statement. At the end of his remarks on page 172, the last paragraph of the page: "Counsel for the relator have also relied on the fact that females are not yet entitled to vote at the elections of town councillors in corporate towns, or at the election of members of Parliament. But by referring to the Statute regulating the rights of persons to vote at such elections it will be seen that the words of the Statutes expressly confine those rights to males. The Municipal Act which defines the qualifications of burgesses uses the word 'every man of full age,' but the Reform Act uses the words, 'every male person of full age,' and similar words are used in the subsequent Act 13 & 14 Vic., c. 69 for regulating the electoral franchise in Counties and Cities. It appears, therefore, that in those cases the intention of the Legislature to exclude females was manifested by the use of words which expressly confined the right to males, whereas in the Act now before us the terms which define the qualifications for the right are such as according to the interpretation clause include females as well as males." And on page 173, Justice Hayes says: "There is nothing in the principles of the Common Law or in the enactments of any Statute which exclude females from voting for Town Commissioners. With respect to the general rights to vote, everything has been said that is necessary, and I concur in it. When we look at the nature of the duties of the office I do not find anything which, in the performance of those duties, involves the necessity of a female outraging the modesty and retiring disposition which so well become her sex. All that she has to do is to appear before the Returning Officer, answer a couple of questions, and hand in a paper. But what is the duty to be done by the Commissioners for whom she votes? They are entrusted with the disposal of property to considerable amount to be employed in carrying into execution all or some of the several purposes mentioned in the preamble to the Act 17 & 18 Vic., c. 103, and this property is to be realized by contributions levied out of the pockets as well of females as of males. Upon the general principle that there shall be no taxation without representation, and that it is not inconsistent with justice and common sense that females should have a voice in the election of persons who are to manage property which by the law of the land females are allowed to acquire and to hold, I think that the first question in the special verdict should be answered in favour of the claimants." And Justice FitzGerald concurred. That is, four Judges in this Court agreed that the word "person" where voting rights were conferred included women. This case was appealed against, and was heard in the Exchequer Chamber, June 6th. It is reported in the same volume at page 463. On this occasion it came before seven Judges, and the decision was reversed by four to three, but it was not on the general ground on which the decision was founded on the first occasion, but on special grounds. On page 471 of that Report Baron Deasy explains the ground on

which he alters the judgment. "Now the Glossary Clause, so far as relates to the present question, is that words importing the masculine gender, except only the word 'male,' shall include female. But that is contradicted by the general saving at the commencement clause, unless there is something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction. Is there anything, then, in the context repugnant to such construction? I think there is the 7th Section, which defines the qualifications of the persons who are to vote at the Meeting which is to decide whether the Act is to be adopted or not, and uses terms quite as general as the 22nd Section, and differs from it only in the amount of the qualification required. But it is plain from Schedule A that by the general words then used the Legislature did not intend to include females; for by the form of notice of meeting given in the Schedule, males only were to attend to vote. Again, in Section 25, where the qualification of Commissioners is defined, words equally general are used; and yet it is plain, I think, both from the language of that section, particularly the exception section as to ecclesiastics, and from the nature of the duties imposed upon them and the powers given to Commissioners, that it never was intended that a female should be elected to the office. Indeed, it was expressly admitted by Mr. Heron that under this section women could not be elected to fill the office of Commissioners. I think, therefore, that looking to the provisions of this Act and its object, and the provisions of the analogous Act dealing with the same subject matter, we ought not to control the plain words of the 22nd Section by the general declaration of the Glossary Clause; but that we ought to give it such a construction as will give effect to every part of it, and at the same time make it, or rather keep it, consistent with the previous enactments of the Legislature and the policy there expressed." So it was reversed merely on the ground that the word "person" depended for its meaning on another section of the Act in which male persons were expressly referred to; they did not say that the words did not include women, they said it referred to another section of the Statute in which the words "male persons" were used. Then Baron FitzGerald concurs, and the statement of his I wish to read is on page 477 about one-third way down the page. "But when I find it clear from the Act itself that one of the class of the persons eligible for the office must be males—that the person proposing the officer to be elected and the person seconding such proposition must be males—I feel that the Legislature must have so far trusted to the discretion of the Judges who might interpret the Act as to be sure that they would read the description of the other class or classes eligible as excluding females. If it should be said that annexing the qualification of male to the one class is itself an argument of intention that it should not be annexed to the other, I answer that it is no more so than the annexing of a qualification of 'full age' to the one class is an argument that the Legislature did not intend it to be annexed to the other, and yet the same 25th Section does annex it to the one and not to the other." That was the ground for the decision. Then the crowning point of this decision is that the Judge who gave the casting vote openly stated that he always agreed with the last person who had been speaking, and that he changed his mind with every different view that was expressed; and, unfortunately for the women in this case, the Judge who spoke before him had given the case against the women.

Lord Ashbourne: I don't think he said that; I really don't think he admitted anything of the kind.

Miss Macmillan. Well, perhaps he did not say so quite so strongly. He certainly did say there were still difficulties, and that he had changed his mind several times. I shall read his own words on page 480. Justice Christian: "I am not ashamed to say that I have changed my opinion more than once during the argument of this case, and since; and even yet consider it to be one of extreme difficulty, &c." But the ground of his reversal of the decision does not affect our case. And taking the total of the Judges, we find that seven Judges were in favour of the right of women to vote under that section and only four against it, but the grounds on which those four founded their decision do not apply to our case. That, then, is what I have to say on the word "person." These instances I have been quoting are the analogies. The main point that I make, however, is that the "person" in

Section 27 is defined in Section 28. And, on page 26 of our case, I would point out, too, "that no Statute has been cited and no decision has been referred to in which the word 'person' has been construed as referring to males alone, and not including men and women alike. On the contrary, there are many instances which can be cited in which the word has been accepted as of common gender." Several instances I have cited to your Lordships. Then I submit that we are persons within the meaning of the 27th Section of the 1868 Act.

The further proposition I wish to uphold is that we are "not subject to any legal incapacity" within the meaning of that Act. "Not subject to any legal incapacity," as I pointed out before, is not defined in this Act. There is no Interpretation Clause showing what we are to understand by this expression "legal incapacity," and therefore it is necessary for us to see in what sense the expression has been used in other Statutes. The first Act I would cite is the Act of Union, 1707, Anne Parl. 1, Session 4, chap. 8. The Act is not divided into Sections. Not very far from the beginning of the Act, is a statement that "in case of the death or legal incapacity of any of the said members"—now the words "legal incapacity" there, cannot possibly refer to any incapacity of sex, because whatever calamities may befall a member of Parliament, he is not liable to a change of sex. There are other Acts which use the term in the same sense, but it is not necessary to read them. Then, in the first great Reform Act, that is 1832 (2 Will. IV., chap. 45 Section 19), there the Suffrage was conferred on "every male person" subject to "no legal incapacity." Now, as the words "male person" are there used it is not possible that the expression "legal incapacity" could have any reference to sex. If there are no female persons to refer to, the expression "legal incapacity" cannot be referring to sex. There is the School Board Act, cited to your Lordships before, which gives the franchise to women in the same terms as the franchise is given to the Universities in this Act. It gives the franchise to "all persons of full age and subject to no legal incapacity." Then, women have always voted under that Act, so that there it is not possible that the expression could have any reference to women. Then, again, in the often-cited section of the 1881 Amending Act, sub-section 16 provides "that no person subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to vote at any Parliamentary election, or exercise any other privilege as a member of the General Council of any University." Now, the expression "subject to any legal incapacity" does not refer to women there, because under that proviso women have exercised all the privileges of members of the General Council. And, again, in the Isle of Man Act of 1881 giving the franchise, the same expression is used, "persons not subject to any legal incapacity," and that Act has always been taken to mean that women are enfranchised, although this expression "not subject to any legal incapacity" is used.

The Lord Chancellor: You have not given us the reference to the Isle of Man Act.

Miss Macmillan: Act of 1881, S. 5, vol. 5 of Statutes of I.O.M. page 95. As I have said before, there is no interpretation Clause in the Act, and we find that in every other Act in which this expression is used it does not refer to women. The conclusion therefore is that it does not refer to women here, because we have no other grounds to go on except the fact of how this expression has been used in other Acts when there is no explanation of what the meaning of the expression is in the Act with which we are dealing. It is true that in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*, to which I have referred your Lordships before, it was held that women are subject to a legal incapacity from voting at the election of members of Parliament. It was also held that the word "man" in the Representation of the People Act does not include "woman." It is obvious that these grounds of judgment are mutually destructive, for they are inconsistent with each other. If the word "man" does not include "woman" in that section of that Act, it is quite impossible that the expression "legal incapacity" could have any reference to women in that section of that Act. So, as the grounds there destroy each other, I submit that that decision is fallacious and does not apply. "Legal incapacity," I submit, is something which can apply both to men and to women. In all these Acts which I have

cited it is shown that it applies either to men or to women. It cannot have any reference to sex, for if it fails to exclude women in so many cases, it is not possible that we can say that it excludes them here. In none of the cases that I have cited does it exclude, and there is no decision—barring the one I have referred to, and which is not founded on good grounds, there is no decision—which makes this expression "legal incapacity" refer to sex. But I would further maintain that to speak of "legal incapacity" at Common Law is an absurdity. The first reason on which the argument of the Respondents is founded (page 10 of their case) is: "Because women are by reason of their sex incapacitated from voting in the election of a member of Parliament." Now, I know that they are not arguing that we are excluded by statute. Here they mean that we are incapacitated at Common Law, and in the Condescendence I think they state so in so many words. Page 8 of the Appellants' case, Answer 2, explains "that by the Common Law of the land women are, in respect of their sex, incapacitated from voting in the election of a member of Parliament." So they are grounding this "legal incapacity" on Common Law. In the first place, Common Law does not apply to a new franchise, and in Section 56 of the 1868 Act it specially states that "all laws, customs, and enactments are to apply subject to the provisions of this Act." Common Law cannot apply to a newly created franchise. There never have been women graduates to whom the Common Law could apply in this case. There has been no woman graduate who either has voted or has not voted. There was no such franchise before 1868, and the Common Law quite as much excludes the male graduates as it excludes the female graduates; the Common Law is quite as much against them as it is against us in the case of a completely new franchise, especially as the enactments are self-contained. And, even if there were Common Law, statutes override it here; but that is not so much the point I wish to make at present, which is, that incapacity at Common Law is a contradiction, not exactly in terms, but it is a contradiction in sense, for if we are subject to legal incapacity at Common Law, that means we are having taken away from us by the legal incapacity something which we already possess. Now, if the Respondents admit that we have this right to vote at Common Law, then it is possible to take away that right; but it is quite impossible to take away a right which does not exist. So that legal incapacity at Common Law is absurd, because incapacity—wherever that expression is used—does limit the individuals on whom the franchise has been conferred. It is possible to limit a right which exists; but it is not possible to limit a right which does not exist, and I understand that Common Law right cannot die. So that if they maintain that we have this Common Law right, which can be taken away by the legal incapacity, they are stating that this Common Law right has died, and that is an impossibility in the law of this country. It is possible to restrict a right by statute, but it is not possible to take away at Common Law what does not exist, so that I submit that the contention that we are excluded at Common Law is absurd. It contradicts a principle of the constitution, the principle that a Common Law right cannot die; it involves the assumption that that right has died.

Again, the Respondents state that "person" means "male person" within the meaning of this 27th Section of this Act, and they state that we are subject to a legal incapacity at Common Law, but as I pointed out in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*, these two grounds of judgment are mutually destructive. If the word "person" there means "male person" alone, then it is nonsense to say that "subject to legal incapacity" refers to women: because "every male person who is not a woman," would be nonsense. Then in Section 27 we have the word "person" in contradistinction to the word "man" in the earlier sections of the statute. If the word is "man" in the earlier section, then obviously this word "person," which is a different word, means something wider, and our University Franchise is conferred on a wider body of people, men and women; but if it is conferred on this wider body of people by using the word "person," then it is equally nonsense to say that the word "person" is used in giving a wider franchise, and the expression "not subject to a legal incapacity" is to take away that newly given franchise. Parliament would not take away with the expression "subject

to any legal incapacity," what it has given with the expression "person." So that because these grounds mutually destroy each other, and because of the absurdities which result from the assumption, I would say that here, too, it is impossible for "legal incapacity" to refer to women. That view is supported by what the Lord Ordinary says on page 7 of the Appendix. After saying that "person" does not include woman, he goes on to say: "An alternative view would be to construe the word as of common gender, and to hold that as women were at Common Law legally incapacitated from exercising the Parliamentary franchise, their claim is excluded by the clause 'not subject to any legal incapacity,' which strikes at peers and aliens equally with women." That is not necessary. He agrees that these two grounds are mutually destructive; he makes them alternative; he admits that they cannot stand together, that it is not possible to say that man means "male person" and at the same time "subject to any legal incapacity" refers to women. Then I submit that we are "persons" within the meaning of that section of that Act, that we are not subject to any "legal incapacity" within the meaning of that section of that Act, and that, being "persons" not subject to any legal incapacity, and being on the Register, we are entitled to exercise that Parliamentary Franchise. We have fulfilled every condition laid down in this 27th Section of the 1868 Act, and it is those fulfilling those conditions who are entitled to vote in the election of members entitled to serve in any future Parliament in terms of this Act; so we are entitled to vote on these grounds.

It is to be remarked that in 1889 the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 52 & 53 Vict., chap. 50, Sec. 28, establishes two Registers—one for Parliamentary voters, and the other for voters in counties and boroughs; because it was intended that women were to vote in counties and boroughs, but that they were not to vote for Parliament. And that Act was passed in 1889, the year in which power was given to the Commissioners to admit women to graduation, and when, in the University Act, we should have expected the exclusion of women if they were not to exercise this franchise, or perhaps the establishment of a double Register if it had been considered necessary, and if it had been intended to exclude women. That they had their attention turned to the Register is evident from a study of the powers they give to the Commissioners, for they give the Commissioners power to make regulations to assist the Registrar in carrying out the duties imposed upon him by the 1868 Act, in the same 1889 Act which gives power to admit women to graduation, which involved our going on the General Council.

(To be concluded in the Supplement to be published in our next issue.)

Wedded Bliss.

(Continued from p. 235.)

Has the reaction gone far enough? I do not intend to answer that question even in the negative, because I feel that the time for asking it has gone by. This movement is not the isolated cry of a few pioneers prepared to make any sacrifice to get a vote no one particularly wants, nor is it simply the swing of the pendulum which, when it has caused sufficient damage, will swing back to its proper place. The movement, properly speaking, it is not a reaction at all, it is the awakening of one half the human race, the dawn for them of self-realization, and looked at from that point of view it has only just begun. The women of Great Britain are beginning to awake to a sense of responsibility; when that responsibility is once recognized there can be no turning back, for their childhood will be over.

There has been no empire up to the present where the women have taken their share of responsibility either in the home or in the State.

The time for that is however at hand. Women are beginning to realize that the home, their special province, is not an isolated unit, but is part of one great whole, and as such must con-

tribute to the common good. The mother who sees no children's good but her own, no calls beyond her own fireside, is ceasing to exist. It is well to educate our boys and girls for the world, but the world needs educating for our boys and girls. Men have been trying to do it alone, but the result has been practical failure, for women's heads and women's hearts are needed in every good work. As that sense of responsibility wakens, it alters our point of view. It tells us that we, as women, are morally responsible for what is happening in the world around us to other women, that were we fully alive to our powers things would be different to-day. Sweating, the low prices paid for women's work, the conditions of our streets, are among the things which should not be, and will not be, please God, when women wake up fully to that sense of kinship with other women, the lack of which has so long been our reproach.

"The cure for half knowledge," says an American writer, "is larger truth, and the pain that comes in the transition is removed only by a fulfilment of the process. When women have awakened to dissatisfaction with the old conditions of life, they can never return permanently to them. It is possible to work on, through the period of transition in which we find ourselves, towards a stronger and a saner life; to go back to the undeveloped conditions of earlier existence is an absolute impossibility. Out of it all we can see the new ideal of womanhood emerging. It is not the purity of innocence we shall reverence, but the purity of virtue; not the negative mediæval ideal, but the positive one of rounded and harmonious development. It is the eternal woman, but unhampered by artificial limitations and traditional slavery. It is woman, loving, tender, and sensitive, but strong, true, and independent, capable of standing alone, and so worthy of the highest union in the most intimate relations of human life."

We are told many women are becoming selfish, self-centred, prefer work that takes them into the world to marrying—making homes for husbands and children. To this I would reply, Great Britain has more women than men. It may afford to spare a few. Are some selfish? Perhaps. Have you seen any one learning to skate? What waste of energy. Arms and body swinging to and fro in a vain effort to maintain an equilibrium. The learner has no time to think of others—to try to help his neighbour—he is too busy working for himself. We women are only just beginning to stand on our own feet. We waste much energy at first; we have not done it long. It was easier being led, and we could look about better. Some day, when all of us can walk, we shall accomplish something. Meanwhile, we are not all selfish, but we are only just beginning to realize that the meaning of self-sacrifice is not the sacrifice of one sex to the other, but the wise use of all that we are for the benefit of the race, and to give most freely we must first have something to give. "Il faut être soi avant d'agir sur les autres."

The movement does not aim at eliminating self-sacrifice. To do that were to deserve failure, for sacrifice is bound up with every action of our daily life. In itself it is neither good nor bad, it is simply a law of life. Every action, every thought, implies the sacrifice of some other action or thought. The difference between the selfish man and the altruist is that the former sacrifices the higher good, and the altruist the lower good, to the higher life of service. Our aim should be to sacrifice the lower to the higher. Women have failed in so far as they have endowed the sacrifice itself with virtue. They give without stopping to consider if the gift will be of use. Again, no honest man will profess to know a trade he has not learnt. Woman has this still to learn. She makes no preparation even for the things which are supposed to be her special function, such as motherhood and child-training. She has forgotten that self-development must go hand in hand with self-sacrifice to make the service of value.

Dresser puts it thus: "This I understand to be the goal of all soul growth, the mastery of all planes by which we climb to it and then the renunciation of self that the Christ spirit may prevail."

In the greatest life the world has ever seen the period of active service lasted only three years, and followed thirty years of preparation. Every good service given to the race has been the result of patient study and endeavour. It has been left for women to rush in where angels fear to tread.

Then again *how* shall we give? Maeterlinck has answered this for us in his 'Wisdom and Destiny.'

"Let us beware," he says, "lest we act as he did in the fable, who stood watch in the lighthouse, and gave the poor in the cabins about him the oil of the mighty lanterns that served to illumine the sea." Every soul in its sphere has charge of a lighthouse for which there is more or less need. The humblest mother who allows her whole life to be crushed, to be saddened by the less important of her motherly duties, is giving her oil to the poor; and her children will suffer the whole of their lives for there not having been in the soul of their mother the radiance it might have acquired. The immaterial force that shines in our hearts must shine, first of all, for itself, for on this condition alone shall it shine for the others as well; but see that you give not away the oil of your lamp, though the lamp be never so small; let your gift be the flame, its crown. How often have we given away our oil?

Lastly, to what shall we give? "To love others perfectly," says Alien, "we must love the Divine Self too much to sully it." Let us change that and say: "To give truly to others we must give to the Higher Self in them." How often do we do that? Tested by the clear rays of that sentence, how much of our work becomes worthless! We are, many of us, giving our time, our talents, our lives, to husband, children, friends. What is the result? Are we helping them to be bigger, nobler, more useful servants of God and of humanity, or is our devotion making them more selfish? The question is worth asking. Women don't ask it often enough. It is so much easier to give up to others than to take what is our due; but remember, that the man or woman who asks of us any sacrifice without giving back its equivalent, is better without it. They need not give it back to us, but they must pass it on to some one.

Some day, I take it, when our work is done, and we have to give an account of the use we have made of our time, I don't think we shall be asked how often we have sacrificed ourselves to others, but rather if our service has helped the advancement of the race. The question, as I see it, may run thus: "To you, O Soul, I have given opportunities, talents, gifts, husband, children, friends. Has the one talent become ten, or has it been given away before it matured? Have the opportunities been used to best account? Finally, has the man I gave you to help become better, truer, nobler, under your influence? Are your children serving me more fully because you have been their mother?" Happy will those be of us who can answer that question in the affirmative, and deserve the answer, "Well done!"

F. I.

Meeting arranged by Professional and Industrial Women in support of Women's Suffrage, held in the Queen's Hall on November 17th.

MANY were the eleventh-hour applications for seats at the Queen's Hall when the great meeting of Professional and Industrial Women took place. The hall was packed with representative workers. Hundreds who would have liked to have been present were unable to obtain admission.

Among the many expressions of sympathy telegraphed, one from Miss Ellen Terry was received with particular enthusiasm.

A great burst of cheering greeted the beautiful and gracious figure of the chairman, Dr. Garrett Anderson. All rose from their seats to give a tribute of respect to one who in her opening remarks numbered herself among those who did not ever remember being converted. She had been a Suffragist all her life, and an active worker over forty years. She spoke of the present agitation as being "not quite new," and related the story of the personal part she had to play in the sixties in rolling along the floor of Westminster Hall the mammoth petition. Personal sacrifice on the part of its leaders had been the note of every great reform; courage and fortitude were still the levers by which the world was lifted up; victory was nearer than ever before, the difference of feeling enormous; therefore we

should work unceasingly, and not be tempted to stop or weary of repeating what seemed an oft-told tale.

Mrs. Turner, introduced as Mrs. Humphry Ward's sister, who followed, spoke from an educational point of view. She instanced the anomalies of Oxford and Cambridge, where rewards are withheld from women who have won distinction, and noted how practically disadvantageous this is—degrees having a market value. The evil effects of the paucity of women inspectors was emphasized and the desirability of the medical inspection of girls and infants being carried out by women doctors.

Burning words were uttered by Miss Gore-Booth on women's labour and the wage which it obtains. The average professional woman, she said, got as much as the skilled artisan, the skilled working woman as much as the unskilled working man, but the tragedy of the whole thing lies in the position of the women at the very bottom. As typical of the way in which Governments ignore the voteless, she instanced the proposed scheme of industrial arbitration. In that scheme the representation of employers is assured, the representation of working men is assured, but what of the 300,000 working women concerned?

Miss Alice Clark, speaking as the manager of a large factory, said that work that is well paid is usually considered either unwomanly or too hard for women! Women through the ages had done so much for nothing that the vicious system followed them into business life. An "Anti" had been heard to say that she wished all women to be like "mothers in Israel." "Yes," was the reply, "but do you realize that the title was applied to Deborah—prophet, warrior, and judge—under whose rule Israel had peace forty years?"

Mrs. Reddish spoke earnestly and well on behalf of the working women of the North.

Miss Tita Brand told of the proposed formation of an actresses' league for Women's Suffrage, and in a fine impassioned speech urged that a passive attitude is no longer permissible "now, more than ever, those that are not with us are against us."

A rousing reception greeted Miss Chrystal Macmillan, fresh from the honours of her magnificent effort in the House of Lords. She spoke of recent travels in the East—of the prison and the harem. In the one the bodies of men were tortured, in the other the souls of women were being strangled. In the fifteenth century the suggestion that girls should be taught to read had been regarded as madness. We had travelled far since then, and it is futile to fight against the future. The time is not far distant when the women of the three kingdoms will march, not perhaps to an easy, but to a certain victory.

After a passing allusion to the part played by women in the recent peaceful revolution in Turkey, Miss Roper emphasized anew the need for the political representation of women of all trades and industries, closing with a reference to the motto of a great society—Political Liberty—Industrial Equality.

Miss Murby most eloquently moved a vote of thanks to the distinguished president of the gathering, coupled with the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, to whom the excellent stewarding of the meeting was so largely due. Interesting sidelights were thrown on the reasons why Civil Servants—as one of whom she spoke—were unable to take a leading part in the Suffrage Movement. It appears that "persons in the employ of the State" are expected to maintain a certain reserve in political matters, and—as is usual—women, though not sharing in the privilege of the vote (which privilege originated the "certain reserve" mandate) have to share the penalty. This meeting gave Miss Murby an opportunity of disclaiming, on behalf of women Civil Servants any ambition to be considered the good little girls of the movement—with such virtue she would have nothing whatever to do.

Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, speaking on behalf of the Men's League, made an earnest appeal for increased interest in the Men's League and in the work which they—and they alone—can do.

It remains but to close this brief account of a great meeting by a word of warm congratulation to the promoters and organizers of it.

Correspondence.

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

'Women's Franchise.'

Mrs. Hylton Dale reads in Women's Franchise of November 19th that she is under a "misconception" as regards the object of the paper. If it be a misconception it is not her fault, as she went entirely on the Editor's own words, and definite statement which always appears on the front page of the paper in paragraph 2 (under the heading "Notice to Subscribers and Contributors"), viz., "All profits go to the Cause" (of Women's Suffrage).

Mrs. Dale understands now from the Editor and Manager (both posts filled on an honorary basis by the proprietor) that no profits have accrued from the paper, though she is glad to be informed that there is hope of the same in the near future, as the circulation is rising and advertisements are being obtained. Mrs. Dale is also glad that the money promised by individual supporters has guaranteed the proprietor against further financial loss, other than that experienced in the first three months after the starting of the paper.

Mrs. Dale never required to be assured that Women's Franchise was not run for the profit of an individual.

DEAR SIR,—Will you spare us space in your paper to express a word of warm thanks to Lady McLaren for the service she has rendered our cause by her effective replies in 'Better and Happier' to the Opposition speeches to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, made in the House on February 28th. We have found the booklet the most successful propaganda pamphlet we have yet had, and wonder whether the suggestion might not be entertained of sending a copy to the members who voted against the Bill.

Yours faithfully,

AUGUSTA E. HARRINGTON.
HELEN D. THOMSON.
Hon. Secs. Highgate Group.

Gratis Supplement.

We greatly regret having again this week to leave out many interesting communications, correspondence, &c., in spite of our giving four extra pages. We are sure that our readers will join with us in thanking Mrs. Herringham for her kindly offering to pay for a Supplement to next week's number, in order that we may present our readers with the conclusion of the Scottish University's Case in the House of Lords without further curtailing the general available space of our paper.

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Daily Chronicle.—"We welcome the very moderate and fair-minded statement of the case put forward by Lady Grove in this highly original and entertaining volume."
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Morning Post.—"Lady Grove endeavours to refute, carefully and brightly, the reasons for opposing the demand for extending the suffrage to women."
Daily Mirror.—"This is a series of solid and well-argued essays in favour of woman suffrage."

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National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

OBJECT.—To obtain the Parliamentary Suffrage for Women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to Men.

The Union is a Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.
President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Secretary: MISS MARGERY CORBETT, B.A.
Hon. Secretary: MISS FRANCES HARCASTELE, M.A. Organisers: MISS E. M. GARDNER, B.A. MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON, B.A. MRS. COOPER. MISS HELEN FRASER.
Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON." Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.
OFFICES: 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.
The Union will send Organising Agents, Speakers, or Literature to any place requiring them, its desire being to form a Women's Suffrage Society in every County and Borough. All persons interested in the movement, or desiring information about it, are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. Increased Funds are needed for the growing work of the Union, and Subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1908.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. McLAREN.
Mrs. Broadley Reid
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN
MISS LOWNDES
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Miss Edith Dimock
Miss I. O. Ford
Miss Martindale, M.D. (Lond.)
MISS WARD
LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

THE Camberwell Branch are getting up a Banner Show, with speeches, for Friday, Dec. 11th. The local committee is composed mainly of ladies occupied professionally, and therefore their time is limited. Will any members who possibly can, volunteer to help to work it up? Miss Ward, at 25, Victoria Street, will gladly give all information.

At Mrs. Humphrey Ward's request, the debate between herself and Mrs. Fawcett at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, on Dec. 9th, has been postponed. We regret to learn that the cause of the postponement is a case of serious illness of a relative of Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

A full report of Mrs. Fawcett's speech at the Oxford Union will appear next week.

Mid-Essex By-Election.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Union on Friday it was decided that the policy of the National Union at the Mid-Essex by-election shall be one of propaganda only, as the attitude of neither candidate is satisfactory. Women's Suffrage is not mentioned in either election address.

ANSWERS FROM CANDIDATES.

Mr. E. G. Pretyman writes: "My election address has already been circulated, and contains no reference to 'Women's Suffrage.' I am in favour of women, now qualified to vote under the Municipal Franchise, having the Parliamentary Franchise extended to them, provided I can feel assured that this limit is not passed; but I cannot go further than this."

Mr. Alexander H. Dence writes: "I have pleasure in informing you that I am in favour of the Parliamentary Franchise being extended to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. I am also willing, if returned to Parliament, to vote for the inclusion of women in the Government's promised Reform Bill... Whilst indirectly referring to the question in my election address, I have not made any direct reference to same."

Having just returned to the committee room after a magnificent meeting, I feel that I should be in a suitable mood to write my report. I believe that any one who had been with us to-night would be proud of the work that is being done by our Suffrage Society. On Thursday we were nearly killed by people who came to wreck our meeting; to-night a man who got up to protest was greeted with boos and hisses, and was nearly dragged down from his stand into the mud.

We arrived on Thursday at midday. Miss Joseph and I immediately chalked an open-air meeting, a proceeding which attracted enough attention to be put into the local paper. At 7.15 we reached our pitch, but Miss Joseph had not been speaking more than a few minutes before an uproar began. My efforts were no more successful, and before very long eggs and tomatoes were flying about. Miss Tiner received a bruise, my only umbrella was broken (I am ready to receive subscriptions for this, which will be handed over to the National Union), and the better sort of men around us became dreadfully agitated. Finally we closed the meeting, and went down the street to the Liberal

meeting, where we had arranged to see Mr. Dence, followed by a raging mob, whose "rushes" were only kept off by our body-guard of supporters. The Liberals were not anxious to receive us, but we were finally admitted amid great excitement, the audience evidently expecting that we would stand on our chairs and shout "Votes for Women." However, as the newspapers remarked, we "listened quietly," and after Mr. Dence's answers we expected to go as quietly home. But outside we found the whole mob awaiting us, and though we were taken out a side way, we were followed up the street by a crowd that raged even more furiously than the one who took us down. Our champions had even more to do than before; the police nearly had a free fight, but by slipping through a yard while the men formed a cordon in front we reached home safely.

Next day we were told that the hooligans had organized themselves to break up our next meeting. On Friday, however, we had a far larger crowd, that listened without a murmur of dissent, and to-night we have had even greater success. Miss Dawson (Camberwell) came to speak for us, and it was during her speech that the man who interrupted us was received with such disfavour. Mrs. Cooper's remark that the men must sympathize with our demand and admire the courage of the women who are fighting for freedom was met with hearty "Hear, hears." Many other cheering incidents occurred, and there is no doubt at all of the sympathy felt for the Suffragists.

We had an excellent open-air meeting yesterday afternoon for the market people, and to-day we held one for women only in a large room over our shop, which resulted in an offer from a lady living in a neighbouring village to arrange a meeting for us. We badly need helpers and speakers. The constituency is large, and the time is short. We can do with any number (cyclists would be welcome), and I appeal especially to those people who say that they never get any work to do.

My chief aim is to have a meeting in every important village on the two nights before the poll. To carry this out we shall need at least thirty people. Who will volunteer?
E. M. GARDNER, 19, Duke Street.

I experienced some difficulties in getting a committee room, but at last I succeeded in securing one in the main street. We started "shop" on Thursday, and, needless to say, crowds of people soon gathered round our windows, which show off our posters, literature, and badges to advantage. Miss Gardner has already related our first reception by the roughs of Chelmsford. Friday we had a better hearing, and on Saturday we held a fine meeting for women only, Miss Gardner, Mrs. Cooper, and Miss Dawson being the speakers. People flock in to ask questions, and I hope our readers will not forget that we are in need of help, especially money, as there are no trams here, and it costs a great deal to get about. Miss Courtauld of Colne Engaine has generously given us 10s. towards the by-election.
S. TINER, Committee Room, 19, Duke Street, Chelmsford.

County Campaign Fund.

Table with 4 columns: County Name, Name, Amount 1, Amount 2, Total. Rows include London (Bernhard Elsasser, Esq.) with amounts 10 0 0 and 313 17 6, and Monmouthshire (Mrs. McClaverty) with amounts 2 0 0 and 3 0 0. Total to Monday, Nov. 23rd, 1908 is £777 19 8.

New Branch in Wales.

On November 16th the inaugural meeting of the Pontypridd and District W.S.S. took place at Ynysyngharad, by kind permission of Mrs. Gregory.

Miss Nautet, of the Cardiff Society, made a capital opening speech. Rules were discussed and adopted and officers elected: President, Mrs. Gregory; Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. J. Lewis; Hon. Sec., Mrs. Parry; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. T. Edwards, Mrs. T. Jones, Mrs. R. Rosser, and a Committee of nine. The Executive Committee then passed a unanimous vote of thanks to Mrs. Gregory and to Miss Nautet for the work they have been doing in Pontypridd.

Branch Societies.

BRIGHTON.—The usual monthly meeting of the Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society was held on the 17th inst. at the Hove Town Hall. The room engaged proved too small for the influx of members and their friends, who had to migrate en masse to the Banqueting Room. The speakers were Miss A. S. Verrall, who tellingly described how her experience of work in educational and other administrative fields had made her an ardent convert to the cause, and Miss Woodhead, whose earnest advocacy of the justice of women's claim was equally impressive. Announcements were made as to the coming meeting of the N.U.W.S.S. Council, and a collection was taken, which, amounting to £1 17s., will more than cover the cost of the room.

These meetings are held on the third Tuesday of every month at 4.45 and on the first Tuesday of every month at 8.30. Speakers on December 1st will be Rev. A. D. Spong and Miss Pickworth, and on December 15th Miss M. F. Basden and Miss F. de G. Merrifield, the Hon. Secretary of the B.H.W.S.S., whose address is 14, Clifton Terrace, Brighton.

PORTSMOUTH.—The Town Hall was crowded with an interested audience on November 11th. It is hardly to be believed that two years ago scarcely 150 people assembled to hear one of the foremost speakers of the day on the subject, and last Wednesday, though there is seating accommodation for about 2,000 people, at least seven or eight hundred were turned away. The speakers were Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Abadam, and Mr. John Russell. The president of the local branch, Mrs. Godfrey Baring, took the chair.

SUNDERLAND.—The series of meetings held between November 10th and 20th has been successful far beyond the expectations of the local Society. Miss Gardner and Miss Fraser were heard with the greatest interest, and several new members joined the Society. We were fortunate in having Mrs. Stuart, wife of the senior member for Sunderland, to take the chair on Friday evening.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—The Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell addressed a large and influential gathering of ladies in the Guild Room of St. Peter's Institute, Wolverhampton, on the 30th inst. The room was crowded to its utmost capacity, and every one was charmed with Mrs. Russell's address, who replied to the arguments of the Anti-Suffragists. Three ladies joined the Society, and it is expected that more will do so later as the result of the meeting.

Another meeting took place in the Y.M.C.A. room on November 17th. Miss Abadam was the speaker, and she completely carried her audience with her by the earnestness and conviction with which she spoke. Eleven new members were added to the Society. Many expressed themselves anxious to hear Miss Abadam again.

We much regret that want of space prevents our inserting news from Stratford-on-Avon, Bolton, and Cardiff.

International Alliance Hospitality Fund.

Additional donations have been received from:—

Table with columns for Name, £, s., and d. listing donors like Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Mabel Holland, etc.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

Table of events with columns for Date, Location, Event Name, and P.M. listing various meetings and exhibitions across different cities.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

SCOTTISH OFFICE: 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

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

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

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

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

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

Telegrams: "Tactics, London."

Codlin—or Short?

THE attitude of the two great political parties towards the Women's Suffrage problem is very interesting as a study at the present moment.

Both parties are realizing reluctantly that the question can no longer be evaded. The Tories, with that superior acumen which has always distinguished them, have watched and waited, secretly consulted, and finally committed themselves to the support of a very small measure by their resolution at Cardiff.

The world knows how the Liberals have behaved. After much trumpeting and many promises they have voted for a Bill which, it was previously arranged, should have no opportunity of passing into law; then finding the temper of the women less docile than in former years, they have resorted to the equally dishonest device of promising to introduce an amendment to a Reform Bill, "democratic" enough to ensure its being thrown out by the Lords. In this manner is the great reform of the enfranchisement of the women of England treated by the two parties: the Tories whittling it down to microscopic proportions; the Whigs distending it, in order to bring about its complete destruction. The Tory problem—how to be just with the smallest possible amount of justice done; the Whig problem—how to appear just without the exercise of any justice at all. Truly an ignoble position. But despicable as both attitudes must appear to earnest-minded and straightforward women, we cannot fail to see in the Cardiff resolution that thin end of the wedge so beloved of slow and cautious British minds. We see it, and take fresh hope therefrom. If the Tories like to enfranchise only women-householders, that is better and more "democratic" than the Liberal achievement of enfranchising no women. If the Tories like to have a separate wrangle over the lodger-vote, the service-vote, the latchkey-vote, the university-vote, the married-vote, the spinster-vote, and all the other franchises which masculine clear-headedness has set up, so much the better for the cause. Every wrangle involves the political education of women, and incidentally of men; also a certain piquancy will be introduced into the sex-argument.

If women-householders are enfranchised, we shall have got rid of the sex disability, inasmuch as it never can again be argued that a woman cannot vote because she is female. But we shall not have got rid of the sex disability, inasmuch as it will be enacted that a woman cannot vote because she is a female with a latchkey, or a female in service. "Nature itself is the barrier" will still be the cry in the case of women lodgers. So the sex argument will not be done away with, only made a little more Gilbertian, and even more open to ridicule than before. If Nature, we shall be able to argue, intended the female sex to be a political barrier to persons in lodgings, she would have made all lodgers male. "Prove the sex of a latchkey!" will be one of our election cries; and upon issues such as these will depend the fate of future contests.

But the immediate duty of women is to choose which of these disinterested parties they should trust—the one which promises little, and which will assuredly in the near future have the power to grant that little; or the one which promises much and intends nothing? Which is the friend, Codlin or Short?

M. F.

In Parliament.—I am allowed to tell a delightful little story, which illustrates the facility for retort which Mr. Burns so frequently displays. A member approached the President

of the Local Government Board with the query, "Ought I to come to you, Mr. Burns, or to Mr. Asquith on a question of votes for women?" With a flash of the eye, Mr. Burns retorted merrily, "I don't know." B. W. W.

Mid-Essex By-Election.

OUR committee-room is in Tindal Street, and is gaily decorated with the League colours and posters. We are doing very good business in literature, badges, and answering inquiries. Helpers are wanted—speakers, chalkers, collectors, and sellers of literature. There is a heap of work to be done, and, since the constituency is so near London, a host of workers could come down, especially for the final effort next week-end.

After preparing the shop, Miss Benett and I sallied forth at 3 P.M., and addressed a large and interested crowd from the cannon in front of the Shire Hall. The pitch is a splendid one, and is in great demand as the speakers stand on the steps well above the crowd.

Shortly after 5 o'clock Miss Nellie Smith arrived, and we at once proceeded to secure halls for indoor meetings. We went to Ingatestone and Brentwood. At the latter place we were caught in the rain, and arrived back in Chelmsford late at night absolutely drenched. To-day we are drying. It is rather interesting to note here that our landlady says Chelmsford is an exceedingly dry place. May the reputation of Chelmsford remain as heretofore!

Our chief fixtures for next week so far are:—

- MONDAY, 8 P.M., in front of Shire Hall, Chelmsford, Mrs. Billington-Greig. WEDNESDAY, 7 P.M., School Room, Upminster. THURSDAY, afternoon, Boreham. THURSDAY, 8 P.M., Schoolroom, Ingatestone. FRIDAY, Chelmsford Market. SATURDAY, 3 P.M., Brentwood, open air. SATURDAY, 8 P.M., Brentwood, Town Hall. MONDAY, 3 P.M., Women's Meeting Harmony Hall, Brentwood., Drawing-room, works, and open-air meetings will be held daily. ALICE SCHOFIELD.

November 28th.

PRISONERS' WELCOME.

- REMEMBER Holloway and be there at 8 A.M. REMEMBER the Breakfast, Cottage Tea-Rooms, Strand, at 9.30. REMEMBER the Mass Meeting, Trafalgar Square, at 2.30 P.M. REMEMBER that our prisoners have suffered for our cause. REMEMBER to come and welcome them. REMEMBER the meeting at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, on Wednesday, December 9th, at 8 P.M., when the 'Grille' prisoners will speak, as well as Mrs. Despard.

A MOTOR-CAR is badly needed for advertising the Trafalgar Square meeting. If this catches the eye of any friend who has one and will lend it, the League will be for ever grateful.

LATER.—I much regret to have to state that the reception at Morley Hall on the 28th will not take place there. The Young Women's Christian Association, after promising the hall have, at this late hour, withdrawn their permission to use it. Arrangements will be made to exchange tickets already issued for Morley Hall for others for St. James's Hall Meeting on December 9th. E. H. M.

Correspondence.

DEAR MADAM,—Some weeks have elapsed since the publication, on Oct. 15th, in your columns of Dr. Wilks's plea for a new policy (in so far, at least, as this League is concerned), and I have read with interest the other letters advocating the "running a candidate of our own, whom we should support in every election until we succeeded in getting him elected." None, so far, have been forthcoming on the other side, but your editorial admonition, "stick to something safe," emboldens me to "have a go" for the opposite—and safe—side, as I take it.

I have, personally, a great regard for Mr. Hunnab; but I do not think a sort of Suffragist or Suffragette Hunnab would be (a) a bogey to any Government; (b) a magnetic attraction to any electorate; (c) an irresistible inducement to prospective subscribers, or a profitable investment for the Finance Committee of the Women's Freedom League.

"The law of economy," says Mr. Bernard Shaw, "is the root of all virtue," and I am positive it is the root of commonsense at a by-election. It, at all events, would prevent us buying a dog for whom we should have to do all the barking ourselves. Even Dr. Wilks herself admits that he would have to be a rather expensive animal; but I do not think she realizes what he would run us in for—in hard cash alone; and he would cost us much besides.

Let us calculate, however. There might be ten or fifteen by-elections in the year. At Wimbledon the Suffrage Society asked for 1,000*l.* (which they got) for running the Hon. Bertram Russell. They were not going to pay him a salary; he was not elected, and they spent no more on him or on any subsequent candidate.

They flooded the constituency with volunteer workers, but the constituency, nevertheless, was not adequately canvassed. (Remember no canvasser may be paid except the agent; and where you can get a score of clerical assistants and a hundred platform speakers for nothing, or failing them for nothing, you can pay them, provided you keep within the limit of election expenses, your whole electoral machine breaks down if you have not got an efficient, well-disciplined, and tireless army of voluntary canvassers.)

Let us estimate 300*l.* for election expenses (no fees to the agent, and none to any sub-agent) for hire of halls, committee-rooms, printing, and share of the Returning Officer's fee—a very modest estimate. Taking it for granted that our very own Hunnab gets elected at the fifteenth election (and I should be agreeably surprised if he did), the Freedom League would have got through a cool 4,500*l.*

We could, of course, raise that; but what would he want to get him to undertake the job? Let me remind your readers that we, being non-electors, would have to have the control of his salary (the only thing we could control), and I should recommend an agreement for an annual salary until election, a bonus on each hundred votes polled at each contest; the doubling of the salary in the event of his ever taking his seat; and then—ah, then—what he is to get for daily attendance in the House, to show himself to us seated aloft in the cage, and for the better advertising of the cause; while he refrains from entering the division lobby except at the bidding of "common sense and a love of justice," and whenever he can decide between their conflicting claims.

K. MANSON.

Anthem.

FOR USE AT MEETINGS OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

Tune: 'Tramp, Tramp, Tramp.'

Trot off home and mind the baby,
Trot off home and mind the kid.
This isn't woman's sphere—
You have got no business here;
So "Antis" trot off home as you are bid.

Trot off home—you always tell us
Home is where you ought to be!
While you're talking of the voter
Who's attending to the bloater,
That your husband is expecting for his tea?

Trot off home—you really shock us!
Here in public you are met;
But it isn't nice at all
To hold meetings in a hall.
You must leave that to the naughty Suffragette.
CICELY HAMILTON.

Special Notices.

Queen's Hall Meeting, November 17th.—A member of the W.F.L. who received three tickets for this meeting from a lady at the door, writes expressing regret that, owing to the crowd, she was unable to make due acknowledgment, and wishes to do so through these columns. All three tickets were used and much appreciated.

Jumble Sale, Tottenham, December 12th.—The response to the previous appeal for help having been up to the present very meagre, the members of the Tottenham Branch again earnestly beg for assistance in this venture. Contributions of any kind and however small will be warmly appreciated and gratefully received. Parcels should be forwarded (carriage paid) to Mrs. Harbord, 91, Mount Pleasant Road, Tottenham, N.

N. S. RIDLER, Hon. Sec.

The Lending Library is now successfully started, but is badly in need of books. It is my pleasant duty, however, to acknowledge the following gifts. From Miss McMillan her books on 'Labour and Childhood' and 'Education Through the Imagination'; from Mrs. Darent Harrison, her novel, 'The Stain on the Shield'; and from Mr. Edward Carpenter his two works 'Towards Democracy' and 'Love's Coming of Age.' Gifts of books and of money for the purchase of books will be gratefully received by the Hon. Librarian, Miss Eustace Smith.

Shops and Caravans.—The shops in connexion with the L.C.C. have been given up for the present, and a caravan has been hired instead. This week parades will take place in Paddington district Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, two meetings daily—also on Monday and Tuesday. Speakers, Helpers, Canvassers, Ticket-sellers, urgently requested to write to S. Seruya saying what free time they can give. Wanted **Chalkers**, December 2nd, in the district. The caravan is very costly. Members are urged to make it a success, and to do what they possibly can to make the meeting on December 2nd a financial success.

Prisoners' Memorial Fund.—The suggestion made to commemorate the sacrifice of our prisoners by subscribing or collecting 1*l.* for every day spent by any one prisoner in Holloway has been adopted now in two cases, those of Miss Manning, and Miss Muriel Matters. Subscribers' lists will appear next week. Meanwhile subscriptions and promises should be sent in, so that the 131 desired on behalf of each prisoner may be realized.

Mid-Essex By-Election.—Miss Schofield is in charge of the campaign, and is assisted by Miss Bennett, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Eustace Smith, Miss Nellie Smith, Mrs. Nash, Mrs. Manson, and others.

Indoor and outdoor meetings are arranged all over the constituency. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Miss Molony have all been booked for meetings, but speakers are still in demand.

Helpers for Monday, November 31st, and for Tuesday, the polling day, are specially needed.

Scottish Notes.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Scottish Council has come and gone. From the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer it was evident that great progress had been made during the year. Four new branches have affiliated to the Council, and

another four are in process of formation. The review of the work of the year, and an examination of the prospects of the immediate future were regarded as highly satisfactory by the delegates.

The officers were re-elected, with the exception of Mrs. Graham Moffatt, who resigned. The Council expressed its gratitude for her services and elected Mrs. Wood of Pollokshields as Honorary Treasurer in her place.

Among the fixtures of the immediate future there is a Café Chantant well organized by the Hillhead Branch, public meetings in Dennistoun, Dunoon, and Paisley, a special New Year's Party in Glasgow, and a big Jumble Sale. Helpers are required for these fixtures by Miss Munro.

A proposal is also afoot to raise a special organizing fund of 150*l.* yearly for a new organizer, and special cards have been issued for subscriptions, which may be sent to Mrs. Billington-Greig or Miss Eunice G. Murray.

Branch Notes.

Edinburgh Branch.—This branch held its annual business meeting on Nov. 17th. The secretary's report showed that the membership now stood at 180, as compared with 50 at the beginning of the year. In addition to weekly meetings, the branch had carried through successfully four large public meetings, drawing-room meetings, cake and candy sale, a sale of work, and a series of open-air meetings.

The treasurer's report showed an income of 15*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*, with an expenditure of 132*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, leaving a balance in hand of 18*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* Out of this was sent to the Scottish Council a sum of 13*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*, and to London 46*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* Miss Jack was re-elected secretary.

Our annual social, which took place on Nov. 17th, was a decided success in every way. An excellent musical programme, a spirited speech by Miss Munro, and a dramatic sketch, provided good entertainment to an enthusiastic audience, which quite filled the hall. An interesting feature of the evening was the presentation of the Badge of Honour to Miss Isabel O. Cairns (Leith) for her bravery in having endured a term of imprisonment in Holloway Gaol for the "cause." The resolution, which was passed unanimously, was as follows: "In view of the justice of women's claim to enfranchisement, and the long-continued and widespread agitation for the same, this meeting calls upon the Government to devote the time which it proposes to spend on a Bill against Brawling in the House of Commons, to placing upon the Statute-Book Mr. Stanger's Bill, which passed the second reading in February last by a majority of 179."

A. B. J.

The Western Branch, Glasgow had the pleasure of again hearing Miss C. H. Jockel, M.A., on Wednesday, 18th, the subject of whose address on this occasion was 'Waste of Child Life.' This all-important matter was ably discussed. It was pointed out later by Mrs. Wilson that this alarming neglect of children of the poorer classes was one of the most urgent reasons for women's demand for immediate enfranchisement.

Bangor Branch.—A meeting of the members was held Nov. 12th, at the residence of the secretary, Dr. Neill. There was a good attendance, over which the president of the branch presided. Arrangements were made for a public meeting to be held on Tuesday, Dec. 1st, in the large hall of the Downshire Temperance Hotel. The members were very glad to learn that Mrs. Billington-Greig, National Organizing Secretary of the League, and one of the most attractive speakers connected with the women's movement, had consented to come to Bangor. It is certain there will be a large gathering on the date of the meeting.

The West Sussex Branch had an At Home on Nov. 18th, at which Mrs. Cobden Unwin and the members were hostesses. The speakers were Mrs. Unwin and Miss Christabel Cummin, and recitations were given by Mrs. de Fonblanque, Miss Elsie Cummin, and Miss Campbell. A good collection was taken, and some literature sold, including a dozen post cards of Miss Matters. The guests were interested and sympathetic, and Votes for Women is evidently gaining ground in the district.

Central Branch.—Nov. 26th, meeting for branch members, only, to give nominations for annual conference, 8 P.M.

Dec. 3rd, Despard Debating Society, 8 P.M. Proposition: "That men are suffering from grave disadvantages owing to the fact that women are unenfranchised." P. H.

Sale Branch.—The first of what it is hoped will prove an interesting series of drawing-room meetings was held on Nov. 18th. The branch is greatly indebted to the kindness of Miss Geiler, who placed her house and hospitality at its disposal. Our staunch friend, Mrs. Manning, presided over a well-filled room and an alert cheerful meeting. To create such an atmosphere appears to be a special gift of the speaker, Mrs. Nedd, of Manchester. She holds her audience with a firm grip, gives it many a shake, and finally leaves it interested, charmed, and roused to a fresh sense of responsibility. Special interest was taken in a personal account of incidents connected with the police-court proceedings after the recent raid on the House. Miss Manning, one of our members, and daughter of the chairman, being at present in Holloway suffering for the sins of the Cabinet, much sympathy was shown. Mrs. Manning, who afterwards spoke, graphically described the deadlock arrived at by the Cabinet Ministers on the one hand and determined women on the other. From her knowledge of the latter Mrs. Manning, a life-long Liberal, advised the Ministers to yield. Sympathy with the work of the Women's Freedom League took practical shape in the donations left by the audience, and some new members were added to the branch. Next branch meeting will be held as usual on Tuesday, Nov. 24th, 8 P.M., at the Studio, Tatton Buildings, when a paper will be read, and a delegate elected for the forthcoming Conference. L. F.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.
November 26th to December 10th.

Date	Time	Location	Speakers	Time
Nov. Thurs. 26.		Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Despard Miss Cicely Hamilton Recitation—Miss Anna Carola	P.M. 3.30
		Finchley, High School, Great North Road	Mrs. Despard Miss Hicks, M.A. Miss Sidley Mr. Chancellor	8
Fri. 27.		10, Highbury Hill, N. Cheltenham, Holbein House	Members' Meeting Mrs. Gard	8
Sat. 28.		Holloway Gaol Trafalgar Square	Miss Muriel Matters Mrs. Marion Holmes Miss Manning Mrs. Despard	8 A.M. 2.30 P.M.
		Bromley Co-operative Hall, East Street, Social and Small Sale		5
Nov. 30.		Hampstead, The Library, Prince Arthur Road	Ex-prisoners Miss Cicely Hamilton	8.15-
Dec. 1.		Sittingbourne Wanstead, Debate Bangor, Downshire Temperance Hotel	Mrs. Holmes Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc. Mrs. Billington-Greig	8 8
Wed. 2.		Manchester, 47, Moseley Street Academy Rooms, Partick Paddington Town Hall, Paddington Green	Miss Esson Maule Mrs. How Martyn Mrs. Despard Miss Molony Councillor G. E. O'Dell	8 8 8
Thurs. 3.		Caxton Hall, Westminster Tunbridge Wells	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson Miss Matters and Mrs. How Martyn Miss Boulton	3.30- 8
Tues. 8.		Hull Leytonstone Debate	Mrs. Despard Mrs. How Martyn	8 8
Wed. 9.		St. James's Hall Portland Street	Miss Matters, Mrs. Holmes Miss Molony, Miss Bremner Mrs. Despard Mrs. Billington-Greig	8 8
Thurs. 10.		Manchester, Memorial Hall Woking	Mrs. Despard Miss Matters Mrs. How Martyn	8 8
		Caxton Hall, Westminster Highbury, Northampton House, St. Paul's Road	Mrs. Holmes Mrs. Hicks Dr. Marian Thornett Miss Leighfield	3.30- 8

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

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

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

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

Notes and Comments.

THE meeting of the Industrial and Professional Women in the Queen's Hall on the 17th was a great success. From the moment the doors opened at 7 o'clock, there was a steady stream of women until after the meeting had begun. Every seat had been sold, and yet at 8.30 there were still persons waiting outside the closed doors on the off chance of buying an unused seat. Finally, our Stewards' Corps, who were in charge of the outside doors, were able to let in twelve women to the last seats.

Some thirty-five members of the corps were present, and though ejection was not necessary, they were extremely useful in directing the big crowd. They were included in the vote of thanks to Dr. Garrett-Anderson in the chair, and a reply was made by one of the members. Several men joined the League, one of whom, Mr. Manuel N. Terrero, has kindly consented to act as our representative in Pinner. Our literature was well circulated.

Probably many members do not realize that a most valuable part of the Stewards' Corps' work is the advertising of the League. We are generally permitted to give out forms, and sometimes to sell pamphlets. We want far more spade work of this kind from our members. Every man should try to carry forms about with him, wear the button if he will, and keep pressing the League wherever opportunity offers.

Mr. John Russell will take the chair at a meeting of the Working Branch of the Women's Freedom League on Thursday, December 10th.

Mr. J. M. Mitchell will speak at Wandsworth on November 27th and December 2nd, and at Gloucester on December 4th.

A Conference will be held at Sheffield in the Cutlers' Hall on November 27th. It is hoped that Mr. J. E. Raphael, and perhaps a representative of our Manchester Branch, will speak for the Men's League, and that a branch will be formed very shortly.

Preparations are on foot for the formation of a branch of the League in Keswick, representing the Cumberland and Westmorland members. A meeting will be held early in 1909, at which the League will be officially represented.

It is probable that a strong society in Oxford University will be affiliated to the League in a short time. Mrs. Fawcett's great speech before the Oxford Union produced a strong feeling that the University supporters had hitherto hardly realized how much is involved in the Women's Suffrage movement, and though in a very heavy poll our opponents gained a small majority of thirty, there is every likelihood that the net gain will be very considerable.

Our Readers.

ONCE again we must seriously urge our speakers to send brief reports of the meetings which they address. The collection of League news for these columns from the ordinary press is very difficult, and the result is that much of our work is not noticed. We must plead guilty to oversights in some cases, but it is no light matter to keep track of all that is going on.

Also, we want a dozen new speakers badly and at once, as well as local representatives, both in London and other big towns. Who will volunteer?

East Finchley Liberals.

A VERY fine speech in favour of the cause was made by Mr. Binstead at the monthly meeting of the East Finchley Liberals last Friday. There was scarcely any opposition, though most of those present urged that some modification of the existing Franchise system should be made, so that the wives of voters should qualify more easily. Several men promised to join the League, and a good deal of our literature was given out. Mr. Binstead himself will, we hope, become one of our speaking members. We have seldom heard more effective speeches, save from the leading women, on our subject: he combined precision of argument with a delightful humour. Mr. Mitchell was allowed, though a visitor, to state the case for the Men's League.

Finchley, Church End.

THE Men's League makes its first public appearance in Finchley on Thursday, Nov. 26th, i.e., to-day.

IN response to our appeal for help, eight members only have undertaken to be present. Out of all our London members this is not an encouraging total! True, it is a little inconvenient to get to Finchley (Barnet tram from Highgate Archway, or from East Finchley, G.N.R. station); but it is surely not too much to expect some men to do once in a way what many women are doing three or four times a week. The hall is the High School, Great North Road, and the tram passes the door. Time, 8 o'clock. Stewards should be there by 7.30 if possible.

Another Debate.

At the Pioneer Club, on the 12th, Mr. Graham Mould's motion "That our present laws, though made solely by men, preponderate largely in favour of women," was defeated.

Mr. Wells Thatcher was the protagonist on our side, and seldom or never have abler speeches been made by the various ladies who spoke later; most notably that of Mrs. Stopes.

Consequently when the vote was taken it was with one exception quite unanimous, and it is noteworthy this gentleman was the *only* speaker who did not keep to the point, but flew off at a tangent *re* militant tactics! About a dozen copies of 'Women under the Law' were sold in the room.

Horsham.

ONE of our most enthusiastic members, Mr. Edwin Richmond, took the chair at a joint meeting under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Association (Horsham branch) and the League of Young Liberals on Nov. 17th in the Albion Hall. Mrs. Conybeare, of the W.L.F., gave an excellent address on Women's Suffrage, and afterwards answered questions. The resolution in favour was carried by a good majority. Dr. Drysdale's pamphlet, 'Why Men should Help, &c.', was much appreciated.

From a Member of the Men's League in Malaya.

[THE recipient of this letter has very kindly permitted us to publish the following excerpts. Those who are in the arena may well overlook aspects of the case which are plain to the spectator, and may thus misdirect their blows.—ED.]

DEAR — You are wasting yourself in troubling and worrying about the opposition to the Suffrage. The trouble all arises from the natural human instinct of conservatism—

a necessary instinct, useful within its proper limits, no doubt—which makes people assume that a proposed change would be a bad thing. It acts for a long, long time, till very gradually it is worn away by reason. When the change would be against the interests of any one, a man's conservative instinct is strongly, but subconsciously, reinforced by a knowledge, or oftener a mere feeling, that the change would injure him. He does not reflect: "This would probably be a bad thing materially for me or my class, so I'll resist it whether it is right or wrong." He is only, as it were, blinded to the rightness of it a little more. Most people have got into a habit of not being roused by appeals to their sense of justice. There are always so many appeals. What are these people making a new outcry about? Women have always been subordinate, they have always been poor, and so on; yet we have got on very well." It takes some imagination to realize that others have *not* been getting on very well, that a great injustice has been going on unnoticed by almost all.

So it is only very very slowly that the realization spreads that the injustice exists and is real. The ordinary man or woman who scoffs at or ignores this movement does not realize that you have a clear case. He takes his opinions very largely from his surroundings, from the ideas which have been repeated to him or taken for granted always, that is, from the past. And it is horsework to get a new one through his skull. Even if he has heard or read arguments on the subject, they do not wake him up, and he forgets them, the first time at least. Man is a thinking being, but not, as a rule, a very actively thinking being. The burden of proof is all on the innovator, and it has to be brought to man and forced into him. He is not anxious for new convictions, which would involve new duties, all of which means that he is slack and careless and somewhat selfish, but without any notion of doing positive wrong. Tell the average decent paterfamilias, as, of course, you must—that collectively he is an oppressor; the idea is so foreign to his frame of mind that it *cannot* get in. He has been good to his wife and done his best for his children, all in the usual way and according to what he remembers of his father and what he sees round him. What more do you want? You want to revolutionize the framework of his life and all the nation's life, and naturally he is annoyed. He had no idea anything was wrong, and you have all his pride and self-complacency against you; it takes time to get through an obstacle like that. His first idea is, "This is ridiculous!" and he dismisses it. In a little, perhaps, that idea has hardened in him into what he takes for an opinion. Another of his instincts will not let him admit he is wrong, and if he is not a young man you have an opponent for the rest of his life. But he has not the slightest doubt that this new fangled talk which he never really examines is ridiculous.

So the reform comes slowly; but, gradually it comes. Look at it in this way. I do not mean that no blame attaches to men for the past and the present; but his sin has been of omission rather than commission, and most of all a failure to realize that anything was wrong—not a complete failure. To start with, there was the crude form of the subjection of women in the later (patriarchal) savage period. There has been a great gradual improvement, largely the work of man himself. The inequality which remains is a gross and scandalous injustice, but not a conscious or wilful one. It is inherited and largely unrecognized, through familiarity. It is quite possible to believe sincerely that woman's place is the home, and so on, whatever specious arguments may be brought on the other side. I quite believe the "Antis" are sincere, though they have burdened themselves with illogical concessions like the municipal franchise rather than seem extreme by urging actual reaction. They believe that women ought not to have the vote. There is not anything that somebody does not believe sincerely. . . . A man might be ready to die for a woman, or do anything he would for woman, without ever dreaming that the woman and women were being stunted and starved, and that the whole conventional relation between them needed change. He thought he was serving woman to the best of his power. A mistake, not a crime or a meanness.

October 18th.

Yours truly,
O. J.

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.]

"Women and the Vote."

To the Editor of *The Daily Graphic*.

SIR,—In your leading article. . . in which you say, "It was possible to regard pleasantly the quaint spectacle of two Cabinet Ministers appearing as 'friendly witnesses' in the proceedings, without, in the smallest degree, condoning the defendants' misdemeanour or sympathizing with their position, and the penalty they have paid is the logical and proper reward of their offence." One is struck with certain reflections—one, the curious type of mind that can gather "pleasant" sensations from the deliberate suffering of another human being—even a Suffragette. Another thought that comes to one is the reflection—has the writer of that leading article led a blameless life himself, and if not, has he always paid the logical and proper reward of *his* offence? Another thought forced upon one is that of disgust at the brutal callousness of the writer who cannot see beyond his narrow prejudices and party principles, disgust at the dull intelligence that cannot pierce through the *idea* of this great movement. You sneer and laugh at these wonderful women who are going to prison again and again in defence of their principles, and to get a hearing for what Beaconsfield, Salisbury, Balfour, and Bannerman have openly expressed themselves in favour of, and what, after all, eight members of the present Cabinet have voted for!

Have you ever once thought of what this means to women of such brain power, organism and culture?

To spend six months in one year among the sad products of economic chaos, and *know* that these poor submerged women are there partly through an economic system forced upon them by the greed of their employers, the apathy of legislators, and the injustice of administrators.

It would redound a good deal more to your credit to come and see for yourself what these women are fighting for, than to write of them in the manner that the Scribes wrote of Christ.

Come down, any day, and stand outside St. Luke's Church and look up Whitecross Street at 4 o'clock, and then pass on to the Golden Lane County Council Schools and watch the chance that MOTHERHOOD has in the awful world that men have made for it. Then think of the latest murder. A young thing of eighteen done to death in the pursuit of her ghostly trade—a trade forced on her in order, as she said, that she might be "decently dressed"—sweated blouse making, yielding hardly enough for food!

Think of the same sort of murder last year at Camden Town, another poor daughter of the night most foully killed—her double destroyer still at large, and then reflect that the majority of the murdered in this country (where force rules) are women, and the majority of those women victims of this awful traffic.

Think of our Streets and Parks at night, and of our soldiers "defenders of the Country," and then reflect that the only solution that man has yet offered is the "State REGULATION of Vice"! It is bad enough to hear young inexperienced men admit the justice of these things, it is revolting coming from older ones who should *help* women to make a cleaner world; men who should train their sons and respect good women and pity the weak ones.

It will be interesting to see how long it will be before a certain type of mind will not only take woman seriously, but will learn to look upon her as a human being. You would do well to join the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Yours truly,

MAUD ARNOLIFFE-SENNETT,
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