

# Women's Franchise.

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## How Men Legislate for Women.

THE opponents to Women Suffrage argue that women's interests are more or less safeguarded by men; and that, in the long run, women's influence upon man's opinion at least makes legislation equitable for both sexes without women having any direct political power. Hence it is unnecessary and superfluous for women to have the lever of the vote.

However, an ounce of fact is worth a ton of sentiment and a cloud-land of hypotheses. In America two object lessons have lately been given to women on the insecurity of their rights and liberties, if these are not safeguarded by political enfranchisement.

When the Philippines were taken over by the United States, the Government deliberately ignored the existing rights of the Filipino women, and excluded women from the privilege of voting for the members of the first Assembly. Yet Governor Taft and Archbishop Nozaleda represented to President Roosevelt that "if the suffrage were given to those natives it should be to the women instead of the men, as they were much superior in every respect, even in business." This testimony availed nothing, and for the first time these "oriental women" as the President dubbed them, have been placed in subjection to men, and made of no account in their own country and among their own people. And this is the act of a Christian State and Government!

Again, when the Territorial Committee of Congress, Washington, framed the enabling Act for Oklahoma to prepare for Statehood the following words were used, "Suffrage shall not be denied except for idiocy, insanity, felony, and sex"; and this exclusion of women from the ballot is now incorporated in the Constitutional Convention, though the larger portion of rate and taxpayers in the new State are women property-owners. Moreover, under the Indian law, women have the right of the suffrage, and the council of matrons give the casting vote in the decision of war or peace. These women are now powerless.

A certain phase of so-called civilisation thus filches from the primitive woman the archaic rights of the matriarchate; and it appears to be the rule of social development that only the highest civilization will give back to the modern woman the status of the free mothers of the past.

FRANCES SWINEY.

## 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 September (1s. 8d.), or less if back numbers are not desired, should be forwarded to the Publisher, 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,' 13, Bream's Buildings, E.C.

## The Suffrage in Other Lands.

In GERMANY the Suffrage movement has been greatly hampered by the law which not only prohibits women from taking part in political meetings, but even allows the police to break up those called for other purposes, on the pretext that they verge on the political. The first condition, therefore, of all reform must be the repeal of this *Vereinsgesetz* and it has recently been modified in some important particulars. The leaders of the Women's Movement are devoting themselves on the one hand to improving the education of girls, securing their admission to the Universities, and raising the status of women teachers; on the other, to securing the more elementary political rights—*e.g.*, a vote and a seat for the *Gewerbegerichte* (permanent courts of arbitration for trade disputes), State insurance boards, and a place in poor-law administration. A burning question just now is the vote for Church Councils, and in some of the States it seems probable that this will be obtained. Still, the National Council of German Women in its new programme, recently issued, includes the greater as well as the lesser demands, on the ground that without these all minor privileges and concessions may at any time be withdrawn. Their main demands have been thus summed up: 1. Unlimited right of meeting; 2. Full Franchise for Church Councils; 3. Vote and eligibility on Municipal Councils; 4. Vote and eligibility for Parliament.

In HOLLAND the suffrage agitation has entered on a very hopeful stage. A favourable opportunity for pressing the claims of women was supplied by the revision of the constitution, which involved changes in the electoral basis. Last year a deputation of suffragists, headed by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, sought an interview with Queen Wilhelmina, and solicited her sympathy. The spokeswoman pointed out that this was the first time when a Dutch constitution would bear a woman's signature, and expressed the hope that on this same occasion justice might be done to the women under her rule. The Queen inquired whether the petition handed her contained all the demands put forward by Dutchwomen, and having been assured that this was the case, she promised to give it her favourable consideration.

Early this year the Commission appointed to revise the constitution issued its report, which contains a recommendation in favour of Women's Suffrage as well as proportional representation. It seems probable, therefore, that the reign of Queen Wilhelmina will actually witness the enfranchisement of her female subjects. Here, as seemingly in England, it would only mean the restoration of rights which had been allowed to lapse, for only in 1887 were women expressly excluded from the franchise in Holland. Should they win back their rights this year, their period of "wandering in the wilderness," as Mr. Zangwill expressed it, will have been considerably shorter than that of the English workers in the same cause. A. ZIMMERN.

### "Distinctive Womanhood."

MAN'S custom of regarding the term "womanly" as the most complimentary adjective applicable to woman is certainly no less flattering to our sex than is that rather amazing humility which leads him to define ladies of Mrs. Joe Gargery's type as "masculine." Yet we should be better pleased with the compliment if it were not quite so obvious that his use of that blessed word "womanly" is governed rather by the caprices of fashion and convention than to what Goethe calls the Eternal Feminine.

A few years back the man in the street, having not yet discovered the suffrage question, was obsessed by two great dangers which imperilled his ideal of womanhood—smoking and what is technically described as rational dress. It was in vain to point out to him that Eastern men have never dreaded either of these things as a demoralizing influence for their submissive and secluded womankind, and that in Turkey it is the New Woman who has adopted skirts with other European innovations.

It has probably happened to most of us in our youth to be reproved for unwarily employing without a prefix the surnames of our masculine acquaintance. Such reproofs have generally taken the form of lamentations over the defeminizing tendency of modern institutions such as women's colleges. Would the praisers of a past age be surprised to learn that, until the nineteenth century, ladies habitually spoke not only of, but to, their gentlemen friends in this unceremonious fashion? Could they explain why a practice sanctioned by Clarissa Harlowe and by Miss Austen's heroines should be branded as unwomanly?

The idea of women in the pulpit is one which has appealed to the masculine sense of humour even more than that of women in Parliament. But this again is no new thing. In all ages there have been women who combined oratorical powers with a spirit of religion, and for some such at least the Church of Rome provided a sphere. For heads of convents the gift of eloquence was, if not a *sine qua non*, a grace highly esteemed. When Mère Angélique, the celebrated abbess of Port Royal, addressed the community, her words were eagerly listened to and carefully recorded. Madame de Brinon, the first superior of Madame de Maintenon's foundation at St. Cyr, drew all the courtiers from Versailles to hear her weekly expositions of the epistle and gospel for the day. She ranked, indeed, as a counter attraction to Bourdaloue himself.

Penelope is bidden, with scant respect, by her son to restrict herself to the orthodox feminine occupations of spinning and weaving. Yet what is now more frequent than the complaint that Penelope's successors, the mill-girls of our own day, are "unsexed" by doing man's work? Distaff and loom are no longer truly womanly. The needle is the implement wherewith woman is now exhorted to content herself. The importance of being able to make her own dresses and sew on her husband's shirt-buttons—achievements which in man's broad-minded view of things appear of about equal difficulty—is constantly impressed upon her. Where is the voice crying in the wilderness to proclaim that, as regards the dresses certainly, and perhaps the buttons also, the modern woman is intruding into a field once sacred to man? The Elizabethan lady went to the tailor for her gowns as naturally as she went to the haberdasher—or man-milliner—for her headgear. Jeanne d'Arc was sent to the stake, and one action of hers considered blameworthy was that of having ridden to battle in male attire; but when in a momentary spasm of fear she consented to assume a woman's tunic, it was made by the Duchess of Bedford's tailor. In India at the present day, as Mrs. Steele tells us, there are native women belonging to a generation now passing away who regard the teaching of dressmaking in Government and mission schools as an innovation more or less unsexing in tendency.

What is the conclusion of the whole matter? Not, certainly, that there is no such thing as the "distinctive womanhood" spoken of by Tennyson, but that the world is not yet in possession of data sufficient for the definition either of the thing itself or of any of its essential attributes. It will need the experience of many generations to come before the distinction between man's and woman's nature can be finally determined.

CAMILLA JEBB.

### Indirect Influence in Politics.

IN the debate in the House of Lords on the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill, *The Times* reports the Duke of Northumberland as having said that he did "not believe that the women of the country were increasing their proper influence by the modern fashion of engaging in these controversies and in work hitherto confined to men"; he "could not help seeing in these days of women's intervention in public affairs a diminution of the influence of women over their sons, husbands, and brothers on the very good ground that they had formerly been exempt from the influences which affected men throughout the contests. . . . When the womanhood of England shrank from public appearances and public struggles with men they would be all the better and, not the worse, for the abstention."

The argument brought forward above, *i.e.*, that women's influence is better and more powerful when exerted indirectly, is a fallacy deeply and generally impressed upon the masculine mind. Men have reiterated the statement so often that many women have actually come to believe it, and have advanced it as a reason why they think that the granting of the Parliamentary vote would not be beneficial to them as a sex. When we come to examine this argument more closely, however, we find that not only does it beg the question, but that it advocates a most pernicious and evil system, whose results have proved disastrous over and over again. History teems with instances of the frustration of plans which statesmen have taken months—it may be years—to elaborate, by a woman's indirect influence.

That this is true and most deplorable, every one will admit; what the majority do not seem to realize is that the enormous indirect influence at present exercised in politics by women is a direct argument in favour of granting them the power of using that influence in an open, straightforward way. There is something in the words "indirect influence" which suggests *underhand* influence, and there are few champions of the former who would be prepared to approve of the latter; in point of fact, however, they are one and the same, so far as the question we are now considering is concerned; but it is all the influence women are now able to obtain in political matters. I use the word "now" advisedly, because in Saxon times women's influence, both in Church and State, was far greater and more direct than it is to-day. Abbesses and other great ladies were often reckoned amongst the most important people in the realm, and they took a large share in the political and civil life of the nation. They were summoned to Parliaments; they acted in the position of justices of the peace; they were wardens and sheriffs of parishes when their menfolk were away at war—a matter of constant occurrence in those troublous times—they administered vast estates, including those of the realm; and the signatures of these mighty ladies are to be found in the charters of the land. The Duke of Northumberland was wrong when he talked about "the modern fashion of women engaging in controversies and work hitherto confined to men." As time went on, however, their influence became indirect, and therefore irresponsible, until now we witness the sad spectacle of women deliberately setting out to work upon men's feelings to induce them to act sometimes against their own convictions, and the sadder spectacle still of men actually advocating this pernicious system. The method of obtaining by indirect means what they consider to be theirs by right, has always been scorned by the best women, therefore undue influence has fallen into the hands of those least worthy to exercise it, and who, with women's acknowledged power of quickly adapting themselves to any character with which they have to deal, have descended to manoeuvring, not to say deceiving.

Some of the arguments advanced against granting women direct political influence are that the less they claim the more they will get; that their strength lies in their weakness; that they may safely trust their interests to the watchful care of men &c. But history has proved these arguments to be false over and over again. Women have claimed little for years, and they have got less; the laws of the country take advantage of women's weakness; weakness, we must remember, which is not natural to them, but is the result of long ages of subjection and self-repression, and no one with any knowledge of social and legal

matters can assert that their interests in these directions have been considered by men equally with their own.

Some time ago I was walking down Piccadilly, and nearly opposite the Lyceum Club I passed, huddled up in the corner of a seat, a thing that had once been a man. It was dirty; it was diseased; it was drink-sodden; it was degraded; yet no law prevents it from having a direct voice in the administration of the affairs of a great empire, while the women who looked down upon it from the club windows, many of whom are doing splendid work in science, in literature, in music, in art, and in other spheres of activity, are told by our legislators that the question of giving them direct influence in matters which concern the life and growth of the nation is, to quote again the Duke of Northumberland, "not one of opinion, but of experience," and that "the rough and tumble of election contests neither did good to their character nor their minds." Surely our law-makers ought to be able to take wider and less prejudiced views upon a question of such vital importance to the well-being of our whole race; and here comes my point. So long as women are treated as irresponsible beings, so long will the least scrupulous amongst them not hesitate to use the methods of wheedling and cajolery, and to work upon men's emotions, instead of upon their reason, in order to gain their ends. The days have gone by when the men who deny women any voice in the framing of the laws which intimately concern their lives and liberties, behead them when they use what influence they possess in the way they see will be most efficacious, but the principle is still the same; and so long as one unjust law, which necessitates unnecessary suffering to women, remains upon the statute book, it is not only the right, it is the positive *duty*, of all women to bring what direct influence they can to bear, in order to get it removed. That influence, to be of any good, can only be obtained through the granting of the Parliamentary vote.

EVELINE B. MITFORD.

### Those who are not with us!

Now that men have ceased to tell us to "go home and put the baby to bed" (that unfortunate and often mythical baby, which was always, according to them, on the point of retiring to rest!); and now that all their illogical arguments against our political franchisement have been met and answered—now that the question has become a burning one, they fall back on the feeble cry, "There are heaps of women who don't want the franchise, and who wouldn't use it if they got it!"

Besides the obvious retort that there are many men who don't want the franchise and who don't use it now they have it, we may as well confess that what they say is true—that there are many women who don't want it, though this is, of course, no argument against giving it to the women who do want it.

The women who don't want it may be roughly divided into two groups: (1) Those who are ignorant on the subject and don't understand the question; (2) Those who are so selfish, being comfortably placed themselves, that they utterly fail to realize their sisters' need.

The first group includes some very charming and intelligent women who ought to be in our ranks—who would be in our ranks if they really understood what we are fighting for.

It seems odd that at this time of day there should be any women left who do not understand the subject; but the fact remains that there are—and a good many of them.

They marvel at the strange madness, as it seems to them, of women who are so anxious to be allowed to go to the poll—say once in three years on an average—and make a cross against a man's name. They say, with delicate contempt, that they don't consider it worth making such a fuss about.

Of course it isn't. Of course no sensible woman would make a fuss about it—if that were all; but it is strange to think that these women actually believe that some of their sex have suffered imprisonment, revilement, and all sorts of unpleasantness for the sake of such a queer idea.

Once let them thoroughly understand the great principle underlying the present agitation, once let them realize that the whole question of women's place in the State is involved—that there are women suffering all sorts of misery whom we wish to help; and I venture to say they will be as keenly interested and

as anxious to forward the cause as the very women they at present so grossly misunderstand.

They want reaching, that is all, and we need workers who will try to reach them. There is every reason to believe that hundreds and thousands of women who are now indifferent on the subject would flock to our banner did they but understand the true nature of our demand. In the second class of women I like to think—for the honour of our sex—that there are not many *consciously selfish* in the matter.

That there are a few—and among them those of whom we should have hoped better things—we know only too well.

The rest I think are selfish from sheer ignorance. They have never come face to face with the awful remediable suffering and misery lying at their very doors, and therefore they do not understand our passionate desire to lighten it.

The middle-class happily married woman is the greatest sinner. She has her nice house, her good husband, her prettily dressed children, her ever irritating servants to occupy her attention, and her life is full—too full to allow her to trouble herself about her sisters who are working long hours for a small wage, and who find it difficult to get food for the children they love just as dearly as she loves hers. She does not read the papers much. She will tell you she "never has time" to read political news, and she is simply not aware of the cruel suffering that is being heaped upon so many of her own sex.

If she were roused—really roused—she, too, might be won over to our ranks; but she is the hardest to gain of all, for her comfortable circumstances seem to stifle imagination.

When we consider that our crusade has been started for the amelioration of the whole condition of women—that we are bent on righting wrongs and setting straight many burning injustices, it seems strange that any woman in England can stand coldly aside and not wish to help in some way or other. The fact remains that they are there—though diminishing in numbers every week—and we want them all, every individual woman!

Each one of us must work unceasingly to hasten the time when every woman in England shall be on our side, when we shall rise up together and demand the vote with one voice—a voice so penetrating that the country will *have* to listen to it, and will be obliged to give us what we ask—not a favour but our *right* to take a fair share in the council of the nation.

C. H. ADSHEAD.

### Correspondence.

#### Women's Suffrage Procession and Demonstration.

MADAM,—It has been decided to organize a National Scottish Women's Suffrage Procession and Demonstration in Edinburgh on Saturday, October 5th.

The demonstration will take place in the Synod Hall, and Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Philip Snowden (member of Committee of the National Union of W.S.S.), Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., have been secured as speakers.

Miss S. E. S. Mair, president of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, will occupy the chair. Lady Steel and a number of other ladies are to take part.

The procession will be similar to the one held in London last February.

In order to make a really national demonstration, all women's societies in Scotland are invited to co-operate. An official appeal has been sent to each society and each known branch organization. The formation of a local committee to carry out the necessary work is strongly advised, and in some places the work is already begun; but many individual sympathizers cannot be reached by way of the societies, and therefore we appeal through the press. We believe every Woman Suffragist, whatever her views, class, or politics, should take part in this national demonstration, which cannot but produce good, and may be of far-reaching importance to the cause of sex equality.

We therefore hope that every friend and sympathizer will immediately communicate in the first instance with the undersigned, who is also authorized to receive subscriptions to defray expenses.

For the Edinburgh W.S.P.U.,  
39, Comely Bank Place, Edinburgh. ELIZABETH BELL.

## 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.

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.

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

Parliamentary and Organising Secretary: MISS EDITH PALLISER.

Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.

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

The Union will send Organizing 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 L. O. FORD  
MISS ISABEL MARRIS  
MRS. PECHY PHIPSON, M.D.

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

LADY STRACHEY  
And the Hon. Officers,  
ex officio.

We have decided to pay this journal the highest compliment in our power by giving our full support to 'Women's Franchise' instead of issuing our own journal in October. Besides giving help towards current expenses, we have promised further financial assistance in October to ensure the continuance of the journal on its present basis—that is to say, it will remain equally representative of the Societies supporting the movement with an absolutely independent general editor, the one condition being that should the present proprietor at any time find it impossible to continue to issue 'Women's Franchise,' the title shall be placed at our disposal.

So far, however, from wishing this event to occur, we shall do our best to prevent it, as we cannot but feel that with the continued help of the other Societies, not only the continuance of, but the development of the Paper along its present lines is highly desirable.—MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

### Central Society.

#### NORTH KENSINGTON COMMITTEE.

"C.S.W.S. Right shall win" was the strange device displayed on the red-and-white banner hanging from the top of a covered van, which took up its position at a busy corner in Notting Hill on the evening of Friday the 26th inst., and in spite of the rain which had been falling up to within a few minutes of its arrival, a large number of men and women quickly gathered round to see what this might mean.

It was soon explained that this was the motto of the North Kensington Committee of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage, and that Mr. Stanger, M.P., the Liberal member for the constituency was presently going to take the chair on (or in?) this improvised platform to put forward the claims of women to the parliamentary vote.

Mr. Stanger, who had travelled up from Birmingham in order to keep his promise to speak at this meeting, and who was obliged to leave before the conclusion in order to catch his train back to Birmingham that night, was given a most attentive hearing. In his opening remarks he stated that he was thoroughly in favour of granting the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same terms as it is granted to men, and pointed out what a gross injustice it was to exclude women from it on the score of sex. He said they were expected to act as citizens in all other respects, and were not considered unfit to pay rates and taxes. So unfair and inconsistent were some men on the subject, that he had known strong opponents of Women's Suffrage, when standing as candidates for Parliament, make use of the services of a large number of women to instruct the men how to vote. For himself, he was only too glad to have women to help him at election time, for they worked well and knew what they were talking about. It was idle to say that women knew nothing about politics, when they proved themselves to be just as capable in the professions they took up as the men were. He would instance teaching and medicine. However good their work might be in these respects, they were still denied the standing as citizens which the vote would give them.

Mrs. Sennett, Mr. John Raphael, of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and Miss Palliser, organizing secretary for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, were the other speakers; and their speeches were evidently listened to with close attention, the absence of all interruptions being particularly marked. Miss Palliser, in the course of her remarks, drew attention to the injustice recently perpetrated on the

women of Worcester, who, in spite of being denied a vote at Parliamentary elections, were nevertheless called upon to pay their share of the rate which had been levied upon the municipal voters of the town to pay for the inquiry into the corrupt practices that had taken place at the last Parliamentary election there. If women were denied any power or choice in the election of Members to Parliament, surely they should at least be exempt from having to pay for the abuse of that power by the men voters.

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE.

### Worcester and the Bribery Rate.

On July 16th Miss Palliser, organizing secretary of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies visited Worcester with a view to ascertaining the opinion of the women ratepayers of that town with regard to the bribery rate which had been levied on them as cost of the Election Commission held to inquire into the charges of corrupt practices at the last Parliamentary Election.

The injustice of making unenfranchised women responsible for the abuse of a privilege from which they were completely debarred was very keenly felt, and a protest was promoted which has been signed by close on three hundred persons of all parties. It had been originally intended that the protest should only be signed by women ratepayers; but a number of residents having expressed a wish to signify their disapproval of the rate, it was decided to include men, and women who were not ratepayers. The protest will be sent to the chairman of the Worcester Borough Council, and a copy will also be forwarded to the Prime Minister.

The Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage undertook to collect the signatures, and Miss Gardner, secretary of the Society, carried out this work within two weeks. Had time allowed before the meeting of the Borough Council, there can be no doubt that the number of signatures would have been even larger.

Among the more prominent signatories are the following: Mr. and Mrs. H. Urwich, Canon and Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Hanson, Secretary of the Women's Liberal Association (Worcester), Mrs. Ambrose Knott, Secretary Primrose League (Worcester), Canon Claughton, Mrs. E. B. Fletcher Twemlow, Mr. Valentine Stallard, the Hon. Mrs. Ogilvie, the Misses Binyon, Canon Knox Little, Miss Margaret Tree, Mrs. Walter Browne, Mrs. Isaac, and the Rev. Precentor Woodward.

The text of the petition is as follows:—

"We the undersigned desire strongly to protest against the injustice of levying upon the women ratepayers of Worcester the cost of the Commission held to inquire into the charges of corrupt practices at the last election.

"We feel that women ratepayers being excluded from the privilege of voting for the return of members to represent them in Parliament should not be asked to pay for electoral offences in which they can have had no share."

### Meeting at Cosham.

A MEETING, under the auspices of the Central Society, was held recently at Cosham, near Southsea. The following account is taken from *The Hampshire Post*.

Lady Onslow presided, and among those also present were Lady Bosanquet, Lady Sybald Scott, Miss Watson (secretary, London), Mrs. Hoare (Purbrook Park), Miss Taylor (Purbrook), Mrs. Edgecombe Hellier, Mrs. Hawksley, Mr. and Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Jepps (Portsmouth), Mrs. Greenwood, Mother Emma (Lady Superior, St. Andrew's Home, Southsea), Miss Nora O'Shea (hon. secretary), and others.

Lady Onslow said she was afraid that there was a great lack of warmth in the south of England on the question, and she could not think why it was. The north were far ahead of the south in this matter, and she hoped they would begin to make headway and show that they were not really behindhand in making a stand for their sisters. She hoped they would be able to form a large society in the Portsmouth district, and fight for this question as hard as they could, trying to wake up the south of England to join hands with the north, for they did not want the women of England to be behind the women of a country like Norway or our colonies. (Applause.)

Lady Frances Balfour proposed: "That in the opinion of this meeting the time has now come for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and that therefore all those who are in favour should do all in their power to further it." She desired to deal with the question that afternoon, she said, not from the point of view of women's rights or wrongs, but of taking their place as citizens. They had all the responsibilities of citizenship, but not all the rights. The long fight throughout our constitutional history had been that if there was to be taxation there must be representation. Women in this country were taxed, and they were asking where was their representation? It was interesting to inquire why had this feeling grown so much? In the first place she considered it was an outcome of the education of the masses; secondly, it was an important factor that in the last twenty years women had been enormously employed in political life. There was never a contest now in which women did not take a part, and she herself had been engaged in canvassing in streets where it was not safe for men to go. There was the formation of the great Primrose League, which, whether they liked it or not, greatly affected the question of the franchise, and it was to the organizations of Liberal ladies that the Liberals largely owed the majority they now had in Parliament. During the past years the Liberal women never lost heart, although the men did, and the women formed the great organizations which did the spade work, so that when the time came, the men undoubtedly reaped the harvest. Women were thought to be quite fit to address meetings, and speak on various political questions, but totally unfit to express their opinions through the ballot. There was a good deal of lip service on the part of Members of Parliament, for there was hardly to be found a candidate of either political party who would stand up and say a word against the suffrage, but they did not carry it further.

Another cause which had pushed the question forward was the awakening of the industrial classes of England, who had shown their strength in this Parliament more than they had ever done before. And every one of the thirty Labour Members were pledged to support the enfranchisement of women. Behind them was a phalanx of women of the real

working classes, who had shown a determination to obtain the vote so that the condition of themselves and their children should be made better. Having seen and watched them in all parts of the country, she was convinced that they would win this battle, while those who were better educated and should have higher ideals of citizenship were so apathetic that they did little or nothing. The women workers of England were, roughly speaking,

OVER-WORKED AND UNDER-PAID.

In hundreds of thousands of cases they were in factories doing the work of men for less than half the wages of men. A manufacturer had told her that he employed women because they were less ambitious than men, and would take less wages and be more contented. In many industries men could get their conditions altered because they could threaten not to vote for a Member if he did not support their cause, but women could not use such a lever. Turning to the question of sweated labour, Lady Frances honestly confessed that she did not know how they were going to deal with it if they got the vote. She, personally, was an individualist, and she would be sorry to see Parliament do what it was always threatening—declaring that women should not take work in their own homes. That would be interfering with the liberty of the subject. She considered it a very odd coincidence, however, that since the agricultural labourers had had the vote, their condition had very much improved, and she believed the same result would occur in extending the franchise to women. Industrial women also desired to have the vote because they had a fear of democratic governments, as every Factory Act drew tighter and tighter the conditions of work committed to women.

Lady Frances was very facetious in her references to the House of Lords when discussing Bills admitting women to any privilege, and was severe in her references to the proposal to adopt the principle of co-opting women as members of public bodies instead of allowing them to be elected, as the Government present the measure proposed. Referring to the more violent section of the movement—the "Suffragettes"—she would not hide the fact that she had sympathy with them, and she had silenced opposition at meetings by telling interrupters that they would not have been there but for the agitation set up by those women. Those demonstrations had undoubtedly aroused interest throughout the country, and history taught them that every great reform was accompanied by such acts of violence. If others had worked as hard and with as much self-denial as those cultured and refined women, as she knew them to be, there would not have been any need for them to demonstrate. (Applause.)

Miss Mildred Watson seconded the motion, which was carried with only two dissentients.

One of the ladies voting against the resolution, Mrs. Edmonds, asked to give her reasons, thought that still more time was required for discussion. Before women secured the vote they should learn how to use it.

Lady Frances Balfour, in reply, said it was sixty years since the agitation commenced; so that it had certainly been discussed long enough. She did not know that the agricultural labourer was very highly educated when he was given the vote. (Applause.) They must remember the illiterates were given votes in this country, and it was very difficult to gauge the exact point when men or women were fit for anything. The great educator was want and experience, and responsibility was an education in itself. She did not ask for adult suffrage; but that those who had responsibilities should have the vote.

Mr. Morris proposed a vote of thanks to Lady Frances Balfour, and advised women in their own homes to discuss political questions, and get rid of the stigma that they did not understand them, which lay very much at the root of the opposition.

Mrs. Hawksley seconded, and remarked that co-optation was one of the most mischievous expedients that men had invented for the subjugation of women.

The motion was carried with enthusiasm, and a similar compliment was paid to Lady Onslow for presiding, and to Mrs. Davies for the loan of her grounds, on the motion of Mrs. Greenwood, seconded by Miss N. O'Shea.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

## Women's Social and Political Union.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.

Hon. Secretaries: MRS. DESPARD. MRS. EDITH HOW MARTYN, B.Sc., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.  
Hon. Auditor: A. G. SATERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.  
Telephone—5550 Holborn.  
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. W. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE, 87, Clements Inn, W.C.  
Organizing Secretary: MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.  
Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY, BEVAN & CO., 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

The W.S.P.U. appeals for the name and address of every woman in the country, of whatever class or political creed, who is willing to unite and work actively for the removal of the present degrading political disability imposed upon women. The Union welcomes every helper, and needs a great staff of voluntary speakers and canvassers and workers, whose services can be organized in the ever-growing National Campaign, and who can assist in raising the Special Fund of 20,000l. which is now needed to carry on and extend its present work.

Organizers: MISS ANNIE KENNEY. MISS MARY E. GAWTHORPE. MRS. M. BALDOCK. MRS. MARTEL. MISS ADELA PANKHURST. MRS. FLORA DRUMMOND, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

## The Movement Week by Week.

## THE STAFFORD ELECTION.

FROM the by-election in North-West Staffordshire come the most encouraging reports of the work which our Union is doing. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Martel have made their headquarters at Stoke-on-Trent. Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Massey, and a great many other women, experienced politicians, are taking charge of the different districts in the division. The constituency is organized as it was in the Colne Valley election: it is divided up into districts, and each district, with one or two centres of population, is put under the charge of two responsible workers, who organize and hold meetings, and arrange the work of the canvassers and of the body of helpers who work with them.

Mrs. Drummond and Miss Jessie Kenney, for instance, have been given the district of Audley, Butt Lane, and Halmer End, and I cannot do better than give one or two quotations from the letters which they send to headquarters.

"When Mrs. Drummond and I came here," says Miss Kenney, "we made a mark in the political history in this part of the country. The candidates before have been completely howled down and mobbed. We, on the other hand, have been treated with as much courtesy as could ever have been expected from the people. They are surprised at our being able to paint the picture of their lives and put it before them.

"Well, last night we went to a place called Halmer End. We had been prepared over and over again for our reception there, as the Tory candidate last time never had the chance of delivering a speech. He was absolutely mobbed. Well, we went armed for the fray—never shall we forget it! The whole village came out and was one complete uproar for five minutes. How we started and ended I cannot tell you. We prevailed in a little time, and everybody was as quiet as possible. We just 'let go' at them for at least twenty minutes, with scarcely an interruption, and it was really electric. We felt as though we had taught them a good lesson. It was a wondrous victory.

"Some of the miners have promised to vote against Stanley already, and this is the most Liberal part of the whole constituency. It is surprising the really good friends we have got in this little place. I have every reason to believe that we shall keep the Liberal candidate out. We certainly shall if what is going on in our district, which is supposed to be the most Liberal in the division, is going on all through the constituency."

Other letters tell the same story of good meetings successfully held—orderly beyond all possible expectation in those very spots where disorder is most threatened, and where election excitement runs most high. But though we are received with favour, we may not succeed in actually keeping the Government candidate out, owing to the strong attachment of the miners to the Liberal Party and the short time allowed for this election which is our great handicap.

## SERIOUS ILLNESS OF MARY GAWTHORPE.

The members of the Union will be deeply concerned and grieved to hear that our dear comrade Mary Gawthorpe is very seriously ill. She has broken the record in campaigning during the last few months. From Stepney to Rutland, from Rutland to Jarrow, from Jarrow to Colne Valley, from the Colne Valley to Staffordshire, she has carried the "Votes for Women" banner, without a day's rest between one election and another.

All who have ever heard her speak realize the immense influence which she brings to bear upon the electors. Her power over great audiences is something to be wondered at. I have never been with her at a meeting myself without a sense of amazement at the power that one individual can wield over thousands of men and women, turning indifference to enthusiasm, and hostility to unfeigned respect and admiration.

I heard the other day that at a suffrage meeting in Cambridge a vote of thanks was proposed to a man who had come forward in the Suffrage Cause as Parliamentary candidate, supported by the money and the work of women, and the women in that audience rose to their feet to carry it with acclamation. Could they but realize the battle that this one woman has fought for them, and the way in which she has done her part to bring their cause near to ultimate victory, they would feel that their greatest debt of gratitude is due to her and to the women who are fighting in the front of the battle line for them.

It is grievous to think of the way in which Mary Gawthorpe must have fought with anguish and pain during the last days of her activity. She said nothing about it, hoping to see the North-West Staffordshire election through before taking a much-needed rest. She could not guess the nature of the impending illness. One day alarming symptoms developed. Fortunately Mrs. Martel and her friend Mrs. Jusan Kerr were on the spot. They took the matter at this critical juncture into their own hands, Mrs. Jusan Kerr took charge of the invalid, and carried her off in her motor car to her own home. This prompt action probably saved more serious results. The doctor who was called in pronounced the illness a severe case of appendicitis, and for some time it was feared an immediate operation would be necessary. Owing to the weakness and inflammation it was desirable to postpone this as long as possible, and we are still hoping that it will be possible to meet the evil by less drastic treatment. But in any case, it will be several weeks before we may hope to have our beloved comrade restored to the fighting ranks again.

## ONE DIAMOND RING LEFT.

Last week a bracelet and two rings were sold for the Campaign Fund. There is one half-hoop diamond ring yet to be sold. This ring would be a very beautiful Christmas or birthday gift, and I shall be glad to show it to any one who would like to see it with a view to possible purchase.

## THE FUND IS NOT FORGOTTEN.

It is a great joy to the treasurer to realize as the post comes in every day that even in the holiday season the Campaign Fund is not forgotten. Everywhere, on board the pleasure boat, on the sea shore, in the hotel—wherever the members of the Union are, there they are finding new sympathizers and friends—and

## London Branches.

our 11. subscription post cards arrive day by day to tell us who are left in the office at headquarters that "Votes for Women" is indelibly written upon the hearts of our splendid band of Suffragettes. All joy to them in their holiday. Our Fund is mounting up. We have nearly 3,000l. given or promised already. If every member will get one new subscriber at least, on her holiday, we shall start our Autumn Campaign with a Fund of several thousand pounds. At the present moment we have but a very small balance in the bank. Our rapidly extending campaign and all these by-elections one after the other, are not only costing a great deal of money, but are absorbing all the energies and thoughts and work of the leaders of this Movement, so that they have to leave the task of raising funds to the individual members of the rank and file, who are numbered to-day in their thousands. For their never-failing activities and their splendid support we thank them all

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

## North-West Staffordshire By-Election.

WE are steadily winning our way to the confidence of the North-West Staffordshire people. As has been explained, we are concentrating on the industrial portion of the constituency, because it is from the miners that the Liberal candidate expects to get the bulk of his votes.

We are making it very clear to the miners that if Mr. Stanley had entered the field simply as a miners' candidate we should not have opposed him, and that our presence at the election is solely due to the fact that he is, in addition to being a miners' nominee, a Government nominee also.

The miners' adherence to the Liberal party being largely due to their having received the vote from Mr. Gladstone's ministry, we point out that their debt of gratitude to the Liberal party has been by this time fully discharged, and that, although Gladstone gave the miners the vote, he at the same time spurned the women's claim to the franchise. In order to illustrate the wisdom of the method of revolt adopted by the W.S.P.U., we draw the miners' attention to the fact that the Government, because they are confident that the miners will in every event support them at the elections, neglect to grant the miners' eight hours day, while concessions are made to other more clamorous sections of the electorate, because it is known that otherwise the latter will oppose the Government.

To these and other arguments our audiences listen with close attention. From time to time irate interruptions are heard, but the authors of them are generally reproved by others who wish to listen undisturbed. Whether or not they are prepared to vote against the party they have trusted so long, the working men begin to realize that we have a very strong case.

Our statement that the present Government, unless it is prepared to meet the popular demand for reform, will cause the nation's affairs to be entrusted at the next election to a Protectionist Government impresses the Free Traders. They are asking themselves whether it is not advisable to force the present Government to grant Women's Suffrage by voting Tory on the present occasion. They recognize the possibility that the fiscal reformers, in order to get the support of women and to gain an advantage over the political enemy, may champion the women's suffrage cause. Liberals can see that there is a good deal to be said in favour of bringing pressure to bear on the Government at this stage by voting for the Unionist candidate.

The women are greatly pleased that their rights are being championed. Special meetings are being held for them. One of the chief events of the campaign has been a demonstration held at Clough Hall in a pleasure garden, accessible from several parts of the constituency. All our meetings arouse keen interest; and even if we fail to defeat the Liberal, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we carried a knowledge of women's suffrage into hundreds of homes.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

A DULL sky with drizzling rain greeted those who looked from their windows last Saturday morning, and accounted for the small number who ventured to leave Oxshott by the morning train. Fortunately a great improvement had taken place by midday, so that though the cyclists had to abandon their ride, and others who feared to risk a wet walk elected to stay at home, there was a goodly gathering by the afternoon under the trees on Mrs. Despard's charming lawn, all of whom very much enjoyed such a unique opportunity of meeting one another for social intercourse and discussion of questions of so much interest and importance to all.

After tea a few words were said by Mrs. Despard and Miss Hodgson about the approaching Conference on October 12th, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence gave the latest news of the workers at the by-election in N.W. Staffordshire. An informal vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Despard for her hospitality, and to Miss Mansell for the untiring energy and thoughtfulness with which she cared for all, and which went so far to make the day the success it was. After a further stroll round the garden or in the woods close by, the whole party returned to town together in the special carriages reserved for them.

The usual weekly or fortnightly meetings of the various branches have now practically ceased until after the holidays, though they have in many cases been replaced by open-air meetings which always result in new members coming forward to join the local branch.

Another good meeting is reported from Harrow Road. Mrs. Francis dealt very forcibly with the objections commonly brought forward against the extension of the Franchise to women, and evidently greatly impressed her audience, who were also much interested in the account of the Colne Valley election given by Mrs. Clayton.

The canvass of Paddington ratepayers is now going on too slowly to please those in charge of it, no doubt owing to the holidays, and additional workers are earnestly asked for, if only for a day's work, and will be warmly welcomed at the new committee room at 13, Pembroke Crescent, W., though it should be noted that the room will be closed during the annual holiday of the regular workers from August 3rd to 18th inclusive.

We are glad to learn that the Stepney branch, which has hitherto had to trespass on the hospitality of one of its members, has now been fortunate enough to obtain the use of an excellent hall for its weekly meetings, which it is hoped will result in the rapid expansion of the branch. The Limehouse branch, which has found the same difficulty as to suitable quarters, has joined forces, and the two will now run together.

Walthamstow is one of our youngest branches; but it is most energetic and enterprising. It called a public meeting on July 25th in the Queen's Road school. The hall was full. A little group of young men and boys standing at the back attempted to interrupt the meeting, but became interested in spite of themselves. Dr. Drysdale took the chair. Mrs. Baldock and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence moved and seconded the resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women next session. Mrs. Sadd Brown, of the Hackney Women's Liberal Association, and Miss Lightman made excellent speeches in support of the resolution, which was carried. The Walthamstow branch is to be congratulated on the success of their meeting.

C. H.

## WORK IN THE SUBURBS.

The special open-air campaign which is being organized in London districts made an excellent start last week, meetings being held in Putney on Wednesday and Barnes on Friday, which were well attended and highly successful. Weekly meetings are to be held at the same places and in other districts, and canvassing and other propaganda work is being carried on in Richmond and elsewhere. It is hoped to extend this campaign considerably, and this linking up of outlying districts promises to prove of much value to the cause. Workers for canvassing, speaking, and local organization work are greatly needed.

B. B. W.

## Provincial Branches.

An open-air meeting was held in Northampton Square, Leicester, with Mrs. Drysdale in the chair, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Dalley as speakers. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in a well-reasoned speech surveyed the woman's movement from an international and national point of view, particularly dealing with the unequal position of the sexes with regard to the labour and prison laws of this country. To take one instance cited, a boy of fourteen commits a petty offence, is not sent to prison. He is a potential citizen, and, if possible, must be reclaimed and made of service to the State. For him the authorities had the Borstall system. He is taught carpentering or other trades, and all the good in him is given an opportunity to develop. On the other hand, the girl offender of the same age is given solitary confinement in a small cell, day in day out, except for brief periods of chapel and exercise.

The resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women was carried with two dissentients. A further resolution put by Miss A. S. Clarke condemning the bribery vote being levied on Worcester women was carried unanimously.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst has been visiting Bournemouth and was the speaker at a large meeting held at the Grand Hotel, the chair being occupied by Mrs. Alfred Hood. Miss Heckels and Miss Allen (W.S.P.U.), and Miss Warren, secretary of the Bournemouth Central Suffrage Branch, Councillor J. and Mrs. Donkin, the Rev. T. Phelps (Poole), and Mrs. Howard Shaw, the organizer of the gathering, also occupying the platform.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst surveyed the whole question of Woman's Suffrage, pointing out that women could not get social reform for any class of women without a tool to carve it with, and that tool was the vote. In their efforts to ameliorate their industrial and social conditions, they were wasting their time unless they had political power.

The following day Miss Pankhurst, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Rowe, president of the Bournemouth branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, addressed a large gathering at a garden party. In a very able speech Miss Pankhurst pointed out the necessity for women to co-operate with men to remedy the terrible social and economic conditions prevalent amongst women as well as men. In things political, too, it was evident there was a general need of "spring cleaning"—neither men nor women could do it alone, the one sex being the complement of the other, and yet men would not associate women with them, because as Lord Halsbury said "Women were too uncompromising, too downright."

The Brighton branch is on a firm footing, being financially and numerically sound. At a branch meeting the argument that "Woman's Suffrage is not desirable" was ably put by Miss Cook and negated by Mrs. McKeown. Miss Cook's argument was that if women, through the vote, came to know of the evils and wrongs of the world at first hand they would get hardened, and their keen sympathy with suffering would be blunted. Also that we could not compare New Zealand and England in the matter of Votes for Women, because New Zealand being a new and England an old country the comparison could not hold good.

Mrs. McKeown showed that women, from a variety of circumstances, must have the justice of the vote conceded to them in order that the politicians be compelled to legislate in their favour, the capitalist to give them a living wage, and the laws to recognize them as citizens. It was shown by past political events that the English Government never had allowed controversial measures to become law until it was wakened up by stress of outside circumstances.

An animated discussion followed, and a resolution: "That Women's Suffrage is desirable" was passed unanimously by the meeting.

A delightful garden party was given by Mrs. Martindale on July 23rd which brought together her own circle of friends in Horsted-Keynes and the members of the Brighton branch. The sun smiled upon the gathering. Several prominent women in the Liberal Party were present, and speeches were given by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

## Scottish Notes.

THE big Scottish event of the autumn is to be the Suffrage procession in Edinburgh. While the holidays seemed to have interfered with the work of the rest of the branches I am glad to report that the Edinburgh branch has not wearied in its efforts to make this great demonstration a success. Arrangements are well advanced, a large hall for the inevitable overflow meeting has been obtained, the order to be observed in the procession has been decided upon, and also the number of bands which are to take part. One original feature of the demonstration will be the presence in the ranks of a number of carriages and waggonettes for those women who are not able to undertake to walk from King's Park to the Synod Hall. The tickets for the vehicles are to be only 1s. each. There is hope that in addition to a strong muster of Suffragettes and Suffragists a large number of nurses in uniform and university students and graduates will take part in this first Scottish procession. Mrs. Bell, who is the responsible secretary for this great work, appeals for all who are willing to help or who desire to take part in the procession to communicate with her at 39, Comely Bank Place, Edinburgh. All Women's Societies have been appealed to, and women of every political party are cordially invited to join in this national Scottish effort.

This week the Coast Campaign has been as successful as it was last. Again Miss Fraser and Miss Phillips have held two or three meetings every day, and have not only had good meetings and sold a large quantity of literature, but have made new members for the inland branches. The local papers are giving favourable notices, and an article dealing with the summer activities of the indefatigable suffragette has appeared in a Glasgow paper.

The Council at its monthly meeting on Saturday decided to continue the seaside work throughout August. Gourrock and possibly Greenock will be visited this week. Then Miss Fraser goes to the watering-places on the Ayrshire coast, while I return to the Irving Valley and hold a series of meetings between Kilmarnock and Darvel. Then comes the turn of Dumbarton and Helensburgh, with which the west coast campaign closes, for in the following week Miss Fraser will cross to the east, where she is to have the help of the four eastern branches.

For the rest these two months of August and July are not regarded as work-a-day months in the towns of Scotland, and little can be done by the remaining branches. But the Glasgow Western branch took its courage in both hands and held an out-door meeting in the close streets last Thursday, at which I was kept answering questions until ten o'clock. By the end of August, however, the work will be in full swing again.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

## False Promises.

When I was still a Candidate, all place and power without,  
Then every Woman could control and order me about;  
I pledged them all they liked to ask, and showed my courage stout!  
But now I'm safe within the House, I laugh, and let them shout!  
For once I am in Parliament they cannot turn me out!

When I was still a Candidate, my eloquence was heard  
In praise of Honour! for such flights my audiences stirred!  
And truth to tell! the Truth to Lies I always had preferred!  
But now I am an "Honourable," honour is absurd!  
When once I'm safe in Parliament, I'm safe to break my word!

When I was still a Candidate, whole chapters I'd recite  
Of moral Maxims excellent, and worth the quoting quite!  
They saw me—my constituents—in such a noble light  
That life became a strain to me, and spoiled my appetite!  
But now I'm free in Parliament to parley with the Right!

GULIELMA KITCHING.

## After Colne Valley.

THE Colne Valley election is over, another triumph for "Votes for Women." No matter what the newspapers say in cold type, the representatives of the press must and do acknowledge that we turned many votes. Our meetings are the largest and longest, we are all able to make better and longer speeches than the men. We get our resolutions really voted on—not a score of hands for and a dozen against; but thousands of hands go up on our resolution being put—and invariably they are carried without one dissentient.

Another message has gone up to Westminster. But is that all? No, thousands on thousands who had only heard of us as "hooligans" and "fooligans," as "notoriety seekers," and "unsexed women," &c., have been brought face to face with us and we have taught them what we want with the vote for women; we have made enthusiasts of them also, and whether we turn the vote or not is not half as important as the great good we are doing our cause. It means that the next general election will be fought on our question. We shall remove our false friends who now sit in the House of Commons on the promises they gave to support the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Men and women are awakening to the injustice done to the mothers of men.

We point out the need for the carrying into effect the social reforms so long promised. We show that the women's votes in New Zealand and Australia were the cause which carried old age pensions, the lever which removed the sweated home labour, the voice which wiped out opium traffic, the power which made it easier to be more moral, more temperate, more progressive; and we find everywhere the inherent love of justice and fair play in the hearts of the working British public. We are killing prejudice and winning support. We find everywhere the women taking the keenest interest in our work; they are realizing we are doing something for them, and they readily respond, and are anxious to do something for other women less fortunate than themselves. I would some of our Liberal (?) Cabinet Ministers—such as Mr. Asquith and Lord Crewe—could see the great interest the women of the country are taking in political questions. Mr. Asquith would realize that his reign of tyranny is doomed, his public days are numbered.

I could give dozens of incidents which all go to prove that this Government, with 377 supporters out of 670, has lost the confidence of those who put Principles before Party. A temperance man came to me and said, "I hope you will win and defeat the Government nominee; they have not kept their pledges to us, and in a few months' time all the temperance party will be on your side; we shall adopt your methods, which after all is all they fear." A Nonconformist minister, who had not before looked into the wrong done to women by their exclusion from the franchise, said he had taken a keen interest in the work we had done in the last two elections, because the women of his congregation had gone to him and pointed out our mission, and even told him he should go and hear us. He came, heard us, and was convinced we were doing right, and he came to tell us if any of our workers were in his district to let him know, and he would gladly help all he could in lending rooms, giving hospitality, distributing literature, &c. John Bull likes Truth and Justice, and will not put up with pretence and hypocrisy once he awakens to the fact.

John Bull's daughters are not lacking in the noble qualities any more than John Bull's sons. John Bull fought for his rights when he was imposed on, and we, being fathered, and husbanded, and brothered by John Bull, shall know how to get our rights. A few more messages from the electorates to Westminster, a little more "pressure on the Government"—as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Haldane suggested—a little more education of the people, women and men, and then votes for women will not be "talked out." M.P.s will not be knighted for ignobly opposing justice to the oppressed. And, by the way, questions the Government will have to answer, although it has not yet answered us. Why did Mr. S. Evans get a Recordership? Why did Messrs. Cremer, Wason, and M. Levy get knighted? Why? It is a significant fact each and all of

them obliged the Government by blocking the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The country is waking up to the Americanizing of English politics. It has been said "Every man has his price." C.B. seems to be a good judge of men with a price. Go on just a little more; let John Bull's sons and daughters see how far parties can strangle principles for their own upkeep, and then, perhaps, we shall be able to see that parties have a limited life whilst principles are immortal. The impulse of the people is right; therefore we want the impulse of the whole people. "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny." We—John Bull's daughters—are determined to put down tyrants. A Cromwell will arise out of the daughters of the people. The House of Commons shall once more be emptied of its oppressive and tyrannical members. The country is ripening for it. Promises of legislation to protect the women of Great Britain will not do. We do not want protection, we want justice; nothing else will satisfy us. We fear your protection. It may be, indeed is, the kind of protection wolves give to lambs, covering and devouring them. No! like the Chartists of old, we will take no promises for reforms—we will have the vote, and work out reforms and salvation for ourselves.

I intended telling you of some of the incidents in our last by-election in Colne Valley, but time presses. There is, however, one I must mention. It was the day of the polling. We visited every polling booth in a motor car, and one young man—where nearly every one wore the Liberal colour—and his companion both wearing the yellow (Liberal) colour, asked why I, a Liberal, was going against my own party. I had a talk with them for ten minutes only; the questioner, at the end of my answer, took off his ribbon and threw it away. He said, "I do believe in the Principles of Liberalism, and if I support this Government I see I am helping to put men before principle. I am with you; I shall vote for the women." A voter under thirty, "a young Liberal" he went and gave his vote for the women. I cite this to show there is hope for the women's cause.

We are now in N.W. Staffordshire. I think, if we have time enough to get round the constituency, we shall send another—the seventh—message to Westminster.

NELLIE A. MARTEL.

## Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

From July 22nd to July 27th.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	2068	0	0	Anon. (Sale of a Lady's Jewels)	17	10	0
Bowes Park and District	0	5	0	Miss Winifred Richardson	0	5	0
Brighton W.S.P.U.	1	2	8	Miss Gertrude Hovenden	0	7	6
Miss Rosanna Powell	1	0	0	Mrs. Florence Earengay, B.A.	2	0	0
Miss Alice Greene	1	0	0	Miss Constance Smedley	2	2	0
Mrs. Mary Jagger	1	10	0	Mrs. and The Misses Shillington	5	0	0
Mrs. Cobden Urwin	5	0	0	Mrs. C. A. Parrett	0	2	6
Mrs. C. P. Sanger	1	0	0	Guarantee Fund (Weekly)	2	11	6
Miss Margaret Hill	1	0	0	Kensington Branch W.S.P.U.	2	0	0
Miss Alice Williams	1	0	0	Mrs. Constance Warr	1	0	0
Dr. Helena Jones	1	0	0	Bradford Branch W.S.P.U.	0	5	0
Miss Eleanor Allen	1	1	0	Mrs. and Mr. Pethick Lawrence (First instalment of promised £650)	100	0	0
Miss Louise Edwards	0	5	6	Miss Sime Seruya	5	0	0
Miss Sullivan	0	2	0	Miss Mary Yeldham	1	5	0
Miss Agnes Carter	0	1	6	Arthur Price, Esq.	0	10	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Lucas	0	10	6	Miss Marie Vance	1	0	0
Mrs. C. D. Rackham	1	0	0	E. V. Lucas, Esq. (donation)	1	0	0
Brighton Branch W.S.P.U.	0	5	0	Mrs. E. B. Hines	1	0	0
Miss Florence Corbett	0	10	0	Miss Mary Blachway	1	0	0
Miss Dorothy Melh�	1	1	0	Anon. (Further sale of Lady's Jewels)	5	5	0
Mrs. Crosby Smith	1	0	0	Mrs. Thomas Letherbrow	0	10	0
Miss S. E. Turquand	5	0	0	Mrs. M. E. Pegge	10	0	0
Hampstead Branch W.S.P.U.	1	0	0	Collections	1	18	0
Miss Georgina MacRae	1	0	0				
Mrs. Hall	1	0	0	Total	2263	16	8
Mrs. Despard	3	0	0				
Mrs. Garner-Watts	1	0	0				
Miss Winifred Holdom	1	0	0				
Miss Mary Forster	0	16	0				
Mrs. Purdie and Mr. Purdie	1	0	0				

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.  
From July 31st to August 4th.

			P.M.
Wed.	Liverpool, "Clarion Caf�"	Mrs. Hillier	8
	N.W. STAFFORDSHIRE POL- LING DAY	Visits to all Polling Booths	
	Paddington, Junction of Elgin Avenue and Waltherton Road	Dr. Jones Mrs. Arneliffe Sennett	8
Fri.	Stepney, Mission Hall, Old Church Road	Mrs. Baldoek	8
Sun.	London, Hyde Park	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	3
	London, Finsbury Park	Miss Irene Miller	3.30
	London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Baldoek	3.30

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

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

### Ex Oriente Lux!

SAUL has joined the prophets, and as all politicians in their kind are prophets, Saul's following is not inconsiderable. They use their vaticinatory talent in depicting the decay of Old England in the time to come when women are admitted to the Parliamentary Franchise on the same terms as men. The arrogance of the Sultanas of the Front Bench, the vermilion veracity of the voluble hoydens in opposition—these are the pegs on which they hang the tattered shreds of their unavailing eloquence. If a debate on Women's Suffrage in the House is in danger of lapsing into that dulness which passes with us for decorum, there are those who, from their armoury of reminiscence, will draw to light some rusty text, some Pauline invective, some Pentateuchal admonition against women.

All these worthies prove is that the march of their progress is very slow. Members of the temporary majority in that august assembly which by sinister mischance we all in our flashes (not flushes) of post prandial eloquence designate as the MOTHER of Parliaments, are—must be—competent to manage, on patriarchal lines of course, the affairs of this and many nations. Yet so dark is their Imperial ignorance that they have not removed an indelible stain upon the honour of the British nation in India. Much as the deportation of Lajpat Rai will avail for the peace of the Panjab, does the Government realize that they are countenancing and supporting all the evils of a social system based on that horrible idea the competency of woman to deal with affairs of State? Till yesterday the story of these matriarchal States lay buried in the arid wastes of official gazetteers awaiting the *sacer vates* who should proclaim it to all and sundry. Here are women in authority—here from women alone flow, in women alone are vested, the rights of property. Women are hierophants, the sacred mysteries are open to them, and it is typical of our inveterate habit of managing other people's business that into this matriarchal Eden we have introduced the suffrage, of course restricted to men. *Ecrasez l'infame* if you will, but you dare not interfere with the sacred laws of property, even where women enjoy them.

Those who run may now read the true and particular account of the Khasia States, by Major Gurdon, Deputy Commissioner of the Khasia Hills, recently published by Mr. Nutt under the auspices and with the authority of the Government. Really they manage these things better in India. Among the Khasias the education of women has made enormous progress. Nor is it at all irrational that in those parts of India where the patriarchal idea is most vigorous, little is done for the education of the women. We, however, boast of our endeavours to promote the education of women; we are going to the length of experiments in co-education. We recognize the value of women's brains by giving them degrees, except in those monastic and mediocrally minded universities, of which there is this to be said in their favour, that they recognize the necessity of forbidding their adolescent patriarchs the dear delights of marbles on the steps of the University church.

From Oxford to the East is no far cry in these days of tutorial anthropologists. "Uno avulso non deficit alter." They tell me in Oxford that this Khasia matriarchate is a "survival." Apart from the grim temptation of reminding them of other and less venerable survivals, I retort that it is an instance of the survival of the fittest, and not, if we look into things, unique or without a parallel. Mark the teaching of Buddha, that great one of the many lights that have glorified Asia. Mark, too, the practice of the Buddhistic law in Burma, where marriage is no unilateral contract, but bilateral—equal, just, denying nothing to the woman which it grants to the man.

With the timidity of our imperfect logic we soothe our uneasy consciences with the argument that we have done all that is necessary by making it possible, at the cost of publicity,

for a woman to get a judicial separation with alimony (mark that—alimony, not independence) from the man who, as husband, maltreats her, without affording grounds for divorce. But in these village communities of the East—so permeated is their life by the teaching of the man made perfect—women are protected, honoured, well treated. Those who have seen the happy life of a Burmese village will bear witness to my truth in this. After all, is not the patriarchy itself a survival? Oh no—it fights our battles for us. Thomas Carlyle, was it for this that you spilt a gallon of ink and maybe some tears over your thirty able-bodied men from Dumdrudge? This hideous panoply of war—a thousand times more hideous in its business-like khaki—is kept up clearly by and for our patriarchs. Patriot and patriarch, patriarch and patriot! What a fine electioneering poster if there were no Women's League to bother good men and true.

Upon the serious philosopher a new light has shone from the abyss which we have hitherto peopled with those horrid phantasms, race hatred, colour prejudice, earth hunger, *welt politik*, sexual injustice and inequality—there is rising into view a vision of peace which is no dream, a glory of justice, freedom, equality before the law, the participation of all, without distinction of sex, uniform, race, rank, or religion, in the duties, burdens, and rights of a common citizenship. Craven are they who stand before us arguing that they fear that women will make the government of the State impossible because their consciences will not allow them to consent to compromises. Of them I say

Confound their politics,  
Frustrate their knavish tricks,  
God save the Queen.

T. C. HODSON.

### The Old Adam.

THE old-fashioned view of women seems to be deeply engrained even in the minds of boys of tender years. Witness the following gem, culled from an answer to a recent examination question set for boys of about fourteen. Speaking of two of Shakespeare's most charming heroines, one precocious youth describes them as "typical women, capricious, curious, and yet full of sparkle and womanly love."

Here we have in a nutshell the attitude which is characteristic of so many of the opponents of Women's Suffrage. The "typical woman, full of sparkle and womanly love," is the ideal. Her function, in so far as she is a good woman, is to amuse, comfort, and support not only her fellow-women, but also those men with whom she is in contact. Now however intelligent the schoolboy of fourteen is, it is beyond question that his ideas of women are not the result of mature deliberation and ripe experience. They cannot be taken as a criterion by those who are faced with the real problems of life. They have been acquired at second hand from the appalling text-books which turn beautiful thoughts into mnemonic diagrams for examination purposes, and from teachers not all of whom are conscientious enough to weigh the effect of a thoughtless jest à propos of a particular character in an early seventeenth-century drama.

And since the boy is the father of the man, what wonder is it that the cynical second-hand platitude of the schoolboy humourist gradually crystallizes into the stupid prejudice of the man? What wonder that the man, with that characteristically human desire for the inexpensive luxury of a reputation for profundity, thankfully adopts that ideal of womanhood which consorts most conveniently with his domestic dignity and comfort? The weak man has the great opportunity of his life with his women folk. By the exercise of a little pathetic subtlety he can persuade himself and his womenkind that the weaknesses shared

by man and woman alike are peculiar to women. Characteristically he selects those very weaknesses which are necessarily more apparent in the overworked housewife and mother—in the sex which for ages has been restricted to a permanently narrow horizon.

The tired, nervous woman is "capricious"; the eager mind of the restricted daughter is "curious." The one wants a change, the other wants to know. Circumstances—including the man—check both these desires *et voilà tout!* Cause, effect; effect, cause. The false generalization traceable to the flabby platitude of a bored teacher becomes a pernicious *vera causa* in the clumsy hands of a man who seeks in the domestic circle the supremacy which the City does not afford him. The worst of it is that some women are "capricious and curious." So are many men. If Eve suggested the eating of the apple, yet the fatal step was taken by Adam. And yet Adam was not "curious"; no, poor fellow, he was merely—what?—anxious not to seem churlish in face of a friendly offer? "The woman tempted me." Yes, perhaps; but the temptation fell on the ready ears of weakness. The sin of curiosity was for prudential reasons laid to the account of one of the partners by the other.

Let no one think that these words are in flippant criticism of the events described in Genesis. They are merely to point the moral which emerges from the schoolboy's answer.

When a man accuses women of this, that, or the other failing, let him bear in mind that he himself, or if not he, many of his male friends, share in that failing. They may succeed in impressing the contrary on their home-keeping wives and daughters, whose affections and interests combine in a heroic eulogy of the potential tyrant. But away in the smoke-room at the club they stand confessed. Feminine weakness as such does not exist, unless all men are women in disguise. The noble "instinct" of which so many men affectingly speak in denying to women their recognition as full citizens is the finished product of the raw material dumped on the irrational market of the childish consumer. Would that a sense of humour were a commodity, rather than a rare and precious metal! J. M. MITCHELL.

### Villanelle.

TO WOMAN.

You will not lack in gentleness,  
When you have cast your chains aside,  
And Man shall never love you less—

Nor will you turn from his distress  
To wear the cold hard face of pride:  
You will not lack in gentleness,

For you were only born to bless,  
And Man shall seek you as his bride,  
Since he can never love you less.

When he no longer shall oppress,  
But stand an equal at your side,  
You will not lack in gentleness.

Through him your wrongs shall find redress,  
To him unheard you have not cried,  
And he shall never love you less.

The rosy cheek, the coy caress  
No more to him will be denied—  
You will not lack in gentleness,  
Lest he should ever love you less.

H. J.

### Correspondence.

The Average Man.

[WE have received a large number of replies to the interesting letter of "Average Man" which appeared in these columns last week. We hope that all who are interested in the subject will send communications to us at 38, Museum Street, W.C.]

SIR,—It is ill arguing with a prophet; and yet I should like to make two or three observations upon the state of mind of "The Average Man" who wrote in your last number with such

engaging frankness. Any man who can describe truly what he feels is a valuable man in a controversy, and your correspondent has at least described very fairly a state of mind which is the chief, if not the only real, obstacle to the admission of women to the franchise.

Most men see that letting women vote means a great deal; that it means at least an acknowledgment of something achieved already by women, and at most a raising of the comparative status of women to a level as yet undiscovered. The average man—or as I should prefer to put it, man in his average mood—does not like either meaning—and he never will. So far I agree with your correspondent; but if that were the whole truth, he would have proved a great deal too much. He would not only have explained why Ireland has not got Home Rule, and why the Labour Movement has been slow in getting under way; he would have proved that Catholics and Jews could never have been enfranchised, slaves could never have been set free, Parliamentary Reform could never have been effected, elementary education could never have begun to be organized. No reform whatever has been, or ever will be, acceptable to man in his average mood. Reforms have been carried, not because the average man has ceased to find them alarming, but because somehow at some time man has become accessible to a motive which has shaken him out of his average mood and compelled him to see that unless he does the right thing he is eternally disgraced, even if the price of his tea goes up in consequence. The average mood would never have freed the slaves; it is unlikely that it will enfranchise women, until it is obliged to.

I am not concerned to convince your correspondent of the things upon which he invites conviction; if the public work that has already been done by women leaves him still able to write of "inexperienced hands" and "visionary idealism" and the "muzzling" of "ecstatic virgins," it is not probable that words will enlighten him. The thickness of his head and the coldness of his heart, his fears and his dullness, which he recommends to your consideration, must yield, if they yield at all, to a more powerful exorcist. He is in that state of mind in which it is really alarming to contemplate the challenging of his opinions upon philanthropy, upon virtue, upon politics; and to that state of mind it is only possible to say with Touchstone, "God make incision in thee! thou art raw."

I would not encourage him to think, while he is in his average mood, that "Women's Suffrage will do him no harm." It will make him very uncomfortable. The immediate visible effect may be small, but it will mean that he can no longer think complacently of his work and his play without thinking also of the work and play of women, that he will have to consider whether that "complicated machinery which protects him, however imperfectly" is protecting him against the interests of women, that he will have to find some better means of achieving peace in his home than by merely excluding politics from conversation because women do not understand them. But let "The Average Man" take courage, for it will only bring him up to the point reached some time ago by everybody who has been moved by the history of the last fifty years. The trouble with him is not that, as he puts it, he is "not particularly intelligent or worthy"—it is that he is Early Victorian. Most of us are Early Victorian at times; but we get over it, and when a sufficient number of men and women have got over it, it will seem as obvious that women should vote as that they should think. Even that was terrifying once.

Why should "The Average Man" join the Men's League for Women's Suffrage? I would not persuade him to do so, any more than I would have persuaded him to join the Anti-Corn Law League or the Anti-Slavery Society, or Young Italy, or any society that did not promise him an increase of his own comfort. So long as he is in his average state of mind, such a step is wholly improbable, and he had better not think of it. If he clings to that state of mind he will do better to continue somehow to sleep through the next few years, on the chance that some day he may wake in a happier mood, and rubbing his eyes in the strange light may exclaim, bewildered but not wholly disgusted, "Can this be I?" But this is almost prophesying, and I do not claim to be a prophet. Yours faithfully,

C.

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