

# Women's Franchise.

No. 17.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1907.

PRICE  
ONE PENNY.

## Contents.

	PAGE
NOTES .. .. .	185
THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS .. .. .	186
WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL .. .. .	186
ELEMENTS IN OPPOSITION .. .. .	186
CORRESPONDENCE .. .. .	187
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES (Current Topics; Branch Societies; Women's Suffrage; Women and Taxation in 43 B.C.; Programme of Forthcoming Events) .. .. .	188-190
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION (Notes; Political Uriah Heeps; Scottish Notes; A Wolverhampton Meeting; A Catechism; Battersea Branch; Literature; Programme of Forthcoming Events) .. .. .	191-193
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE (Notes and Comments; The Verdict of History; Mr. Legality and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman) .. .. .	194-195

## Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

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

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

## Notes.

It is satisfactory to see how many women are already taking advantage of the new Act which permits them to be elected and to act as councillors and aldermen of County and Borough Councils and Metropolitan and Borough Councils. Among them are many prominent Suffragists, including Miss Dove, the Head Mistress of Wycombe Abbey School, who has already issued her address as candidate to the Town Council of High Wycombe, and Mrs. Charles Richardson, who is standing for election to the Hull City Council. Mrs. Lamb, wife of Colonel Lamb, known in connection with the Salvation Army Emigrant Scheme, and Mrs. Bessie Seel, both of whom are Guardians for the Rochford Union, are candidates for seats on the Southend Town Council. The names of other ladies who are coming forward as candidates at the municipal elections have already been mentioned in our columns. We are glad to learn that several Suffrage societies are specially devoting their energies to interesting municipal voters in women's questions, in view of the approaching elections.

It is encouraging to learn from America that *Harper's Weekly* considers the opinion is gaining ground in the United Kingdom that the Parliamentary Franchise will be granted to women *within a few years*.

The statistics which have just been published regarding the last General Election returns in New Zealand show that the women of that country realize their duties as citizens quite as much, if not more than do the men. Of 263,579 registered men voters 221,611 went to the poll, and out of 212,875 qualified women 175,046 recorded their votes. In fourteen constituencies the women's vote outnumbered that of the men.

The above facts do not seem to bear out the statement, so often made by our opponents, that the women of New Zealand are indifferent to politics and do not trouble to vote.

Speaking some time ago on the success of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, the Hon. W. Pember Reeves remarked that "what has been most striking and noteworthy of all has been the cool, rational good sense with which woman has applied herself in our part of the world to discharging her duties as citizen."

The lady known as "Emilia Pardo Bazan," whose powerful book 'The Son of the Bondwoman' has just been translated into English, is considered one of the leading writers of Spain. She has been President of the Literature Section of the Athenæum of Madrid, and she took her place as orator at the university fête held in honour of the tercentenary of Cervantes, when her speech received as much applause as those of her masculine colleagues. 'The Son of the Bondwoman' reveals the degraded position of the Spanish wife under the law of the land, and her entire subjection to her husband. It also gives an interesting picture of the lives of the Spanish nobility in their remote country homes, and shows the helplessness of the people under their rule. The book should be read by all interested in the splendid efforts now being made by a devoted band of brilliant Spanish women to improve their position.

The number of deserted children in England is becoming a very serious question, and one which ought to be brought forward and faced. The Rev. Father Higley stated the other day that illegitimate and deserted children have cost the Stepney Union the large sum of 6,500*l.*, which taken as an average would mean 180,000*l.* for thirty unions in London of equal size. Some remarkable figures were given last August at Brentford, when a young domestic servant, aged twenty, was prosecuted for deserting her child and leaving it chargeable to the funds of the Union. The father, who was supposed to be keeping the child, was in prison for twelve months. This unfortunate girl had agreed to pay 5*s.* a week for her baby's maintenance, but after depositing 15*s.* she had disappeared, and if she had not been arrested the child would have cost the ratepayers 332*l.* until it was old enough to earn its own living. It was remarked that many children had cost this amount, and that four London parishes contained between them 1,500 fatherless children.

A brilliant idea has struck the members of the Society of American Women in London, of founding scholarships for American women at English Universities, in order to help to make up to them for their lack of sharing in the benefits of the Cecil Rhodes Scholarships. There was much good speaking on the subject at their luncheon at the Hotel Cecil on Monday, by the members of the American Committee who are to select the scholars, and by sympathizers here. Sir Norman Lockyer explained that his own schemes of international scholarships worked for the benefit of women as well as men. Mr. Stead pointed out that the reason that determined Mr. Rhodes to leave all his money to men-students was that he openly declared that *women did not count* as political forces or empire-builders. This exclusion was another argument for the granting of votes to women, and he thought that this scheme of the American women in London would tend to the broadening of political insight into the reasons for international concord.



### The Suffrage in Other Lands.

**THE NETHERLANDS.**—The scheme for the revised constitution has now been drafted by the Cabinet, commented by the State Council, and presented to the States General. As was foreshadowed some time ago, the women's demands have been favourably considered; and the new constitution, if adopted as drafted, will not only give them the vote but also the right to be elected to Parliament. It is too soon to say what are the prospects of finally passing these proposals, but the fact that they should have been drafted by the Cabinet and submitted to the States General shows that in Holland at any rate the question is regarded as a serious one, which in view of the changed conditions of modern life can no longer be simply ignored. Just now the most hopeful news that reaches us comes from Holland and Sweden; and we who watch the International Movement with sympathetic interest are wondering in which of the two the women will be "in" first. Only a few years ago it would have seemed incredible that the women of England who had worked so hard as pioneers of this cause would be so far behind on the road to victory.

In **ICELAND** the women are busy petitioning for the Suffrage, and seem hopeful of success. Here we meet again on a small scale the rivalry between Adult and Women's Suffrage. A Bill introducing Manhood Suffrage has been introduced into the Althing. The Opposition propose to tack Women's Suffrage on this. Of course this will not pass. But in the near future it is hoped the women will have a Bill to themselves, and carry their point. Meantime certain changes in the Municipal Franchise are likely considerably to increase the number of women voters. At present all independent women have this Franchise and are eligible to sit on the Councils, but there are few who pay taxes high enough to qualify them. This Bill would enfranchise all taxpayers, however little they pay, and would include all married women and all who contribute to the relief of the poor.

**GERMANY.**—The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, commenting on the Suffrage Conference and the meetings of the Progressive Women's Associations recently held in that town, says: "The Women's Movement, no matter from what particular point of view we may personally consider it, is one that can no longer be ignored. We are forced to make up our minds about it, if only because of the increasing intrusion of women into professions that were hitherto considered as exclusively man's domain." In the writer's view the Movement is still in a state of ferment, and must pass through many stages before it reaches the final one. "Everything is still in the making. But we must beware of regarding this movement as a *quantité négligeable*, or a passing craze. Rather has it become a serious and powerful factor of modern civilization."

*Jus Suffragii*, the organ of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (Editor, Martina G. Kramers, 92 Kruikskade, Rotterdam), is publishing the qualifications required of voters in all the different countries. A study of these curiously different conditions gives a clearer view of the task that awaits our sisters in other lands.

The Conference will be dealt with in detail in the next number of *Women's Franchise*. A. ZIMMERN.

### Women's Industrial Council.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

A CONFERENCE was held in the Guildhall on the 15th inst. by the Women's Industrial Council to consider the question of the "unemployment of women dependent upon their own earnings." It was a thoroughly representative gathering, and included delegates from suffrage societies, women's trades unions, co-operative societies, boards of guardians, borough councils, and political associations. The Council was opened in state by the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Sheriffs and attended by the officers of the city.

Mrs. Cadbury, in her presidential address, pointed out that as long as women had no parliamentary votes, and therefore no

voice in the councils of the nation, the terrible industrial evils from which they suffered could not be remedied. Women were now driven by stress of circumstances to work in every available market. About three and a half million single, and one million married, women were included among the wage earners of the country. It had been often said that large numbers of women worked in the factories in preference to home occupations, but investigations recently made in Birmingham proved that not one per cent. of women worked in factories "for pleasure," they were driven to it out of sheer necessity. Mrs. Cadbury pointed out that when women lost their work they were in a worse plight than men, for they had no large organizations to help them in times of distress. It would be better for men as well as for women when the latter's position in the industrial world was frankly recognized and their work paid according to value and not according to sex.

Many interesting speeches were delivered by delegates. Miss Willson, of the Leicester Boot and Shoe Trade Union, spoke of conditions under which women and girls laboured in the shoe factories. Other speakers included Miss Margaret Smith, of the Birmingham Women's Labour League, and Miss Irwin, of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. Many remedies for the present evils were suggested. They included the training of girls in skilled arts, the establishment of municipal dairies and laundries, the formation of women's trade unions and the abolition of child labour.

Mrs. Cleighton presided at the afternoon session, when addresses were delivered by Mrs. Crawford on 'Poor Law,' Miss Adler on 'The Necessity for the Limitation of Child Labour,' and Mrs. J. R. Macdonald on 'The Legal Prohibition of Overtime.' The working of the labour bureaux of Germany was explained in an interesting speech by Fräulein Alice Salomon from Berlin.

### Elements in Opposition.

MEN and women are very apt to form a vague estimate of political reforms from an equally vague impression of the stalwarts that advocate them, or of the general characteristics of the class in the community such reforms affect. There is no direct or essential association between a man's political convictions and his conduct in daily life. Yet, strange to say, though politics do not operate on a high ethical plane, we do, somehow, look for a higher code of morality in folk who differ from us in questions relative to the corporate system.

Women's enfranchisement is particularly the subject of irrational methods of criticism. When every allowance is made for the unsatisfactory instruction provided in the people's elementary schools, which has not taught us to think, it is astonishing to hear the type of objections that come from all quarters of the crowd during the progress of a Suffrage meeting.

Whatever may be the merits of qualifications for electors, such as a certain standard of morals, an educational test, or a certificate of sanity, they have not been insisted on in the case of the male voter. In respect to the ballot-box, as far as men are concerned to-day, an uncertain amount of deficiencies are covered by a certain amount of property, which would be regarded as serious defects in the restricted circles of society, but which are not considered as obstacles when the weighty problems of the State have to be decided. Indeed, any attempt to impose ethical or educational conditions on the present electorate would meet with a storm of protest; how difficult it would be to fulfil such obligations we can easily imagine, since few are educated and none are righteous. What an outcry would be raised if every man now on the register were called upon to pass, to the satisfaction of the Civil Service Commissioners, an examination in the pros and cons of Tariff Reform—a subject on which the man in the street is a reputed authority—to qualify to remain on the citizens' roll! What percentage of men could pass successfully or with honours? Yet thousands of men, themselves amongst the least competent to discuss national questions, indignantly deny a woman's fitness to exercise the franchise, because her sex, they assume, are totally ignorant of the Tariff controversy and other matters which from time to time occupy the attention of the constituents.

### Correspondence.

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

#### The Cruelty of Women to Women.

SIR,—I was very much grieved to see a short time ago an article with this heading in a daily paper. Under this title a speech on the "victims of sweating" was reported, in which the speaker said "that it was the women managers and forewomen who assessed prices and cut down the remuneration of the poor sweated woman workers. The men did not face it." In these cases I cannot think that the women managers and forewomen are so much to blame. I do not imagine they treat their fellow-women with deliberate cruelty of their own choice. Probably they are obliged to obey their employers or lose their own situations.

I have often thought myself that women are divided (roughly speaking) into two classes, those who seem to dislike and despise their own sex, and those who have a juster and more generous feeling towards their fellow-women. The first named is, I fear, a very large class, and consists of those women who join with men in belittling and deriding women, who call members of their own sex "cats" and "hens," who put men's political parties before the enfranchisement of their own sex.

These women are the trouble and despair of all who are working for the uplifting of the sex. They seem to care little for anything except the approbation of the other sex and their own pleasures, and it is, I think, these women who are mainly responsible for the unkindness of women to women. But there are others who have very different views of their own sex; they see their faults and limitations, but they see also the latent possibilities in the woman's mind and heart, and they are working to improve and uplift the character and the position of woman. It is from this class that come the great army of the women philanthropists, educationalists, and reformers. These are the women who are striving for the emancipation of their sex, for the raising of the fallen, for justice to the poor; who are nursing the sick, comforting the sorrowing, caring for the children, serving on boards of guardians, &c. When this class has assimilated the other there will be little fear of such a reproach to our sex's good name as "the cruelty of women to women." Yours truly, A. M. S.

#### 'Woman's Suffrage.'

MADAM,—Allow me to thank you for your criticism of my pamphlet (which Messrs. Jack have issued as one of their "Social Problems" series, at the price of one shilling), and to say that it can be obtained at all bookstalls and at most booksellers'. Unfortunately it was already in type when recent developments in connexion with the movement occurred. These will be duly noted should another edition be required. My object was to provide a concise and popular statement of the case for the enfranchisement of women, such as not merely the humbler classes would be able to understand, but also such as business men, clerks, and others, who have only limited opportunities for studying the question, might be able to assimilate.

I have already received several exceedingly encouraging letters from men who have casually picked up the pamphlet at a railway station, and been sufficiently impressed by it to express their satisfaction at the line of argument adopted. I shall be very grateful to any ladies who will furnish me with criticisms and suggestions, in order that I may make desirable improvements in the next edition. With regard to the reduction of the price from one shilling to sixpence, this, no doubt, may be possible in a subsequent edition, and I fully realize the importance of as low a price as possible for a popular treatise of the sort. I am very much obliged to you for the hints contained in your admirable review of the book, and also for your kindness in recommending that it should be widely circulated.

Believe me, Madam,

Your obedient servant,  
ARNOLD H. MATHEW, Author of 'Woman Suffrage.'

There are some individuals whose minds at once turn to the women that frequent our public thoroughfares when the Suffrage is under consideration. "What!" shouted a man one evening, "would you give the forty thousand prostitutes on the streets of London a vote?" One could only retort that "the over forty thousand men who kept them there probably had a vote." It is quite certain that the owners of property used for immoral purposes, who must know the houses on their estates as so used, and derive high rents in consequence, have votes, whereas if women were granted the franchise to-morrow, with or without a residential qualification, the unfortunates of the city would never come forward to claim the rights of citizenship.

But no man would refrain from recording his vote for shame's sake, especially when his interests were at stake. Many questions put at public meetings held to advance the cause of women's political freedom have some connexion with marriage and the home, and we may be sure the interrogator has either his wife or his mother at the back of his head—not always his mother-in-law.

If a woman is a careless mother, a faulty cook, a nag, or a drunkard, no further argument would convince the victim that a woman could be otherwise than a biassed, prejudiced, hysterical politician.

We have yet to learn that a Parliamentary elector is asked to show himself skilled at his trade or profession, in which he will be a specialist and have served a period of apprenticeship, before he is placed on the register. There have been elections at which the enlightened voters have all but rolled into the polling booth. If all this is outside the sphere of man's politics, why not regard it as outside a woman's also?

Of course, when women do get the franchise, and a large direct representation on municipal councils, and a considerable increase in the number of female school inspectors, our girls will receive proper instruction in such subjects as will enable them to play their part in life better to the benefit of all. Women cannot be expected to acquire the art of nursing, cooking, mending, and training the children, &c., between the intervals of occupation at the factory, or when the half-day's washing or charing is over.

After all, many of the cares and worries of the home arise out of the economic structure of society. To blame a wife because she is unable to make ends meet on a miserable and irregular pittance, to look for a cheerful disposition and smiling countenance under circumstances of dire poverty, is ridiculous. More men than women are driven to the public-house under these conditions.

Men and women have to learn that many of the evils which press so heavily on the domestic hearth can only be remedied by immediate and drastic legislation. When a woman possesses the vote she will commence to recognize that, and use her vote towards that end. She knows already that the low wages and irregular employment which falls to her husband's lot are not necessarily due to his own fault, and that the rise in the price of bread and coals are not due to sun-spots. Of course, till the franchise is granted, it cannot be said what women will actually vote for, and it is unfair and absurd to ask them to declare themselves on that matter. The man who asks a question like that wants to feel that a woman will vote on his side before he will promise his support in the agitation.

There is no doubt that a large amount of opposition comes from men because of their limited acquaintance with women; they are forming their judgment of a woman's capacity for civic duties on the basis of an association with the few women that form the narrow circle of their relatives and friends. The sex relationship is more or less personal to them. If the characteristics are marked in any way, if family differences have arisen caused by the women members to the disadvantage of the males, it all creates a bias which tells against the movement. Men have not been taught to think of women in relation to politics; politically women do not exist. And what prominent women have done to influence the world's history in small and great issues has not been brought home to them to any appreciable extent. The campaign in the highways and byways is accomplishing much to break down the objections, all and sundry, and therefore creating what is the most valuable constituent of national life—public opinion—in favour of the reform. SILAS WHYBREW.



## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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

The Union is a Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
Hon. Secretaries: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. MISS FRANCES STERLING.  
Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.  
Parliamentary and Organising Secretary: MISS EDITH PALLISER.  
Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.

OFFICES: 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

The Union will send Organising Agents, Speakers, or Literature to any place requiring them, its desire being to form a Women's Suffrage Society in every County and Borough. All persons interested in the movement, or desiring information about it, are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. Increased Funds are needed for the growing work of the Union, and Subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

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

MISS EDITH DIMOCK  
MISS I. O. FORD  
MISS ISABEL MARRIS  
MRS. PECHEY PHIPSON, M.D.

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

LADY STRACHEY  
And the Hon. Officers,  
ex officio.

### Current Topics.

The Executive Committee of the Central Society will be "At Home" to members and friends on the afternoon of Thursday the 24th inst., from 4 P.M. to 6.30 P.M., at 25, Victoria Street, S.W. (Entrance from Orchard Street). Tea sixpence each.

The annual Council Meeting of the National Union will be held at the Midland Hotel, Manchester, on Friday, 25th inst., at 10.30 A.M., at which the annual report and balance sheet for the year ending September 30, 1907, will be presented. The Report, which is interesting reading, gives a record of work for the past nine months (since January), and a concise account of the past history and new constitution of the Union, which will be useful to members who may desire to know something of the present position and methods of work.

In the evening a great Woman's Suffrage Demonstration is to take place at 7.30 p.m., in the historic Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Miss M. Ashton, President of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, will be in the chair, and amongst others Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., and Rev. Canon Hicks have promised to speak. A large attendance is hoped for.

### Branch Societies.

**CAMBRIDGE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—On Saturday, 5th October, a full meeting for the discussion of Women's Suffrage was held by the students of the Cambridge Training College for Women Teachers. An address was given by the Secretary of the Cambridge Women's Suffrage Association. In the discussion which followed the justice and wisdom of women's claim to enfranchisement was generally acknowledged, the only quasi-objection made being, that as the vote (so it was maintained) was of very little value to the mass of men under the present constitution of society, it would be of still less value to women, and that therefore it was not worth while for them to make great efforts to obtain it. To this the reply was, that however imperfect the working of our system of representative government, it was the only system we had, or were likely to have, and that therefore we should make the best of it; whereas, to exclude women from representation was to make the worst—was, in fact, to confirm and aggravate the very defects of which chief complaint was made.

It was further argued that even if women would be unable by means of the vote to bring about many of the legislative changes they desire, there was at least one great and desirable change which their enfranchisement would effect, namely, the raising of their general status, the elevation of their mind and character, and the increase of their social usefulness.

M. WARD, Hon. Sec.

**CENTRAL SOCIETY: NORTH KENSINGTON.**—The last of our open-air meetings was held on Tuesday, October 8th. Our best thanks are due to Miss Conolan and Miss Turquand, Mr. Joseph Clayton and Mr. Adrian Corbett for their presence and help. We may congratulate ourselves that even on a cold night in October a certain number of people were found willing to stand and listen for a couple of hours to arguments in favour of Women's Suffrage.

We have had five open-air meetings since June. We have discovered how to run these for 15s. each; and except on this last occasion we have had audiences of from 200 to 300 people. Last winter an attempt to organize meetings in small halls at a similar cost in the same part of our constituency brought us on no evening a larger audience than twenty. Our experience in open-air work in a very poor neighbourhood would therefore lead us warmly to advocate the advantages of this method to all organizers and local hon. secretaries of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies preaching the Suffrage in working-class districts.

The North Kensington and Paddington Committees announce a meeting at the Queen's Road Baths, Paddington, on Thursday evening, December 5th, at 8.15 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. (in the chair), Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P., Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., and Mr. Granville Barker. Miss J. G. Wright, 10, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, will warmly welcome all who come to buy the 2s. 6d. or 1s. tickets, which will be issued after November 10th.

J. G. WRIGHT, Hon. Sec.

**HUDDERSFIELD.**—A meeting of this branch was held on Wednesday, October 16th, to hear a paper by Miss Kiltum, of Croft House, Meltham, on 'Another Call to Women.' The paper was an exceedingly able and thoughtful one, dealing with the position of women in factories and workrooms. At the close a vote of thanks was proposed by Mrs. Ellis and seconded by Councillor Eastwood, who said that he had never heard the case put more forcibly and earnestly, and that he had always been in favour of granting the Suffrage to women. Mrs. Studdard supported the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

**WOLVERHAMPTON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held by the courtesy of Mrs. B. Jones, of The Highfields, on Tuesday afternoon, October 15th, when Mrs. Osler, of Birmingham, gave an illuminating and eloquent address on the 'Reasons for the Present Agitation for Women's Suffrage,' enumerating the many conditions that now make it imperative that elective qualifications should be granted to women for Parliamentary, as for municipal purposes. Among these were the efforts now being made to deprive women of the opportunity of entering certain occupations—not because of unfitness, but because men wish to keep them out for selfish reasons, and that five and a half millions of women workers only earn a little more than half the wages received by men. The wages paid to women have declined in the last ten years from 10 to 50 per cent. The sweating system in relation to women workers was also noticed; and the case of a blouse-maker earning 1s. per dozen for blouses sold at 5s. each roused the indignation of the ladies present. Votes of thanks were heartily given to Mrs. Osler, Mrs. B. Jones, and Mrs. Taylor, who presided.

**IPSWICH.**—A meeting of municipal women voters was held at the St. Lawrence Hall, Ipswich, on Wednesday, October 16th, under the auspices of the Ipswich and County Branch of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage. There was a good attendance presided over by Mrs. W. T. Griffiths.

In the course of an excellent speech Mrs. Griffiths remarked that although their society was non-political and non-sectarian they did not ignore the value of party or of religion. Women had enjoyed a vote in municipal elections for twenty years, but she was aware that there were many who cared little or nothing about it. They wanted to arouse them from their apathy by organizing meetings such as the present one. Touching upon another matter, the Chairman pointed out that though they were all subjects, they were not all citizens; a subject was governed, but a citizen governed, and the woman who exercised her municipal vote helped to govern. If women were elected to the borough and county councils, they could carry out their ideas of economy. There was one thing that women objected to—it was to be co-opted on these bodies. She hoped that next year four women would be elected on the local council. (Hear, hear.) There were 2,500 women voters in Ipswich, and was it not right that they should have a woman representing them on the Town Council? All who had not awakened to their responsibility were invited to realize this, and contribute to the welfare of the community in which they lived. (Applause.)

Mrs. Martell, the next speaker, who prided herself upon the fact that she was the possessor of a vote in Australia, said men told them that women if they received the vote would regard it in the same way as men; they would be apathetic, careless, and indifferent. She denied that that would be the case; it was not so in Australia, where they set to work remedying those things men had overlooked. They admitted that home was woman's sphere, but home was as much the sphere of men as women. (Hear, hear.) In Australia they had looked after the preservation of their girls' honour by Act of Parliament. Mrs. Martell then referred to what had been done in the direction of decreasing the deaths of illegitimate children. Under Australian laws, a woman who was not married could give the name of the father to her child, and compel him to give her 10% to carry her over her trouble. Thousands of women in this country, she lamented, had to sell their souls for bread, and it was owing to conditions that were not of women's making. Women could remedy this state of things through their votes, by putting a stop to sweated workers. They had nothing of the kind in Australia now.

Miss Edith Palliser remarked that she would deal at the outset with one phase of the question of suffrage, and that was the need of the franchise for women. She had no hesitation in saying that the man who did not trouble to exercise his vote was not a true citizen. She was quite aware that women had got to face a great deal of discouragement. One continually heard the question, "What do women want with votes?" Those who were under the false impression that it was unwomanly to take an active interest in politics and the affairs of the nation generally, should read the great work which had just been published, 'The Letters of Queen Victoria.' (Applause.) An argument which was often advanced by the men was that, if women entered into public life, the men would lose their sense of chivalry. There were four million women earning their own living, and it was their duty to help them to help themselves, and time had shown that it was only to be done by securing a Parliamentary vote.

Miss Andrews, secretary of the Ipswich Women's Suffrage Society, and Miss Kennett, president of the Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society, also spoke.

The following resolution, proposed by Miss Edith Palliser, and seconded by Mrs. Martell, was carried unanimously: "We women voters of Ipswich, in meeting assembled, do hereby pledge ourselves to use our own municipal vote, and to do all in our power to urge suitable women candidates to stand for election on the Town Council. We also acknowledge that it is by the exercise of the local franchise that we can best prove our fitness for the Parliamentary franchise."

**WANDSWORTH.**—On Tuesday evening, October 15th, the Committee of the Wandsworth W.S. Society were "At Home" to their members and friends in the Wandsworth Town Hall,

High Street. The reception commenced at 7.45 P.M., and lasted about half an hour, during which time tea and coffee were served. After a short time spent in pleasant conversation and music the chair was taken by Miss Emily Hill, who in a few well-chosen words introduced the speakers, the Hon. Mrs. Russell and Miss F. Hardcastle, the latter, at short notice having taken the place of Miss Sterling, who was prevented by a severe cold from being present. The speeches were plain statements of what are now undisputed facts, and the ladies put their points well, and were listened to with earnest attention. The promoters of this bright little gathering may feel rewarded for their efforts, the excellent way in which the gentlemen had responded to the invitation to be present being particularly noteworthy.

The Committee announced further meetings for November and December.

**MARYLEBONE.**—Under the auspices of the Central Society Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., gave an "At Home" at Harley Street, at which the Hon. Mrs. B. Russell spoke. It was a crowded and very successful meeting.

**REIGATE.**—Our Reigate friends have been very active. On Friday, the 18th, there was an "At Home," at which Miss Sterling and Mr. Mitchell spoke, and on Saturday an open-air meeting was held, Mrs. Stanbury being the principal speaker.

### Women's Suffrage.

IMPORTANT CONFERENCE AT NOTTINGHAM.

DELEGATES from all parts of the country, but principally from the Midlands, attended a Conference held under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Federation on Wednesday, October 16th, at the Castle Gate Lecture Hall, Nottingham, to discuss the question of Women's Suffrage. Mrs. J. H. Yoxall, wife of the popular member for West Nottingham, welcomed the delegates, who numbered about 200, and in her opening remarks gave a dignified tone to the proceedings.

Mr. W. H. Dickinson's Women's Enfranchisement Bill was given the first place on the agenda, the discussion on which was opened by Mrs. Martin (Bristol), who spoke of the Bill as an instalment only, but welcomed it. The discussion centred chiefly on the third clause of the Bill, several speakers declaring themselves opposed to the principle of joint votes. Still it was recognized that Mr. Dickinson and other friends were fighting the women's battle, and should therefore be supported.

The principal question for discussion in the afternoon was 'How Best to Obtain Women's Suffrage?'—and though the speeches were moderate in tone, there was a plainly perceptible feeling of impatience that more had not been done for the cause by the Liberals. The subject was introduced by Mrs. Gardner (Hull), who remarked that it seemed incredible that, with a federation of 80,000 women, all convinced of the justice of the extension of the franchise to duly qualified women, they were still, with a Liberal Government in power, unable to obtain their very modest demand. The discussion turned mainly on the question of "Suffrage before Liberalism"—and the imposition of tests upon candidates, in the course of which several able speeches were made. At the close, Mrs. Martin (Bristol) moved the following resolution: "That this meeting of delegates of Women's Liberal Associations urges upon the Government to bring in a Bill dealing with the Parliamentary Enfranchisement of Women during the present Parliament, believing the time to be fully ripe for this democratic reform."

She said she was hopeful that the Liberal party would grant the franchise to women before very long. At all events, if that party did not give them the vote she was satisfied no other would. (Hear, hear.) Holding those views, therefore, she maintained it would be suicidal on her part to turn round and say to the Liberal candidate, "I shall not work for you if you are not on my side." They had educated the members of the House it was now the turn of the members to educate the Government.

The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Yoxall.

Mrs. O. Thomas moved to add as a rider to the resolution the words: "That Members of Women's Liberal Associations pledge themselves not to work at by-elections until the Govern-



ment brings in a Bill granting the Parliamentary Franchise to women." This was seconded by Mrs. Richmond, but the rider was lost by a large majority, and copies of the resolution were ordered to be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the local members of Parliament.

Miss Balmagne having given an interesting address on 'Women's Franchise in Other Lands,' containing details of her travels on the Continent and at the antipodes, with special reference to the Finnish Parliament, the proceedings closed with a cordial vote of thanks, proposed by Lady Bamford Slack, to the Nottingham Association for the work done in connexion with the Conference.

\*\*\* We regret that, owing to want of space, the report of the public evening meeting must be held over till the next issue, when it will appear in the opening pages of the paper.

### Women and Taxation in 43 B.C.

WE who are concerned in the women's movement so often look vainly to the past for the record of any event at all resembling the struggles in which we are now engaged, that it may be worth while to recall an incident in the history of Rome which is curiously modern in its character and strangely anticipatory of recent refusals to pay taxes on the part of those whose citizenship is unrecognized.

At the end of the year 43 B.C., when the three partners in the Triumvirate, Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus, had Rome at their mercy, their chief preoccupation was to destroy their adversaries of the republican party, and, by confiscating the property of the "proscribed," to procure sufficient money. Money was wanted for bounties to their soldiers, and for the expenses of the coming campaign against Brutus and Cassius. Various causes—the sudden glut in the estate-market, the reluctance of many to confess by bidding at auctions that they had ready money in hand, and so forth—kept down the prices fetched. The amount produced by the sales was far below their expectation. What happened after this may be given in the words of Appian ('Civil Wars,' iv. 32-34, translated by H. White):—

"The triumvirs... published an edict requiring 1,400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the female relatives of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the Forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, they spoke as follows, according to previous arrangement: 'As is befitting women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to your female relatives. Having suffered unseemly treatment on the part of Fulvia, we have been compelled by her to visit the Forum. You have deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you. If you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. If we women have not voted you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours, why do you visit upon us the same punishment as upon the guilty, whose offences we have not shared?'

"Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers once for all rose superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they

contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. Who now causes you alarm for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other. We did not contribute to Cæsar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the State, do so; whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth."

Hortensia was a fine speaker and the daughter of a well-known orator. But the Roman ministers had no wish to hear women plead their cause at "the Bar of the House," still less to hear it pleaded with arguments so difficult to answer. So we read:—

"When Hortensia had thus spoken the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and not furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter."

And, when the next day came, it appeared that the triumvirs found it wise to decree that instead of 1,400 women being compelled to make a return of their property for taxation purposes, only 400 should do so. It is not difficult to see the moral of the story. If the agitation of a few women to be treated with equity obtained public support and elicited important concessions from the Government nearly two thousand years ago, what may not be effected by the association of women workers of all classes fighting for a just cause in the present day? H.

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. October and November Meetings.

DATE	EVENT	LOCATION	TIME
OCTOBER			
25th	Annual Meeting in Christian Institute, Glasgow	Mr. Andrew Ballantyne in Chair	7.30
27th	Debate at the Reform Club with Young British Liberals, Birmingham	Proposers: Mrs. Osler Miss I. Marris	7.45
28th	Newbury Queen's Square Club	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	8
29th	Tickets to be applied for before 6 P.M. on night of lecture. Wantage Town Hall	Mrs. Philip Snowden Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	8
NOVEMBER			
4th	Huddersfield	Miss Kate Kiltum	8
6th	Sellyoak Progressive Association	Miss G. E. Southall	8
7th	Woburn Sands	Miss Sterling	8
8th	Southampton	Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell	8
19th	Southampton	Mrs. Philip Snowden	8
21st	Huddersfield	Miss M. Corbett Miss M. Ashton	8
24th	Church of the Saviour Men's Sunday Class, Birmingham	Miss E. M. Gardner	A.M. 10
25th	Severn Street Women's Meeting, Birmingham	Mrs. Reid	P.M. 3
	Hatcham Liberal Club, Portland House, New Cross Road	Miss M. Corbett	8.15

FRIDAY, October 25th ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, 10.30 A.M. Midland Hotel, Manchester  
DEMONSTRATION in Free Trade Hall, Manchester. 7.30 P.M. Miss Margaret Ashton in the Chair.

#### SPEAKERS:

Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D. Rev. Canon Hicks, M.A.  
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Prof. S. J. Chapman  
Mrs. Philip Snowden Miss Elizabeth Robins  
Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. and others.  
Tickets may be obtained from the Secretary of the North of England Women's Suffrage Society (Office 9); 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester. Hours, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.

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

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Women's Social and Political Union.

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

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

MRS. COATES HANSEN  
MISS HODGSON  
MISS IRENE MILLER  
MISS FITZHERBERT

Hon. Organising Secretary: MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG.

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

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.

MRS. SANDERSON  
MRS. BELL  
MRS. HOLMES  
MISS MANSELL

### Notes.

THE Committee has been fortunate in securing as offices a very convenient suite of rooms on the first floor at 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, within two minutes' walk of Charing Cross Station. Our warmest thanks are due to Mrs. Herringham, whose generosity has made it possible for us to take advantage of such a suitable and central position. The necessary preliminary arrangements are being made as rapidly as possible, and we are happy to be able to announce that the formal opening will take place on Friday, November 1st. Special donations for immediate expenses of equipment and furniture will be welcome. It is not necessary that this should all be new, and we shall be glad to hear from any one who may have either tables, chairs, desks, screens, cupboards (the latter urgently required) that they would be willing to give if suitable. A table, a small oak desk, and six chairs have already been promised.

Our immediate future work is to strengthen ourselves in all possible ways, such as by consolidating our branches, by enrolling new members, by devising schemes of work, by developing a large band of speakers. We demand, and are prepared to fight for, the recognition of the rights of women to full citizenship. We realise that no small group of women will ever succeed in enforcing this demand; that, with individual devotion we must have such an organization as will draw all militant Suffragists within our ranks. It must be remembered that political as well as theoretical education is necessary for all ranks if they wish not only to achieve their aim, but also worthily to perform their citizen duties. While, therefore, we should lose no opportunity of open demonstration and protest, we should within our Union train ourselves in those business qualities that will make us united, strong, and effective.

Minorities in branches should lose no time in forming themselves into branches, and we are glad to be able to report that this is being done in several places with much enthusiasm.

It is obvious that, without a certain assured income we cannot carry on this great work. The Provisional Committee of the Union was not empowered to ask for funds, and their work did not necessitate a very large expenditure of money. The newly elected Committee, however, have a very different function to fulfil, necessitating the spending of large sums of money if the work is to be done efficiently. As far as finances are concerned we are making a new beginning, and wish all our members and sympathisers to realize that nothing can tie our hands so effectually as poverty. We do not ask for any definite amount, we call upon our individual members to help as they can. This must be a members' movement, and we therefore earnestly appeal to every member of the Union who wishes to see it established on a solid foundation to subscribe what she can to maintain its independence. A splendid beginning has been made at Hackney, the members of which branch have promised to give £53 to the central fund of the Union during the year, and have hopes of increasing that amount. Other branches may be able to follow this example. Guarantee Fund and ordinary collecting cards will shortly be ready, and may be obtained from the offices.

#### Finance.

THE Liberal women, undeterred by snubs, slights, and neglect, continue in their self-appointed position of humble handmaidens to the great Liberal Government. At the Nottingham Conference on the 16th Mrs. Yoxall pleaded for loyalty to the Liberal Members of Parliament who supported Women's Suffrage. Is it not time that women should realize that there is no virtue in loyalty to private members who have proved themselves frequently to be insincere, and invariably to be powerless in this matter of women's enfranchisement? The process of eating humble pie is lauded as a virtue among the ranks of the Liberal women, to the exclusion, we fear, of the virtue of self respect and of the cultivation of an independent spirit. This need not surprise us. Like Uriah Heep, women have been taught "a deal of 'umbleness." "People like to be above you, keep yourself down... Be 'umble, Uriah, and you'll get on," is advice containing a grain of worldly wisdom. Up to a certain point humility pays. Uriah's father got made sexton by being 'umble.

The Liberal ladies, by many years of patient service have been rewarded by the patronizing assurance that a certain number of Liberal Members are "in favour of Women's Suffrage." The fact that these gentlemen have not apparently the slightest intention of granting the Suffrage to women, or the slightest power (in the case of private members) to do so even if they had the intention—this fact does not discourage the Liberal women from singing their psalms of gratitude and from flinging themselves into their electioneering work with unabated vigour, and with a devotion worthy of a better cause. The spectacle is a pathetic one. On the one hand we see cynical male politicians accepting for their own advancement the service of women as keen and as able as themselves, to whom they fling as reward the worthless scrap contained in the statement of "favouring Women's Suffrage." On the other hand we see the women, ever trusting, ever faithful, humbly serving, eagerly snatching up and devouring the scrap which for them—would that they knew it!—contains no sustenance. Uriah Heep, reminding David of his promise to take tea with him, adds: "But I didn't expect you to keep it, Master Copperfield, we are so very 'umble." The Liberal women, reminding the Liberal men of their promises in the matter of the Suffrage, add, in effect, by their conduct: "But we don't expect you to keep your promises to us, Honourable Gentlemen, we are only women."

But even Heep—that great exponent of the virtue of meekness—finds eventually that "in spite of our knowledge of our own 'umbleness, we must really take care that we are not pushed to the wall by them as isn't 'umble." Here our analogy breaks down. The Liberal ladies have not got as far as this in their study of the Heepian philosophy. Their argument on this point would be that it is very unladylike, unwomanly, and undignified to be pushed to the wall; therefore the only dignified course for women to take is to go voluntarily to the wall without being pushed; and that men, although admittedly untouched to-day by this self-abnegating attitude, will at some future time realize all that the women have done and suffered, and will chivalrously rush forward with both hands extended to remove them from their humiliating position in the background, and to place them on the proud eminence of political equality with man—all of which sounds very pretty and extremely improbable.



We cannot help thinking that, viewed as a political expedient, one kick on the manly shins by one womanly boot (of course, speaking metaphorically) will have more effect on the masculine conscience than all the meekness, dignity, gratitude (for nothing), self-sacrifice, and service of all the Liberal women put together—and that is saying a great deal.

May we remind our Liberal fellow-suffragists once more that Liberalism which excludes women from a share in the Government of their own country is not Liberalism at all; and that every stroke of work done by women for these plausible politicians strengthens that pseudo-Liberalism which is more deadly to progress—because more insidious—than any other form of reaction! The honoured name of Liberal is dragged in the mud by the men who to-day use it as a stepping-stone to place and power; but never so much so as when, under its cover, promises of liberty to women are made which are never intended to be kept.

We appeal to women to keep their Liberalism pure and untainted by this atmosphere of political hypocrisy and party intrigue; we appeal to them to be loyal to their sex; to stand aside and refuse all help to men of all parties until they can do so as honoured and self-respecting citizens.

MAUDE FITZHERBERT.

### Scottish Notes.

THE work of the week has fallen mainly into two departments—those of internal organisation and municipal propaganda. The branches have been considering the delegates' reports of the Conference and preparing for a final decision based upon the fuller knowledge thus obtained. But they have not neglected the opening for propaganda offered by the municipal elections. Information has been collected, the register of women voters has been obtained and divided into streets and districts for canvassing, and in some towns letters have already been sent out to the municipal candidates. It is impossible for small branches to attempt to canvass the whole of the women electors of a large town, and where such branches exist there is some doubt as to which is the best line of conduct to follow. The wisest course, it seems to me, would be to approach all candidates, asking each one to pledge himself to introduce or vote for the resolution petitioning the Government to enfranchise women immediately. All the answers should then be published with an urgent public appeal to the women electors to refrain from supporting the candidates who refuse to give the pledge. If numbers are insufficient to make canvassing against every opponent possible, this house-to-house work could be concentrated in one or two Wards. In the others the candidates' meetings might be visited and heckling utilised to bring pressure to bear and to awaken the women electors of the Ward.

The Scottish Council met on Saturday last and decided to call a special conference of Scottish branches to finally settle the vexed question of internal differences.

Because of local circumstances some branches have not yet made their decision. This delay is wasteful and dangerous. If work is to be carried on throughout the winter with enthusiasm and success it is imperative that a decision shall be arrived at and definite action taken. The work is delayed and impeded by indefiniteness, however well meaning. For these reasons the Council has appealed to the branches to declare themselves finally, has called the Conference for November 2nd, and made arrangements for the representation of both sections, so that matters may be amicably adjusted or concluded.

It is intended to form new Scottish branches wherever a group of more than a dozen women are willing to act. Two or three such groups are already in touch with the Honorary Secretary, and she will be glad to hear from any friend who can help to gather together such a nucleus.

Every one in Scotland is satisfied that the Procession and Demonstrations of early October have done much good. Our first big national effort has not been in any sense a failure. The advance in public opinion and the harvest of fresh converts is already to be seen, though it cannot be fully measured. Some of the workers are now taking a short and well-earned rest. It

must be pleasant for them to recognize that this effort, essentially due to the rank and file, has been productive of so much for the cause. Mrs. Sanderson has given more than satisfaction by her work, as is attested by the resolutions of appreciation sent to her by the Edinburgh Committee and the Scottish Council. Some other workers deserve resolutions too; but in all cases the good done for the cause is the real reward.

One trouble alone faces us. There is a loss in two or three cases on the special trains for the demonstrations. But arrangements are shortly to be made to cover this by such efforts as jumble sales, socials, &c. The work will go on, and the money required will be raised, for our members have courage and ability equal to their belief in the cause.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

### A Wolverhampton Meeting.

WE receive from Mrs. Sproson a few recollections of a remarkable scene which took place at Wolverhampton last April, together with a newspaper article on the same subject written with so much discernment and sympathy as to be fully worth reproducing even so long after date.

Our correspondent writes:—"I was feeling somewhat weak when I turned out to meet my first Wolverhampton audience after having served my second term of imprisonment at Holloway. It was rather the sleepless nights of anxious perplexity as to my children than the hardships of diet and solitude that had run me down. . . . Under these circumstances I prepared to speak in the cause of Suffrage accompanied by Mrs. Baines on April 28. It was a memorable occasion. Every sentence I uttered was met with jeers, insulting epithets, or ironical laughter, but I held on and even managed to smile from time to time, and so the men and youths failed in their object, which I realised from the first was to hinder me from speaking altogether. At the end of the meeting we were followed to the train by a multitude of people and an escort of police."

The uncourteous reception accorded to Mrs. Sproson seems to have completely won over the local press, as the following article entitled, 'Two Women and a Crowd,' abundantly shows:—

"I did not feel particularly proud of my sex when I left the Wolverhampton Market Place last evening. I had a kind of feeling that I wanted to apologise to every woman I met, and especially to the two women who for over an hour had endured taunts, jeers, and insults from youths and men. I refuse to believe that the hostile attitude of the crowd, or rather the male portion of it, was prompted by political antagonism. The women were baited simply because they were women and defenceless. There was no intelligent opposition, no disposition to ask pertinent questions; only a brutal, cowardly inclination to 'maffick' at the expense of two women who had the courage of their convictions.

"After the first few minutes no woman's voice was raised except in sympathy with the speakers. It became a question not of politics nor of tactics, but of sex; and the women instinctively closed their ranks. When men show that they have no respect and no regard for womanhood, the mothers, wives, and sisters of those men must look to each other for protection. Surely the days have gone by when woman is to be regarded as a sort of superior domestic servant. Although some ancients did not recognise the fact, women have souls, and with souls come ideals and ambitions. . . . Several times during the meeting I asked myself what it was the jeering crowd objected to? Imagine a Frenchman being suddenly confronted with the scene. He would naturally ask what the women had done to rouse the anger of the crowd. He would be told that they wanted votes on the same basis as men. He would also be told that the women were permitted to vote for a guardian of the poor or a town councillor, but not for a member of Parliament; and because they dared to be logical and ask for a voice in the country's government, as they had a voice in the town's government, they were subject to insult and outrage. Even the *entente*

*cordiale* would not prevent that Frenchman from expressing his opinions on the quality of English brains and manners. I have said that I did not feel proud of my sex, and that uneasy feeling was not altogether prompted by disgust at the men's methods. What struck me forcibly was the surprising stupidity of the male portion of the crowd. Coarse and brutal jeers, accompanied by asinine laughter, formed the only reply the women could get to their arguments.

"I do not doubt for an instant that in argument either of these women was more than a match for any two of the men who insulted her. The majority of the men and youths were decently dressed and apparently occupied fairly well-to-do positions, but their knowledge was the knowledge of the street corner, and their wit the wit of the music-hall gallery. The most blackguardly conduct came at the end of the meeting, when, as the speakers descended the steps, there was a rush of the crowd to overwhelm them, and the one or two policemen had to fight to prevent the women from being badly mauled. Two or three hundred men against two women! Some of the silent women and girls in the crowd must have realized that their salvation must come from their own sex. I would not have cared so much if the crowd had shown more intelligence. Although I admit the right of women to the vote, I am jealous of the honour and reputation of my sex. I do not care to see men standing like ignorant buffoons before women; I do not care to see women the more intelligent animal. But that is what it is coming to. In physique and mind Englishwomen are making enormous strides, and Englishmen are merely marking time. Girls are now playing boys' games and women are doing men's work. The days of the weak, dependent, servile, ignorant woman are over. There are no Amelias to-day. There has been no change during the last century so remarkable as the change in the condition and position of women in this country. It is useless to shut one's eyes to the fact that woman is destined to play a far more prominent and active part in the affairs of the nation than she has hitherto done; and conduct like that in the Wolverhampton Market Place will hasten rather than retard the complete emancipation of women."

### A Catechism.

Question.—Do you not think it unjust that one-half of a nation should be arbitrarily excluded from the rights of citizenship?

Answer.—I don't.

Q.—Will you give me your reasons for this uncompromising attitude?

A.—Women shouldn't vote.

Q.—Why not?

A.—Because they shouldn't.

Q.—That is not a reason. I want to know the grounds for your statement.

A.—Women are not intelligent enough to vote properly.

Q.—Excuse me—are you?

A.—Of course—I am a man.

Q.—You believe, then, that women, as a whole, are less intelligent than yourself?

A.—I do most firmly believe it.

Q.—You find that belief a soothing one?

A.—The consciousness of superiority is always soothing.

Q.—You do not mean to imply that you have never met, or heard of, women whose intellectual powers are superior to your own?

A.—I may have heard of them, but I take good care never to meet them.

Q.—But even though you, personally, avoid them, you cannot deny that they exist?

A.—They oughtn't to.

Q.—Perhaps not; but, as they do exist, and as you appear to make intelligence the test of citizenship, why should you deny them the vote?

A.—Even intelligent women cannot reason.

Q.—Can you?

(No answer!)

CICELY HAMILTON.

### Battersea Branch.

WE hear from Battersea that Miss FitzHerbert has resigned the secretaryship of that Branch in consequence of the extra work which devolves upon her as member of the National Executive Committee. Mrs. Duval, who has been acting as deputy secretary to the Branch for the last few months, was unanimously elected to fill the vacant post. Mrs. Duval has gained the confidence of the members by the energy and devotion to the cause which she has displayed since she joined the Branch.

The new secretary is fortunate in being well supported at home by her daughter, who is a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and by her husband, who is a member of the "Men's League," and who has done much valuable work in Battersea in connexion with the open-air meetings.

As the open-air season is nearing its close, owing to the inclemency of the weather, it may be as well to record that during the last six months on every alternate Friday an evening meeting has been held at "The Prince's Head." The audiences, composed chiefly of working men, have been good and attentive. Miss Abadam, Miss Conslan, Mrs. Toyne, Miss Irene Miller, Miss Mary Smith, and Miss Turquand have been among the speakers.

Several large Sunday afternoon meetings in Battersea Park have been equally successful.

### Literature.

A LITERATURE sub-committee has been appointed and is arranging for the dispatch of books, pamphlets, and *Women's Franchise*. They have already in hand the preparation of other literature which will be issued shortly. A list of publications obtainable at the offices in Buckingham Street is being sent to all secretaries of branches, and it is hoped that the latter will send their orders to the Literature Secretary, as all profits from the sales go to the general fund.

The members of branches are earnestly begged to push the sales of literature as much as possible, not only for the sake of profit, but as a valuable propaganda, among their members and the general public.

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From October 23rd to October 28th.		P.M.
Wed.	Lochgelly Women's Co-operative Guild	Miss Munro
Thurs.	Central Branch, 25, Wimpole Street	Members and their friends
Fri.	Free Trade Hall, Manchester	Amongst other Suffrage Leaders Mrs. Despard
Sun.	Hackney, 24, Lower Clapton Road	Miss Abadam
	Battersea Park (near Cambridge Road	
	Clapham Common	Mrs. Winton Evans, Miss Murby
Mon.	Lycium Theatre, Govan	Mrs. Billington-Greig
	Mrs. Heighway, 18 Orlando Road	Story of the Women's Franchise Movement, Miss Murby
Nov. 1st	Opening of New Office, 18, Buckingham Street	
Nov. 13th	Hampstead Town Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Nevinson
Nov. 14th	Lewisham Parish Church Hall, Ladywell Road	Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Nevinson
Nov. 15th	Hackney	Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Winton Evans, Mrs. Despard

\*.\* All communications intended for the Women's Social and Political Union columns should be addressed to The Editor, W.S.P.U., 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.



## Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 6953 CENTRAL.

### Notes and Comments.

THE past week has witnessed a most gratifying increase in the numbers of our members. Gradually the League is coming to be recognized as a force, a positive and active force, which in time will have to be reckoned with by the few real opponents of women's enfranchisement. Nothing is more striking than the fact that practically no serious-minded men are found to be logically averse from the principle which we have set forth to inculcate.

Again and again our friends tell us how they have spent time and breath on expounding the arguments for and against, only to find that the opponent is in entire agreement with them. The fact is gradually being borne in upon us that there is a large body of quiet, unobtrusive, inert opinion in our favour. The problem is how to galvanize that sleeping force into effective activity.

In the first place we must searchingly inquire into our own work. Are we all doing our utmost to produce the result we desire? Are we exercising that combination of tact and enthusiasm which alone will elicit the active support of different types of men and women? Do we attach sufficient importance to the fact that this campaign cannot be fought by rule of thumb? The argument which appeals to one man is utterly ineffective with his neighbour. We have to study the psychology of the crowd and the psychology of the recluse, the standpoint of the sportsman and that of the student. We have to remember, too, that the conversion of one particular man, slow and laborious though it be, may be worth not only all the careful argument we have patiently expended, but also far more than the thoughtless conversion of a dozen whose applause is as evanescent as it is easily produced.

Work—hard, systematic, and conscientious—is the great need. We would ask every member of the Men's League to remember that he has a trust to discharge. He has signified his own conviction, and that is much. But he can do more by persuading his friends to join also. Each man, like a stone cast into a pond, should be the centre of an infinite series of concentric circles, widening ever till his message of justice has reached to the limits of his immediate acquaintance. If only we could all keep ever before us the grand thought that we are striving to remove, perhaps, the blackest blot which defaces the fair escutcheon of British justice, an inspiration of true patriotism would inflame us with missionary zeal, and the numbers of converts would be doubled every month. To enlist is a good thing; to bear the brunt of the battle is the glory of accomplishment.

There is work for every one. A number of members have signified their intention of helping to make our big meeting in the Queen's Hall on December 17th a real success. Will not every one make it his object to sell at least one ticket? The hon. secretaries are now ready to send tickets to all who require them. Every ticket which is definitely sold lightens the responsibility which rests upon the Sub-Committee, the members of which are spending long and anxious hours of deliberation as to how much they must spend in advertisement. If members and friends delay in their application for tickets, much expense will be forced upon the League in printing and postage, which might otherwise be saved. If every supporter of our cause were to put his back into this work, we could fill the Queen's Hall without spending a penny on advertisement. Then we should realize a substantial profit for future work, and the generosity of guarantors would not be called upon.

EVERY TICKET SOLD AFTER THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER MAY MEAN HEAVY COST IN ADVERTISEMENT. THE QUEEN'S HALL MUST BE FULL ON DECEMBER 17TH.

A meeting full of encouragement to the League took place at Reigate on Friday, October 18th, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. James Powell. The speakers were Miss Sterling and Miss Watson, of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Mr. H. C. Brodie, M.P. for Reigate, and Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, joint hon. secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Several men, including Mr. Brodie, joined the Men's League, while many men and women expressed their intention of coming to our December meeting and selling tickets. The Men's League is much indebted to the Reigate society, to Miss R. I. Pym, its secretary, and to Mr. and Mrs. James Powell, for the opportunity of spreading the knowledge of its aims and attitude.

Among forthcoming engagements of our members are the following:—Mr. Herbert Jacobs, Chairman of Committee, and Mr. Cholmeley, member of Committee, will speak at Cambridge on November 7th; on the same night Mr. Mitchell, Hon. Secretary, is at Woburn Sands.

Once again we earnestly ask our members to keep in touch with *Women's Franchise* to the extent of sending us brief accounts of the meetings they address or attend. It is intensely encouraging to those who are working at headquarters to know what is being done by our members. Last week we were delighted to publish Mr. Moffat's report of the activities of the West of Scotland Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Such reports, interesting as they are simply as items of news, are especially valuable as affording data to those who are canvassing opponents and are perpetually asked, "Is there any real sign that people want Women's Suffrage?"

### The Verdict of History.

INTRODUCTORY.

OUR opponents are not doing their duty. They give us no new argument to refute. One by one the stale, stock "reasons" why women should continue to enjoy the same political disabilities as the State imposes upon lunatics, upon felons, and—with compensation—upon peers, have been demolished in detail. The speakers and writers of the Men's League might well sigh for new worlds to conquer. But to expose an error is not to dispose of it, or the Suffrage would have been shared with women long ago. After every defeat in argument the defenders of the old order confront us again, with the same trite phrases and the same inveterate prejudice. They still gravely assure us that because women cannot fight—even though they may pay the heaviest price for war—no woman is entitled to the full citizenship of a country which practically excludes its defenders from the polls. There are still some to announce, with an air of finality, that the sphere of woman is the home—rapt idealists whose upward gaze ignores the host of workers in factory, shop, or office, ignores the fact that for multitudes of women there is no home in the sense intended by that venerable saying. A girl in a drapery store, under the living-in system, has little opportunity for any very vivid display of the domestic virtues. And in the other arguments which our opponents base upon living experience, upon the present state of society, there is nothing more novel or more tangible to attack. But it is not upon any deduction from the conditions of modern life—from the known state of the United Kingdom in the twentieth century—that the advocates of reaction place their chief reliance. It is upon something much more remote and impressive, something almost sublime in its vastness and vagueness. Nothing, in fact, less awe-inspiring than the "verdict of history" itself.

This may be so. But before accepting the verdict as final we are curious to know who the judges and what the evidence may be. "All the lessons of the past are against you," we are told, with a fine comprehensiveness. "Petticoat government has always meant disaster. Feminism saps the morale of a nation." If we press for concrete instances, we are usually exhorted to "look at France, with its declining birth-rate," or with whatever else our opponents happen to regard as the noxious results of "feminism" at any epoch of French history. The argument is not wholly convincing, even apart from the fact that Frenchwomen do not yet possess the parliamentary franchise.

Nor would it be an overwhelming reason for denying the claims of women if feminine influence upon social and political life were proved to have been harmful in the past. We are concerned with the present and future. Sir Thomas Browne has summed up the truth of the matter in a famous passage: "The mortal enemy unto knowledge, and that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion unto authority, and more especially the establishing of our belief upon the dictates of antiquity," when these dictates are opposed to the "wiser examinations" which show what is expedient here and now. Because the existing state of civilization in this country is such that the admission of women to the full rights of citizenship is not only justifiable but desirable, it is immaterial whether analogous concessions made in the past have resulted in success or failure. But we do not interpret history in the same sense as our opponents, whose condemnation of feminine influence upon politics is usually stated in the form of an axiom—its pure abstraction unalloyed by any concrete instances.

We propose to publish a series of brief articles dealing with the assumption that the "verdict of history" is adverse to our case. For although an unfavourable verdict could never injure that case, which is founded not upon precedents but upon direct evidence, a favourable one would at least tend to confirm our claims. We propose, in brief, to show that the case for women's suffrage has, in addition to all the proofs with which our readers are now familiar, such confirmation as can be drawn from a study of historical parallels. It is true that such parallels are necessarily misleading to some extent, if only because the expansion of the sphere of women has hitherto been a social rather than a political problem. But when due allowance has been made for this difference, and others hardly less salient, there remain certain clearly marked features common to the problem of women's enfranchisement now and to women's emancipation in the past. Diverse as are the aspects of these problems with which our contributors are dealing, all alike illustrate the slow but irresistible tendency of women to enlarge the radius of their activities in any progressive State, and the disastrous consequences which follow any permanently successful attempt to check this process.

A glance at the list of our members shows many names eminent—some indeed of international celebrity—in literature and science. We therefore appeal confidently to our members to aid in the exposure of the cardinal fallacy that the "verdict of history" is against us, by contributing to the series of essays on this subject which will appear in our columns. Many articles have already been prepared or promised. They cover a wide range—from the theory of women's education in the 'Economicus' of Xenophon to the theory of it expounded by Erasmus; from the status of women in pre-Christian Rome to their status in Portuguese India and in Turkey; from the views of the Babylonian lawgivers to those of John Knox. The final article will deal with the enfranchisement of women in Norway in relation to modern Norwegian literature. We hope that our learned members will add to this list. We shall also be glad to receive articles or letters designed to shatter our beliefs; for hostile critics, now as ever, we reserve our warmest welcome.

K. G. JAYNE.

### Mr. Legality and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman.

ONE of the strangest reasons which are offered by the critical and the indifferent as the ground for their reluctance to join the Suffrage movement is that they are disgusted by the methods which have been adopted in certain quarters.

In many cases there is no reasonable doubt that this objection is insincere. That it is not so always is equally obvious, because

it is urged by many whose sincerity is beyond question. At the same time, it is difficult to understand how such people can deliberately advance such a reason. Let us put ourselves in their position and assume that we dislike, or doubt the tactical wisdom of, the militant policy, and that we are convinced Women's Suffragists. The analysis is easy.

- I. The enfranchisement of women is a just and expedient measure.
- II. Several societies with different policies are advocating this measure.
- III. One society has acted in a manner which is intrinsically objectionable, and detrimental to the Cause.
- IV. The other societies have not acted in this manner.
- V. Therefore I will join no society at all.

Here, then, is a man who deprives of his support a movement which he believes to be not only just, but also likely to produce beneficial results to society, to his country, to the world. Why? Because some people with whom he is in entire intellectual agreement are, as he thinks, mistaken on a matter of detail. Let us take a parallel instance. Am I, because I dislike or doubt the efficacy of the Conservative method of dealing with social and economic evils, to take no part in any other attempt to remove those evils? If I see my partner ruining the business, shall I not try to recoup his losses for our common good? Two missionaries—one a Roman Catholic, one a Protestant—are seeking to save the souls of a heathen community. One of them, perhaps, seeks to lead his flock to salvation without first eradicating the pagan beliefs, may even by using what is good in those beliefs. The other regards such a method as unproductive, or even as un-Christian. Should he withdraw in disapproval, inform the heathen—who can scarcely be expected to comprehend his explanation—of his reasons for so doing, and desert his post? Surely the very fact that, in his opinion, a noble cause is being mismanaged by his brother-worker should stimulate him to redoubled activity, not merely for the credit of himself and his supporters, but for the sake of his flock and his sacred charge.

What does he gain by withdrawing? The pagan priests rejoice at the diminution of the forces arrayed against them, and bid their vacillating adherents observe how "these Christians love one another." The cause suffers both positively and negatively, and the only gain is that the withdrawer has the somewhat pharisaic satisfaction of avoiding a criticism which no logical mind would make against him, for *he does not need to change his own methods*. He withdraws, not because the cause is bad, not because it is hopeless, not because he himself is a failure, but because a number of unthinking or malicious people might stupidly or dishonestly associate him with somebody else, whose methods he dislikes. *He is afraid of stupid or dishonest criticism!*

Finally, the whole problem is a matter of opinion, and the controversy is largely regarding the proper policy for this present stage. No one denies that the advocates of a great and just cause are under certain circumstances justified in adopting unconstitutional methods. All history is evidence for this. The only question really is whether the extreme policy is justified by the history of the movement and the necessities of the case. *Afraid of stupid or dishonest criticism which may also be absolutely wrong.*

The only excuse which a loyal and logical Suffragist can advance—not for withdrawing from the movement, but even for publicly condemning the extremists—is that by hard and determined work he himself is really advancing the cause by moderate methods, with reasonable hope of ultimate success. No one can deny that many, if not all, the extremists have been and still are willing, nay proud, to suffer for the cause, with an entire disregard of their personal comfort. We must all, even though we may not share their opinion as to other methods or their optimism as to the results of their own, frankly admire the sacrifices they make, derive stimulation from their example, and boldly tell our common opponents that, if we believed that the moment had arrived when no alternative action could be effective, we should strive to exhibit a similar fortitude for the sake of the England of the future.

J. M. MITCHELL.

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



JUST PUBLISHED.

## THE LATEST BOOK ON OUR SUBJECT.

Please send early for Copies, as  
the demand increases daily.

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE**

By ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW.

Price 1s. net.

EXTRACTS FROM A FEW OF THE FIRST  
NOTICES TO APPEAR.

SCOTTISH REVIEW, October 3, 1907.

"If one were asked for the best-written exposition of this political subject, one would unhesitatingly give the questioner a copy of Mr. Mathew's book."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, October 8, 1907.

"One could wish that some of the anecdotes and descriptions in this little book might inspire a cartoonist."

BELFAST NEWS LETTER, October 3, 1907.

"He deals ably with almost every aspect of the question."

CHRISTIAN WORLD, October 3, 1907.

"This addition to the 'Social Problems' Series is a vigorous and interesting defence of the Suffragettes. The author finds it worth while to live in days that offer 'the splendid spectacle of modern womanhood emerging slowly but surely from the dulling effects of centuries of artificial restraint and false ideals laid down by men.' He pleads eloquently for 'the simple dictates of right and justice.'"

GLASGOW TIMES, September 23, 1907.

"Mr. Arnold Harris Mathew deals very fully with the subject in all its aspects; he marshals his facts in most telling array, and we have seldom seen the subject more effectively treated, either in its historical or its polemical aspects."

NOTTINGHAM DAILY GUARDIAN,  
September 24, 1907.

"Starting with a historical view, the author draws attention to the disadvantages under which women work, and points to directions in which the suffrage would help not only women but men also, seeing that the interests of the two are inseparable."

Published by T. C. & E. C. JACK,  
16, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.

And to be had of all Booksellers and Bookstalls.

**PIANOFORTE, ALMOST NEW.**—A finely figured BURR WALNUT UPRIGHT PIANOFORTE by the well-known and respected firm of Rintoul & Son. It is 4 ft. 2 in. high with Overstrung Scaling. The interior work is excellent, as is the case, which has three handsome shaped panels, the centre one containing an effective marqueterie design, double sconces decorating the end panels. The columns supporting the keyboard are unique. A fine instrument, worthy of any drawing-room, and a Piano that has a good round tone that will delight a connoisseur. Price 15 guineas net cash.—Apply Box 7, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

**CANVASSER** for ADVERTISEMENTS WANTED for this PAPER. Some one interested in the Cause preferred. Circulation of 5,000 guaranteed. Small Salary and Good Commission.—Apply in first instance by letter to Box 10, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

**TOILET, WAREHOUSES and OFFICES,** at low rental, within five minutes of Fleet Street.—Apply Box 1166, Athenum Press, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

**SHOREHAM BEACH.—FURNISHED BUNGALOW TO LET.** Accommodation. Six Bedrooms, Two Sitting-rooms, and Kitchen. Coal stores. Boating on Sea and River. Terms in October 1/1 a week; and 15s. a week for the whole of the winter.—Box 8, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

### Scale of Charges for Advertisement Space.

	Single Insertions.	Three Insertions.	Six Insertions.	Twelve Insertions.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
WHOLE PAGE ..	5 0 0	4 15 0	4 10 0	4 5 0
HALF " ..	2 12 6	2 10 0	2 7 3	2 5 6
THIRD " ..	1 16 0	1 14 3	1 12 6	1 10 0
QUARTER " ..	1 7 6	1 6 3	1 4 6	1 3 6
EIGHTH " ..	15 0	14 3	13 6	12 9
PER INCH	}	4 0	3 9	3 6
SINGLE COL.				

## A SELECTION FROM LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

### The National Union and by the Central Society,

At 25, Victoria St., Westminster.

### OUGHT WOMEN TO HAVE THE SUFFRAGE?

By LADY LAURA RIDDING.

A Dialogue between the Master of the House and the Mistress of the House.

Price ½d. each; 3s. per 100.

### LETTER ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

Price 3d. per doz.; 1s. 9d. per 100.

### TO WOMEN WHO ARE WELL OFF.

Price 4d. per doz.; 2s. 6d. per 100.

### THE LATE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Price 10d. per 100.

### A REPLY TO 'THE SPECTATOR' ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By WALTER S. B. McLAREN. Price 1s. per 100.

### LEADING FACTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Price 2s. 6d. per 100.

### HOME AND POLITICS.

An Address delivered at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere

by Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT. Price 1d.

### THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By KEIR HARDIE, M.P. Price 1d.

### SPHERE OF MAN AND WOMAN IN THE CONSTITUTION.

6d. net.

### THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.

By J. STEWART MILL. 6d. net.

Editorial Communications should be addressed to "THE EDITOR"—Business Letters to "THE PUBLISHERS"—at the Office, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.  
Advertisements should be addressed to Messrs. REYNELL & SON, 44, Chancery Lane, London.

Printed and Published Weekly by JOHN EDWARD FRANCIS at 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.—Thursday, October 24, 1907.