

Women's Franchise.

No. 14.

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accounts will be sent to those enclosing an addressed envelope with their remittance.

Should our friends continue to give us their support in making the paper more widely known we may confidently expect that the paper will be self-supporting at the end of the six months. We repeat our willingness to furnish specimen copies for free distribution, and thank our numerous friends for the number of copies they have already asked for for this purpose.

As we intend to follow for the future the course we have hitherto adopted in the conduct of this paper, in order that our policy may be clear to every one, we regretfully find it necessary to refer for once, although now only indirectly, to matters which we consider affect the members of one society, and are really no concern of the General Editor. *Women's Franchise* was started, and is maintained, in order to give publicity to the cause of the enfranchisement of women, which we think is tantamount to furthering the said cause. We are willing to insert news, so far as we are able, quite irrespective of persons or societies. When the paper was started three societies decided to give us their support and to make use of our pages for their news. On August 20th we received a letter from the Women's Social and Political Union, informing us that a special Sub-Committee had been "appointed to deal with all the matter which goes into the paper under the W.S.P.U. heading. It consists of Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Martyn, Miss Hodgson, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence." For our issue of September 19th we were given to understand that two of the above-mentioned Committee wished to alter the heading under which their matter appeared, but as the other two of the Committee did not express the same desire we were in somewhat of a dilemma, and after a vain endeavour to secure unanimity we took legal advice, which decided us in our medium course of putting a heading which all had formerly approved. In our issue of last week we received copy from all four members of this specially appointed sub-committee. Two members wished for the usual heading, and two wished for a new heading. We accepted the heading wished for by the latter, and the other two members kindly consented to the small heading being inserted, without any names, above their two pages of matter. As to the affairs which govern the actions of the above-mentioned members we have absolutely no concern. While regretting that The National Women's Social and Political Union should refuse to give our readers the benefit of their particular news, we may reasonably feel glad that we have been enabled for three months to publish news supplied by their members to thousands entirely free of all cost to themselves, and to know that the receipts from the advertisements inserted by them have been greater than the expenses incurred.

As said above, our pages remain open, so far as limits of space will permit, to any who desire to use them for the purpose of giving publicity to Suffrage news, and on no account will we permit any person or society to dictate to us as to exclusion of other people from using our pages.

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.

To Our Readers.

THE quick response to the appeal for funds to guarantee the Proprietor against further loss in publishing *Women's Franchise* encouraged the belief that the issue for a whole year might be ensured; but more moderate counsels have prevailed, and unless a further large amount is promised we intend to invite subscriptions for six months only, forms for which will be found in this week's issue, or, of course, the paper may be obtained through the newsagents. Should any difficulty be experienced in adopting the latter course the publisher will be much obliged if he is communicated with directly.

It has been determined that the paper shall not be less than twelve pages during the above-mentioned period (save in the unlikely contingency of a shortage of matter), and that no edition shall be issued of less than 5,000 copies, all of which will be put into circulation.

As it is evident that for the first six months a certain loss will be incurred, it has been decided at the end of October, when a fair estimate of such loss can be made, to call upon the guarantors to send their donations to cover the estimated loss on the six months' working. It is believed that this course will best suit the convenience of the guarantors as well as save a large amount of work and therefore expense. The donations will be acknowledged through our columns. A statement of

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

UNITED STATES.—Considerable indignation has been aroused in Suffragist circles by the action of Congress in deliberately disfranchising the women of the Philippines on the occasion of the first elections to the Assembly. In acting thus they are disregarding the testimony of Governor Taft and Archbishop Nozaleda, who stated before a United States committee in 1899 that "if the Suffrage were given to these natives it should be to the women instead of the men, as they were much superior in every respect, even in business."

Jus Suffragii quotes an interesting pronouncement made by Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court on the effect of Women's Suffrage in Colorado. "While many bad men have been nominated and elected in spite of Woman Suffrage, they have not been nominated and elected because of Woman Suffrage. If the women alone had a vote it would result in a class of men in public office whose character for veracity, honesty, and courage would be of a much higher order. In the last election only two officials on the ticket of the leading political party were defeated. One of these men had openly and notoriously protected grafters and ballot-box stuffers. He was defeated for a high office absolutely by the vote of the women, as was also another man whose moral as well as political record was very bad. The only blow for decency that counted in that election was delivered by the women voters, and the very important good that came out of an otherwise questionable election was the result of Woman Suffrage. The evil results of that election were in spite of Woman Suffrage, not because of it. If the matter had been left entirely to the women not a corruptionist would have been elected. . . . Ninety-nine per cent. of our election frauds were committed by men without any assistance, direct or indirect, from women; but because one per cent. were committed by women there are ignorant or careless-minded people in other States who actually argue that this is a reason for denying women the right to vote. If so, it would be a ten times greater reason for denying it to men. Many good laws have been obtained in Colorado which would not have been secured but for the power and influence of women. . . . The great majority of the people of Colorado favour Woman Suffrage, after practical experience for more than a decade, first because it is just, fair, and decent, and second because its influence has been good rather than evil in our political affairs. Even if the second reason did not exist, the first would still be sufficient to all right-minded men."

In **HUNGARY** apathy has now given place to real activity. On September 6th a large meeting was held at Buda-Pest, which was well reported by the papers and aroused considerable interest. This was followed two days later by an open-air meeting attended by an audience of 2,000, drawn chiefly from the working classes. On both occasions the principal speaker was our countrywoman, Mrs. Dora Montefiore; but Hungarian ladies also addressed the gatherings with much spirit and eloquence.

Dr. Isabella Györy has been appointed Assistant Surgeon to the State Eye Hospital at Budapest. Several women are holding similar appointments at Government hospitals in Hungary.

In **AUSTRIA** in consequence of a resolution of the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Vienna, which has been sanctioned by the Minister of Education, Elise Richter, M.D., has been appointed to lecture on Romance Philology as *Privatdozentin*—the first woman admitted to this position.

In **PRUSSIA** the recently published Health Statistics for Prussia show that in 1905, 3,963 women died in childbirth, the total number of births being 1,279,992. The percentage of such deaths is higher in country districts than in the towns, being for the former 2.26, for the latter 1.96.

We are glad to learn that the *Armenant*, of Danzig, now regularly includes three women among its members. Since 1898 women have acted as Guardians of the Poor in that city on the same footing as men, and since 1904 the municipal provision or orphans has been chiefly in their hands.

In **BAYARIA**, following the example of Stuttgart, the Munich authorities have resolved to include a woman, under the title of *Polizeiassistentin*, among the officials connected with the police courts, whose work will be the care of female prisoners.

In **SWITZERLAND** the Supreme Court of Canton Bern has decided in the negative the question whether women can be admitted to practice as advocates, on the ground that the profession can only be exercised by citizens qualified to vote. This decision, however, conflicts with article 5 of the Federal Constitution, by which persons belonging to the learned professions, who have passed the necessary examinations in any one canton, are authorized to exercise their profession in any part of Switzerland. Dr. jur. Brüstlein, who has recently qualified at Zurich, announces her intention of seeking admission to the bar of each canton in turn.

Women and Revelation.

MANY of the objections against the amelioration of the conditions under which women live, have been brought forward by good people, who really believe that the Scriptures give Divine authority for their ideas.

Women must reverence and obey their husbands, consequently they can have no initiative action; they must keep silence in churches, and therefore they ought to keep silence on platforms or in committee rooms; they must have no authority over men, and therefore, they should not come near the silent ballot-box, which gives them this power.

Have such objectors ever really "searched the Scriptures to see if these things be so"? Have they ever gone further, to see if translations of the Scriptures have carried over fairly, clearly, and fully into their mother tongue the burden of the meaning of the words in the original? If they have not, I can only say with Festus: "Have you appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar you shall go."

It is difficult to know where to begin in a field so wide; but perhaps it is most logical to begin at the beginning, and most *ground-clearing* to show the effect of one mistranslation, based on a deficiency in the English language. (1) Most people have been brought up in the notion of a Divinity in Trinity exclusively masculine. But in the opening account of Genesis, the Creator is described as *Elohim*, a word plural in number and *common in gender*. "Let us make man in our own image," and man-and-woman became the image of God, not mere man-masculine alone. "The Spirit of God, which brooded on the face of the waters," is described as *feminine*. Through the centuries the heart of womanhood has been starved and cramped, through lack of the recognition of a sympathetic motherhood in God. This underlying truth is that which gives power and vitality to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Divinity of Mary. Through error it has reached the truth that there is motherhood as well as fatherhood, in the God who created us. When we realise that truth, we also realise that we cannot reflect that divine image until we stand man-and-woman, working together on the same plane, in diversity with harmony, not of obedience, but of communion and mutual help.

(2) I may give also an example of *misreading* the Scriptures. Tradition has taught us that, in the allegory of the Fall, it was the woman who sinned, the woman who was cursed and brought the curse. Study the passage as it stands again, freshly, slowly, without prejudice. The woman showed overhaste in desiring wisdom to distinguish good from evil. The *overhaste* was *disobedience* to God's command. His time had not yet arrived. The man, from other motives, also disobeyed. Arraigned at the bar of God's judgment, the man first prevaricates, then blames God and the woman He has made; the woman blames herself and the serpent who tempted her.

The first curse was laid on the tempter, the vital point of it being, "I will put *enmity between thee and the woman*, and between thy seed and her seed." The enmity, therefore, is not only between Christ, the seed of the woman, and the evil brood of the tempter; but between the Evil One himself and the woman. She was thereby blessed by being made from the beginning a fellow-worker with God in the fight with evil.

To the woman God gave no curse, but a sad double prophecy, a prophecy of increase of sorrow in child-bearing, and a prophecy that "thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." This was not, as it has been read, a statute of man's right, but a prophecy of his wrong-doing. (To understand this clearly we have only to compare it with the account of Cain's rivalry with Abel. God said to him, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doest not well, shall rule over thee." Cain did *not do well*. He "*ruled over*" his brother and slew him, and he received the third recorded *curse*.)

In connexion with the man's disobedience, the *second curse* fell through him upon the earth from whence he came, and to which he should return. Through that *curse sorrow* became associated with his toil, strangely enough, from the word used in the original, a greater intensity of "*sorrow*" than that which fell on the woman. The story as it stands, then, of Adam (which means dust) and of Eve (which means life), would give to any unprejudiced mind, reading it for the first time, a meaning entirely the opposite to that which has been read into it.

(3) Arguments from recorded facts. If God had seen any special necessity for the subjection of women, He would have inserted a commandment to that effect into the decalogue. On the contrary, all the commands against sin are equal to the sexes, all the encouragements to virtue. The fifth, which is the first commandment with promise, inculcates *honour* of the mother as well as of the father. (How can any man fulfil this law who classifies his mother with *lunatics and criminals*?)

Seeing there is no voice from the decalogue regarding wifely obedience, it is evident that the theory could only have originated in questions of occasional expediency, and we look for practical illustrations in Biblical history. It is surprising how little is to be found bearing on the question. On two occasions Abraham told Sarah to do something, and apparently she obeyed him. But on both occasions it was to tell untruths, which shewed distrust in God, and wrought much evil to all concerned. She was blamed for her obedience. The only time Sarah told Abraham to do anything to which he demurred, God said, "In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice, for in Isaac shall thy seed be called."

The only married woman whose conjugal relations are fully explained, not only directly disobeyed her husband's will, but made no pretence of a reverence she did not feel, and called him a "son of Belial." "Nabal is his name and folly is with him." The consequence was not annihilation, not even blame. On the contrary, David said, "Blessed be thy advice, and blessed be thou!" When her unworthy husband died, David married her, and she was held in honour, ever after, for her action. Abigail distinguished between good and evil, and acted as a free agent.

We are not told anything about the feelings or wishes of Lapidoth. Indeed we know nothing of him but his name. But we read that his wife Deborah was an honoured prophetess, who judged Israel and controlled its army. When she sent out Barak as general of the forces, he refused to go to war unless she went with him; and she did so, for great issues were at stake. Deborah was also a poetess, a psalmist, a preacher, and she sang a song of praise to the Lord who had wrought great things through her. "They chose new gods, there was war in the gates, . . . the inhabitants of the villages ceased, until I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel." Other women did great things in Israel, and we know that it is only because of another mistranslation that we do not all remember "The Lord gave the word: great is the company of the women who publish it." Psalms lxxviii. 11.

(4) But modern critics are apt to say they follow the New Testament, and cite the Apostle Paul. The New Testament must be taken as the record of the words and will of our Saviour Christ Jesus. There comes from him no suggestion of the suppression of the individuality of womanhood, but the reverse. The disciple is *not* above his Master. The Apostle Paul, who never knew his Master in the flesh, frequently distinguishes between his personal opinions and the revelations made to him. In regard to women, he made certain statements, based upon Rabbinical traditions in which he had been trained, and on the customs of the races among which he lived. If Paul did not, therefore, suffer a woman to teach, we must turn to the Gospel

of Jesus and test the lower authority by the higher. There we learn that the first preacher of Christ was a woman. The prophet Simeon was content to die when his eyes had seen His Salvation, but the prophetess Anna (also of a great age) came into the Temple, "and spake of Him to all that looked for redemption in Israel." He Himself made the woman of Samaria his messenger to the men of her city.

Among His special friends many women are noted. Faithful women stood fearless till the last at His Cross, and were, in the glad morning, first at His Tomb. They were the first to see their risen Lord face to face, the first to hear the good news of the Gospel, "Christ is arisen," the first evangelists to carry their Lord's message to the brethren. "Go and tell the disciples," was the mission of women. No studious Christian can misunderstand our Lord's attitude to women. His association with them in the struggle with the Evil One was the fulfilment of the prophecy and the curse of the serpent. But as He said: "Ye have made the law of none effect by your tradition."

Christ reduced the decalogue to two commandments, Love to God, and love to man—*i.e.* humanity, not mere masculine man. Again "A new commandment have I given unto you, that ye love one another, that ye do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." Has any man fulfilled Christ's law in regard to women? They who forget women in Christ's scheme of things must be unable to pray "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

While the message of the Gospels is clear against the teaching of Paul as it stands, it may be worth studying further to see if mistranslations have not somewhat clouded even the message of Paul. For instance, "Let your women keep silence in the church" might very well be rendered. Let them not stop the proceedings to ask questions about what they do not understand; or rather, Let not the solemn service of the Lord be turned into an educational discussion society.

Other passages may also be rendered otherwise, and Paul showed himself glad to avail himself of the help of women in his work. We may see their names among his "greetings," Priscilla, Claudia, Julia, Lydia, Euodias, Syntyche, and others. And he confessed "there was neither male nor female, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus."

That is the point to which I wish to lead my objectors—the Divine will as given inferentially in the Scriptures, and as explicitly stated in the Gospel is directly opposed to their theories. In redemption, as in creation, it is man-and-woman who reflect the image of God, and not man alone.

Thus from the beginning woman has been made the co-worker with God in the fight with evil, and they who would fetter her freedom and diminish her power for good are, consciously or unconsciously, aiding the enemy and delaying the triumph of God's will upon earth. C. C. STONES.

Correspondence.

SIR,—A great deal of capital has been made out of the secession which has just taken place in the ranks of the militant section of our Suffragist friends in the sister island; and that secession has been welcomed as a proof of their unfitness for any share in the government of the country. To us, Irish Women-Suffragists, it has no such significance. What it really proves is the independence of thought, and the earnestness, of the seceders, who, whether rightly or wrongly, differ in opinion as to the advisability of some of the methods of action adopted by the majority—a perfectly legitimate subject for intelligent difference. The political education of the women of Great Britain is just now advancing with gigantic strides. Three thousand public meetings have been held by them within six months. Their differences of opinion no more prove their unfitness for political life than Mr. Gladstone's disruption of the Liberal party in 1886, and Mr. Chamberlain's disruption of the Unionist Party two years since, prove their capacity for government of the two great bodies who divide the administration of the United Kingdom between them. It would be too invidious if I were to refer to differences nearer home.

Yours, &c., THOMAS J. HASLAM.
125, Leinster Road, Dublin, Sept. 20th, 1907.

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. PHELY 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. As reported in the number for August 1st, we have promised financial assistance 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.

We therefore strongly urge all our Members at once to take the Paper, either through their local Newsagent, or direct from the Publishing Office, by filling up the Subscription Form enclosed with this Number.—FRANCES HARDCASTLE, FRANCES STERLING, Hon. Secs. of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Current Topics.

We are glad to note that Miss Evelyn Carryer, Hon. Sec. of the Leicester W.S. Society, and Miss Catherine Gittins, a member of the Executive Committee, have been adopted as candidates for the Leicester Town Council at the November election. Miss Margaret Ashton, Member of the Executive Committee of National Union, is standing for election for St. George's Ward, Hulme, Manchester. We heartily wish them success.

The Congress of Zemstvos, held recently in Moscow, has now declared in favour of Women's Suffrage. It was strongly opposed to granting women the suffrage about two years ago.

A Women's Suffrage campaign was opened in North Berkshire by a meeting at Kennington, near Abingdon, on the 28th ult. The Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell took the chair, and introduced the speakers, Miss Eden Lewis of Oxford, Miss Rachel Costelloe of Newnham College, and two working-men students from Ruskin College, Oxford. The meeting was small but enthusiastic, and a resolution supporting Women's Suffrage was passed unanimously. This meeting was followed by a second one at Mrs. Russell's house, Bagley Wood, on October 2nd.

The Board of Education has decided to establish a medical department to advise and assist them in the discharge of the new duties imposed by Section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act in regard to the Medical Inspection of School Children. The personnel of the Board's Medical Department has not yet been published. As its duties will consist in advising Local Education authorities with regard to the health and physical condition of girls as well as boys, it is to be hoped that women doctors will be found upon it.

Branch Societies.

CENTRAL SOCIETY.—The Executive and Local Committees of the Central Society are beginning to meet again after the vacation, and are actively employed in arranging their programmes of autumn fixtures. Arrangements are being made for a large number of meetings, which will be duly announced as early as possible.

The Executive Committee will be "At Home" to members of the Society and their friends at 25, Victoria Street, S.W. (entrance, Orchard Street), on the first and fourth Thursdays from October to December, 4 to 6.30 P.M. Tea, sixpence each.

HULL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—At the close of the winter meetings, 1906-7, the Executive Committee decided to inaugurate a series of cottage meetings, in order to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage among the working classes.

Advantage was taken of the offer of a room in East Hull in May. Since then the meetings have been held fortnightly, and, judging by the continuous offers of rooms, they will continue to be held throughout the winter.

Much might be said about the educational benefits derived by those attending the meetings. A delightful feature of the work is the way in which the audience joins in the discussion, and also in asking questions.

The eagerness of the women to be invited again has given our Society great encouragement, and shows us how keen the women of the working classes are when the subject has been fully explained to them.

As a result there has been considerable increase in the membership of our Society, and the speakers have been asked to address meetings of other bodies of men and women in the city.

152, Park Avenue, Hull.
C. KIRK, Hon. Sec.

LIVERPOOL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—The open-air campaign in the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool was most successfully carried on until the eve of the election. Six or eight meetings a day were held during the last week in the dinner-hour at the docks, and in the evening at other suitable places in the constituency. The principal speakers were Mrs. Stanbury, who was sent down by the National Union, Mrs. Cooper, of the Textile Workers Committee, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Hon. Secretary of the Liverpool Society, and Miss Wyse, Hon. Secretary of the Birkenhead Society. Valuable help was also given by Mrs. Burden, Mrs. J. Crosfield, Mrs. Fergie, and Mr. Allenbury of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. The audiences were most attentive and courteous, and that their interest was aroused was evinced by the fact that many questions were asked at the close of the speeches. It is felt that much educational work has been accomplished, not only by means of the meetings, but also by the distribution of leaflets and house-to-house canvassing.

Women's Suffrage or Adult Suffrage?

THE following communication was addressed to a friend in reply to a letter advocating work for Adult Suffrage:—

... Perhaps one of the chief causes of our divergent views is that we live in different circles and receive different impressions of the present situation. I note that you seem to take account of only two sections of supporters of Women's Suffrage, *i.e.*, those who stand on the "is or may be" ground, and those who go for Adult Suffrage. But there is another section, composed of those who are in favour of giving the vote to women rate-payers only. They consider our Bill too large, as including women whom they regard as irresponsible, and also—if they look carefully into our formula—they see that the "may be" opens the door to Adult Suffrage... It is said that the granting of the suffrage to women rate-payers is a concession that would be acceptable to *men*, who will go no further, and it has lately been suggested that a new league or society should be formed especially for the purpose of securing their help. This is not likely to be done; but I think it is clear that the "is or may be" is a middle course, which divides us least. Its great merit, however, to my mind is, that it aims simply at removing the special disability inflicted upon women, as such, and therefore stands on the widest possible ground. The recognition of women as capable citizens would, we may hope, not only raise the status of every woman, of whatever class, in our own country, but might, so far as its influence extended, benefit women of all the civilized nations. Married women would, we may confidently expect, gain much by the general rise of status, while, on the other hand, giving prominence to their claim to the vote seems likely to operate to their disadvantage, as putting a stumbling-block in the way of obtaining a concession of which they would share the benefit. I feel sure that married members of the Co-operative Guild, as well as the wives of other classes, would gladly waive their personal claims in order to help forward the general movement. To my mind there is a vital distinction between the two cases, of a stigma inflicted on every woman and irremovable by any effort of her own, and a disability voluntarily incurred, for which there is compensation. I do not mean by this to argue against giving the vote to wives, but simply to plead against prematurely putting forward their special case, to the detriment of the larger issue. In departing from this and bringing in the question of *Adult Suffrage* we arrive on quite different ground. It ceases to be a woman's question and becomes what may be called, for want of a better name, a "Labour" question. This necessarily arouses the opposition of those who object to enfranchising some twelve million new voters at once—or, in other words, more than doubling the electorate at a stroke, and giving a numerical majority to women. I cannot think that "the objection to enfranchising a large number at once... will disappear as it comes to be felt that working women are the same kind of people as workmen." It might even become stronger, as it might then appear (perhaps wrongly) that the change would not be introducing a new and possibly valuable element into the electorate, but simply adding to the body which is already predominant in numbers.

Looking at the matter practically, there is evidently a great consensus of opinion that Adult Suffrage would not have the slightest chance of being carried, at any rate in this generation. Men, who have the power in their hands, do not want it. The activity of the Liberal and Labour parties is expended in quite other directions. The additions which Mr. Dickinson has made to his Bill, though they do not go so far as Adult Suffrage, would create a new disqualification, and a new qualification—that of marriage—this last bringing in some five or six million voters, besides the million and a half who, it is estimated would be enfranchised by the "is or may be" Bill. This might meet the views of a section of Women Suffragists, but at the cost, one cannot but believe, of rousing the hostility of the great mass of voters, who are far from being prepared for so vast a change.

It may be felt that, even if this be admitted, it does not

follow that there need be any harm in using the opportunity given by the agitation for Women's Suffrage, to give, as you say, "a lesson on the text of *Adult Suffrage*," but I believe it is seriously injurious in the way of frightening off people who might be supporters, or at least neutral, as regards *Women's Suffrage*.

I do not know whether you may have seen a letter in *Women's Franchise* from "An Average Man." It seems to me instructive as to our policy. I think he is right in his view that the opposition of "the great mass of ordinary men" to our claim arises in great measure from fear—to which I should add distaste—and that "fear is a powerful passion in resistance." I believe a great deal has been done, during the last twenty years, to remove both the fear and the distaste. The experience of the grant of the municipal votes has been encouraging, and the quiet work of women on Boards of Guardians, educational bodies, the Women's Co-operative Guild, &c., has won respect and regard. One cannot help deprecating extreme action of any sort which may hinder this salutary process, and naturally the bigger the change that is proposed the more likely it is to be feared.

There seems to be no sufficient reason why working women should not whole-heartedly support a measure which would give them 80 per cent. of the new voters, and it is surely much to be desired that all who are striving for the emancipation of women should work together for this one object, leaving other interests aside till the great step has been won...

August 26th, 1907.

E. D.

The Wearing of the Badge.

At the meeting of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance at Copenhagen in 1906 an International Badge, bearing the figure of Justice and the words "Jus Suffragii" was adopted. In order that this badge may be truly international, each National Suffrage Association should adopt it for its own, and Suffragists throughout the world should be encouraged to purchase and to wear it. It was voted that the badge should be manufactured in bronze, in order that it might be within the reach of every woman who believes in Woman Suffrage. These badges may be obtained in lots of fifty at a cost of 22s. 6d., postage prepaid. Orders may be sent to the designer, who also manufactures them: Fru *Johanne Pedersen-Dan*, Griffenfeldts-gade 39, Copenhagen, Denmark.

As experience has shown that wherever the international badge of "Justice" is worn it gives rise to questions and discussion, and therefore agitates for Woman's Suffrage, it would be most desirable to have the wearing of the badge largely extended.

Payment for the badges need not be made till three months after their receipt, and when a great number are required at once the price is reduced in proportion.

This is done in order that every one may acquire the badge, as it is of importance to make the agitation which is embodied in "Justice" itself as vigorous as possible; and when like a chain it encircles the earth, the symbol of Justice will plainly clear the way for the demand for Justice.

Although, as Mrs. Chapman Catt, the President of the Alliance, writes, "it was voted that the badge should be made in bronze, so that every woman who believes in Woman Suffrage might be able to buy it," it is also to be obtained in silver, silver-gilt, and gold, as suits the fancy or the means of the wearer.

Married v. Single.

A CRITICISM.

A "SPINSTER BY CHOICE" seems in her tirade against marriage to carry us back to mid-Victorian days, to the time when the popular idea of a woman who claimed her rights, was a stern, repellent female who constantly inveighed against the

tyranny of man and solemnly declared that she would never be his plaything.

And yet—strange inconsistency!—these very women flattered man to an extraordinary extent. For is not imitation the sincerest form of flattery? Man's dress was copied, his coat, collar, and tie, and his cropped head were faithfully reproduced, the result in the case of the young women being rather piquant, but somewhat less happy with the elder ladies. But this imitation in externals was unimportant. What was of real moment was that the "advanced woman," instead of taking her stand upon her own womanly genius, tried to prove her value in the world by training herself to resemble man in character. She would have been the first to deny indignantly that "woman is the lesser man," and yet she seemed by her conduct to justify the poet's patronising words.

And this is where the modern suffragist differs so much from certain of the earlier suffragists. Nowadays women feel that it is their utter unlikeness to man which makes their help so necessary to him. They are not concerned to prove that they can be as logical, rigid, and cut and dried as he is, they know that their qualities are as valuable as his, and they are not ashamed to be "womanly" women. And so, now, when we have our husbands and our sons working with us to bring about the time when man and woman will work together in the State as they do in the home, the note that the "Spinster by Choice" strikes, sounds out of tune and jars on us.

What if she will not gain in everything by marriage! Women are unselfish and self-sacrificing. Nature has made them so, and whether they are wives or spinsters they are not at their best in calculating what course of action will bring the greatest advantage to themselves.

M. W. B.

A REJOINDER.

THIS writer, a woman and a wife, having read the arguments against wedlock advanced by "Spinster by Choice" in the last number of *Women's Franchise*, desires to answer the main contentions in favour of celibacy for women.

"Why should a maid marry?" The reply is simple. It can be put in interrogative form, Why should a man marry? Every man and woman should marry, except the hopelessly diseased and insane, because celibacy is an unnatural state, an anomaly of our present civilization, and a menace to social well-being. For women, even far more than for men, celibacy implies a serious limitation, if not stultification of the mental faculties, an atrophy of the finer emotions, and an injury to the physical organism. Both from the social and individual point of view the single life is anomalous. It is ill for the race, and ill for the woman or the man.

I hold no brief in defence of the existing marriage law, which is, however, in many respects, quite as unjust towards the husband as towards the wife; but, as a woman, I protest against the anti-marriage advocacy of a proportion of women who write or speak as leaders in the movement of women's emancipation. The antagonism towards men manifest in the article 'Married v. Single,' and conspicuous in the daily utterances of women pledged to battle for the vote, seems to me bad tactics and a deplorable error. It is calculated to send many sympathisers with the movement, of both sexes, into a defensive, if not actively hostile camp.

We shall win nothing by accentuating our differences, even supposing them to exist, or by charging one sex with all the suffering and injustice endured by the other. The way to mend the middle in this relationship is not by counter-accusation and railery, but by calm and amicable discussion of the present inequalities. Ignorance and misunderstanding, far more than the tyrannous instincts of man and the weakness of woman, are the cause of the duel of the sexes.

Now, I am not denying that very definite evils are inseparable from the conventional marriage, but there is such a thing as protesting too much, and thereby missing the truth.

Why marry? Because love impels. That is the simple answer for thousands of women, as well as men.

C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY.

Correspondence.

THE NEW BILL.

SIR,—A short article under the above heading, which appeared in *Women's Franchise* on August 22nd among the contributions sent in by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, appears to have been rather hastily interpreted by some as signifying that the National Union had abandoned the principle for which it has contended so long, namely "the suffrage for women on the same terms on which it is or may be granted to men."

May I be allowed to say that this is not the case? On every occasion on which the question has been debated and voted upon by the National Union, it has reiterated its adherence to the simple principle that women who fulfil the conditions which entitle men to vote should not be disqualified on the ground of sex.

This is the principle which most unites the friends of Women's Suffrage. If we once embark on "improving" existing franchises, what one group considers an improvement another will consider a blemish, and thus a disintegrating force is at once introduced into our ranks. We say "Take the franchise as it is, and abolish the sex disability; that piece of work is big enough to engage all our strength." Mr. Dickinson's new Bill departs from this principle: it seeks to create a new qualification and also a new disability for the woman voter from which men are exempt. That it will prove a disintegrating force is next door to certain; signs of it are already visible. It is to be observed, for instance, that while this Bill is backed by the names of eleven members of Parliament, among them one looks in vain for a single Unionist or Conservative. The process of disintegration has begun already even on the cover of the Bill!

In conclusion I will only add that, although I cordially regret that Mr. Dickinson has abandoned the principle we support, yet if he obtains a day for the second reading of his Bill, I hope and believe that the National Union will do all in its power in his support. We make no secret of our preference for another Bill, but beggars cannot be choosers; and in my judgment the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies ought to support any Bill which would have the effect of making an inroad upon the absolute electoral disability under which all women now labour.

Your obedient servant,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT,

President of the N.U. of Women's Suffrage Societies.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

| | | P. M. | |
|----------------------|--|---|--------|
| Thurs. | Guildhall, | Miss Ethel Stevenson | 3.30 |
| Oct. 3rd | High Wycombe Central Society "At Home" to Friends, 25, Victoria Street | | 4-6.30 |
| | North Kensington, Lancaster Road Baths, Open Air Meeting | Miss Sterling Miss Palliser Mr. Adams Mr. Wybrew Mrs. Fawcett | 8.15 |
| | Southsea, Public Meeting in Town Hall | | |
| Fri. | Portsmouth | Mrs. H. Fawcett, LL.D. | 8 |
| Oct. 4th | | | |
| Sat. | Reigate, Open-air Meeting, | | 6.30 |
| Oct. 5th | Reigate Heath | | |
| Tues. | Westbourne Park, corner of Tavistock Road and Tavistock Crescent, Open Air Meeting | Mrs. Stanger Mrs. Stanbury Mr. J. Clayton Mr. A. Corbett | 8.15 |
| Oct. 8th | | | |
| Sat. | Reigate, Open-air Meeting, | | 6.30 |
| Oct. 12th | Reigate Heath | | |
| Sun. | Southwark, Browning Hall P.S.A. | Hon. Mrs. B. Russell | |
| Oct. 13th | | | |
| Tues. | Wandsworth, "At Home," | Hon. Mrs. B. Russell | 7.45 |
| Oct. 15th | Wandsworth Town Hall | Miss Sterling Miss Palliser | 8 |
| Wed. | Ipswich | Mrs. Martel | |
| Oct. 16th | | | |
| Friday, October 25th | ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, Midland Hotel, Manchester | | 10.30 |
| | DEMONSTRATION in Free Trade Hall, Manchester | | 7.30 |

* * * 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.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Social and Political Union.

Conference.

PREPARATIONS for our Annual Conference on October 12th are now nearly complete. The day's work will be divided into two sessions—the morning from 10 to 1, and the afternoon from 2 to 6. A large number of branches intend to be represented by delegates, and are taking the greatest interest in the preparation of resolutions and nominations; and a hard day's work is expected.

Hospitality will be offered to delegates, and the Hon. Secretary will be glad to hear from any London member or friend who may be able to invite one or more to stay with her for the week end.

An evening meeting has been arranged in the same Hall at 8 P.M., to which all members of our own Union are invited, and invitations have also been sent to several other societies working for Women's Suffrage, and it is hoped a really representative gathering will be the result.

It should be borne in mind that admission to the Conference both for delegates and visitors (who must be members), will be by ticket only. These tickets, and also those for the evening meeting, may be obtained from Mrs. How Martyn.

North-Eastern District.

THE Middlesbrough Branch of the Women's Social and Political Union is preparing with keen interest for the Annual Conference. Resolutions and amendments have been forwarded to the General Secretary.

A big demonstration is to be held in the Town Hall on October 24th. This will be the biggest meeting ever held in the district with "Votes for Women" as its object. It is expected that the audience will number four or five thousand.

The Branch members are busy with other constructive work. It has been decided to investigate the conditions under which women work in the town. Statistics with reference to wages, hours, and general conditions are to be collected.

The medical officer of the town was applied to for a copy of the list of the out-workers, and the Council kindly permitted him to hand it to the local secretary.

The Darlington Branch, which was formed last June under the guidance of Miss Nell Kenney, has been doing good work during the summer. This little band of enthusiastic workers for "Votes for Women" has spent no small amount of time in preparing for the Annual Conference. A delegate will be sent to London next month, well armed with instructions.

Two big meetings have been held in Hartlepool and Darlington, when Teresa Billington-Greig addressed an interested audience. As usual she proved the logic and justice of the position taken up by the women of the Union.

Scottish Notes.

ANOTHER week of sterling work has been done by Mrs. Sanderson on the east, and Miss Fraser on the west, for the great demonstration. The branches have been working up feeling preparatory to the large meetings which are to crown their work and send off the volunteers to Edinburgh with the sound of victory in their ears. In Dunfermline the nightly meetings have been productive of much good, and the branch members have worked unsparingly. The Dundee stalwarts have been assisted during the last week by Mrs. MacLeod Easson, of Edinburgh, who has also visited Aberdeen.

The series of big demonstrations which is to culminate on Saturday next in Edinburgh was opened at Aberdeen on Tuesday. Mr. James Murray took the chair, and the meeting

was addressed by several leading Suffragists. The Aberdeen papers have always been favourable to us, and this occasion has proved no exception to the rule. Good notices of the meeting, and of the series planned to follow it, have been given.

The winter season looks like being well commenced in Scotland. The activity produced by the Procession is not limited to our own branches and members. Women's Societies with kindred aims are seeking addresses from our speakers, and quite a host of requests for speakers continue to come in from miscellaneous societies.

Several of our members are to attend the Sweated Industries Conference, which has been arranged by Miss Irwin to take place in Glasgow on October 11th and 12th. There is work of value for them to do there, and they will take full advantage of the opportunity. The Conference will serve to fix the attention of the public for a little while upon the evil condition of the woman worker; and before the period of thought is passed and a new theme fills the mind, our speakers mean to show the connexion between the evils of the woman worker's lot and her political helplessness. It is to be regretted that some of our best Scottish speakers and workers will be absent in London at our important second annual Conference.

Frequent branch meetings have been the order of the day during these last few weeks. There is much earnestness shewn by the members, not only for internal development and co-operation, but also for outside propaganda work. Many plans are in preparation, syllabuses of work are being drawn up. In Glasgow the Western Branch has decided to utilize the interest awakened by the municipal elections in the breasts of the electors. A careful canvass of at least one ward is to be undertaken, and the women electors are to be roused to a sense of their powers and their needs. In this way it is to be hoped that the need for and value of the parliamentary vote will be made clearer to all concerned.

But two important matters intervene between most branches and their winter work: the Procession and Demonstration of October 5th and the Conference of October 12th. When these are safely over many more plans will be outlined, and some will be put into immediate operation.

I have received four queries about the booklet 'Towards Woman's Liberty' during the last week. I desire to say to inquirers that arrangements are being made for the issue of a second edition immediately.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

ANOTHER REASON FOR REPRESENTATION.

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson voiced the thoughts and feelings of very many women on the present conditions of our streets, in the letter which appeared in *The Daily News*. One of the most urgent reasons why earnest-minded women are pressing so strenuously for their enfranchisement is that they may have direct control over the laws which affect this iniquitous traffic. We reproduce it here for the benefit of those readers who have not yet seen it:—

SIR,—The three extraordinary cases which were brought before the police magistrate at Marlborough Street Police Court on Thursday show clearly what innocent women may have to face, so long as they continue to remain the unrepresented half of the community.

At present the moral condition of our streets is left entirely in the hands of the police, and they have shown themselves entirely unable and unfit to cope with the evil. To imagine that a policeman is more likely to speak the truth than any other man, or to refuse a present when his wages are low and his needs pressing, is futile. Our cities will remain a disgrace to

civilization so long as the nation continues to leave its morality to be enforced by police warrants, backed by lawyers and magistrates.

There is but one way of meeting the crying evil, and that is through woman herself. These poor, miserable, outcast women, unhappy wanderers of our streets, are the outcome of the position in which man has placed woman.

The sex tie is debased, a nobler tie is needed. By education and development woman has proved herself capable to be man's equal, and only as his equal will humanity advance to moral righteousness, and the present condition of Regent Street and Piccadilly become impossible.

Yours, &c.,
ANNIE COBDEN SANDERSON.
Hammersmith, Sept. 23rd.

Public Meeting at Beckenham.

A PUBLIC meeting in connexion with the Beckenham branch was held at the Co-operative Hall on Friday evening last. Miss Abadam took the chair, and the principal speaker was Mrs. Winton Evans.

The chairman said she was afraid that before long some of them would see a great deal more of her than they cared to, because she had been elected President of the Beckenham branch. It was a position which she thought it a great honour to hold, and she hoped they would do a great deal of useful work. There was a great deal before them, and they must tackle it like women. They could only consider some aspects of the movement that night, because it was so big they could only merely handle the fringe at one sitting. She claimed for it that it was one of the biggest questions of the day, and a question which affected the happiness and welfare and well-being and the conditions of life and labour of considerably more than one-half of the population. She claimed that the right settling of the women's question would affect the morals of the whole nation, and, with that, the health of the whole nation. A question of this sort which affected more than half the nation, and particularly that half not represented in the State, demanded attention. It was not a question which only affected England, it was a world-wide question. It was discussed in almost every nation under the sun. They had a vast number of people who could not go out to speak for themselves, who could not go out if they could speak, and who could not speak to frame their grievances if they could go out. It was for those who had the time and could speak to work for those who were dumb. Then the speaker proceeded to remark that they advocated that women doing the same work should get the same wage: it should be equal work for equal wage. And they must remember that their money value was according to their political value, and if they were politically *nil* they could not command their due wage.

It was a very serious thing if a woman could not get a wage by which she could live. The economic pressure on women was more hurtful to the health of the nation than economic pressure on man. Men were tried by their equals, their peers on juries, but the same thing did not apply to women. She was being tried by her political masters. She might be guilty of a crime man knew nothing about, committed in a moment of mental aberration for which she was not responsible, arrested by men, tried by men, prosecuted by men, judged by men—she was not even allowed to be defended by a woman—and she was hanged by a man if necessary. No woman once touched her in the whole terrible sequence of events. That was not according to their ideas of fair play.

In New Zealand the results of giving the franchise to women had been very striking indeed. Getting nearer home, they found that Finland had granted it, and in Norway ratepaying women had the vote. The movement was spreading all over the world, and in Turkey there was a very strong revolt going on amongst the educated women of that country against the present conditions. The movement

had also touched China, and by the Empress's decree women were not to have their feet bound up any longer in the way which made their feet impossible to walk on. It was said that the Government of this country was of the people, by the people, for the people; but the country was not governed by the will of the people, but only by the exclusively male portion. It was of the men, by the men, for the men. Man monopolized all political power.

Mrs. Winton Evans said the necessity for women being drawn from the home had forced on the question of political rights. They were asking the Government to restore to them rights which should never have been taken away from them, rights of which they were deprived in 1832. Women's privileges in the country ended with obeying the laws the men had passed, and they had no voice in the levying of the taxes or how they should be spent. The present helplessness of women had come to be regarded as the natural limitations of an inferior sex instead of being recognized as what it was, the unfair restrictions imposed by man, which besides being unjust, were a hindrance to progress. To hinder the advancement of women had been to hinder the progress of the race, as the standard of the race could not be greater than that of women. When they considered that upon the influence of women depended the training of the citizens of the future, they saw how important it was for the welfare of the entire nation that they should have a proper understanding of the duties of citizenship. If the hand that rocked the cradle was to rule the world, let them see that it was the hand of a wise and intelligent mother. If the Government was satisfied that women were intelligent enough to teach men at election times how to make the wisest use of their political power, and were interested enough in the welfare of their country to train the citizens of the future, surely it was a travesty upon the intelligence of a woman that she should be compelled to remain in the position of a political outcast, and to be told she is not capable of choosing the best men to represent her. The question of feeding the children had been before the country for generations, and while the children had been crying for bread, Governments had been wrangling about the kind of catechism to give them. It was women who understood the needs of children, and they claimed the right to protect them from the terrible conditions imposed upon them by a vicious social system. It had been said that political emancipation would violate the sanctity of the home life. Who maintained the sanctity of the homes of five and a half millions of women workers forced by economic conditions into conditions which should not be required of any one? There were thousands and thousands of women who had never known the meaning of the word. Their lives had been degraded and demoralized, and they had never had the chance to live decently as women should.

Proceeding, the speaker gave instances of the wages paid in sweating industries. When an attempt was made to make these women take an intelligent interest in life, they were accused of invading the sanctity of the home. The demand for cheap labour had accepted even the offering of the child to the insatiable God of Industry. There was nothing more beautiful or holy than the innocence of childhood. It was daily bartered in this country to satisfy the demand for cheap labour; and to those who said the time for emancipating women had not come, she replied that there was no question in their national life which concerned women so intimately as the question of the right of childhood to its sacred inheritance of innocence. There was no sex war intended in this movement. There was no war, as the best and wisest men were with them. It was a war of reason against prejudice. The inclusion of women in the political life of the country was desirable and was a just step, as was proved by the experience in the colonies mentioned by the chairman. Their entrance into the political arena had been marked by a great improvement in the moral, social, and industrial conditions.

The Wages of Labour.

It is not often that the disparity between the wages paid to men and women workers is brought so strikingly before the gaze of "the man in the street" as it was last week by a Russian sea captain. His vessel, anchored off Woolwich, was to be loaded with blocks of old wooden road paving. For this task he employed women, in place of the usual male docker, explaining, with the utmost frankness, that whereas the men demanded six shillings daily, the women's services could be obtained for two shillings and ninepence per day.

This economic inequality is one of the wrongs of women, that their enfranchisement, in all probability, would very soon redress. Some people at first fail to see the connexion between women's lack of representation in the House of Commons and the inferior scale of wages that their labour almost invariably commands. But the vote is a symbol of equality, and very sure it is, that not until women are recognized as human beings, possessed of political rights on an equality with men, will they be granted equal rights with their brothers in the economic world.

In the particular instance I have cited above, the women's physical strength proved unequal to the work of ship-loading; but unquestionably in the majority of trades the woman's cheaper labour is every whit as satisfactory as was that of the higher-priced men they superseded. Thus, if men are to hold their own in the labour market, as things are at present, they will be forced in time to lower their own scale of wages, in order to compete with the poorly-paid women. This possibility is so grievous that it need not be commented upon.

The only safeguard possible is that of "equal pay for equal work" for both sexes. Some short-sighted people think an easier and quicker way of avoiding this obvious danger would be to prohibit women entering the labour market at all; but this apparently simple solution of the problem is not practical. Women do not give their days to work merely for the fun of the thing. It means bread and cheese to them, just as it does to their male competitors. Nowadays women are forced to work outside their homes for money, regardless of their own wishes on the matter; and that being the case, it is monstrous that they should still be denied the Parliamentary vote, that protection that the working man has found so valuable to himself.

A working woman's education may be scanty, her range of ideas limited, but she knows best what she needs in her own interests. To maintain that working women cannot be expected to know really what is best for them is to place them intellectually in the category of children. Unfortunately even the average middle-class woman seems unable to realize what is really advantageous to her working sister, for during the last twenty years there has been a marked tendency on the part of well-to-do women's unions to advocate legislation restricting the labour of the poorer classes of women. While there is no similar attempt made to regulate the conditions of the labour of men employed in the same trades, this crippling of the powers of the women must place them at a great disadvantage in the battle of life. Surely the best and wisest plan is to strive against these so-called protective Acts of Parliament that touch women only, while leaving men free to work as long or under any conditions that they please, but at the same time to make every effort to gain for women greater economic equality with men in this sphere of life. That work should be paid for according to the sex of the worker, and not according to the merits of the work itself, is unsupported by any law of justice, and any system that is not based on justice and fair play is bound to work out grievously in the long run. The latest suggestion is that married women shall not be allowed to work for money at all. We hope this idea will be dropped, nevertheless it proves that the unwise friends and open foes combine to render the position of working women singularly insecure and undesirable. It seems possible that "the right to work" may soon be a bitter cry on the part of women. And it must be remembered that all these laws, good or bad, beneficial or disastrous, are made over their heads, without women themselves being allowed any say in the matter. IRENE MILLER.

Motherhood as understood by British Law.

A LETTER in a recent issue of *The Daily News*, under the heading of 'Women's Honour,' does not appear to have received the notice it deserves. It contained nothing new—merely a passionate protest against the flagrant injustice inflicted on women by the laws and customs relating to illegitimacy. The writer expresses her astonishment that "the forward women have not put the right to change all this in the forefront of their battle-cry." She little knows that this injustice above all others has forced women out of their homes, on to the public platforms, to the rowdy street-corners, into Holloway Gaol, in a desperate effort to hasten the coming of the day when the laws shall be made by women as well as by men, and when the mother, whether within wedlock or without, will be actually allowed the sacred rights of motherhood. To-day the mother's position is one of dishonour. If the children spring from a union sanctified only by the law, the mother is robbed of them. It is true she may nurse them and care for them during their early troublesome years, but—is it a question of vaccination? "The parent" with the right to protest is the father. Is it a question of religion in the schools? "The parent" with the right to be consulted is the father. Is it a question of death from improper feeding? This time it is a case for blame, bullying, and punishment. Still only one parent—the mother. Strange coincidence! So much for legal motherhood. If, however, the child has been born without the preliminary scrawling of legal terms on a parchment, then what a proud position for the mother! She, in her turn, becomes the sole "parent." Motherhood is recognized at last by British law, but, alas! only again to be dishonoured. Hers the child, but hers also the blame, the shame, the scorn, the despair.

Oh, upright and honourable English gentlemen! This is how you have discharged the responsibility you took upon yourselves when you deprived your countrywomen of the right to make their own laws. This is how you have dishonoured the mothers of your country.

Can you wonder that Englishwomen, patient too long, turn from your unjust laws with loathing and contempt, and refuse any longer to you the trust which you have so shamefully betrayed?

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. From October 3rd to October 10th.

| | | | |
|-----------|---|--------------------------|------|
| Thurs. | Dunfermline | Mrs. Despard | P.M. |
| | | Mrs. Billington-Greig | 8 |
| | Holloway Hall | Mrs. Fenwick Miller | 8 |
| | | Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson | |
| | | Miss Irene Miller | |
| | | Dr. Drysdale | |
| Fri. | Glasgow (St. Andrew's Hall) | Mrs. Snowden | 8 |
| | | Mrs. Despard | |
| | | R. B. Cunningham-Graham | |
| | | Mrs. Billington-Greig | |
| | Central Branch, 25, Wimpole Street | Members only | 8 |
| Sat. | Procession in Edinburgh Synod Hall | Mrs. Despard | |
| | | Mrs. Snowden | |
| | | Mrs. Billington-Greig | |
| | | Miss Lees, Miss Mair | |
| | 2, Currie Street, Nine Elms Lane, S.W. | Members only | 3 |
| Sun. | Battersea Park | Miss Irene Miller | 3.30 |
| | | Miss Mary Smith | |
| Wed. | Pollokshields Debating Society | Mrs. Billington-Greig | 8 |
| | | Mrs. Pearce, Miss Fraser | |
| Thurs. | High Cross Institute, Tottenham | Miss Cox | 8 |
| | | Mrs. Pracey | |
| Oct. 12th | Conference, Caxton Hall | | 10-1 |
| | Evening Meeting, Music and Discussion | | 2-6 |
| | | | 8 |

Members of the Union admitted as Visitors by ticket.

** All communications intended for the Women's Social and Political Union columns should be addressed to Mrs. How Martyn, 1, Marden Road, South Tottenham.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

WE note with pleasure that several of our members have been speaking, or are about to speak, at meetings under the auspices of the various Suffrage societies. The Honorary Secretaries are hard pressed to supply speakers for all the meetings the organizers of which have invited us to send representatives. All those who are willing to act in this latter capacity should send their names to the Honorary Secretaries without loss of time, stating whether they are prepared to speak only indoors or at street meetings also.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, delivered an excellent speech at an open-air meeting in Finsbury Park last Sunday afternoon. The meeting was under the management of Miss Irene Miller, who chanced to catch sight of Mr. Jacobs in the audience, and pressed him into the service.

On October 3rd Dr. C. V. Drysdale is speaking for the Women's Social and Political Union, Northern Heights Branch, at a meeting in the Holloway Hall. On the same night Mr. Silas Whybrow is to address an open-air meeting in Bayswater under the auspices of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies. The junior honorary secretary spoke on October 1st at Reading for the Reading Suffrage Society, and will probably address the Reigate Branch of the National Union on October 18th.

The arrangements for the Queen's Hall meeting on December 17th proceed apace. Next week we shall be able to announce the names of the speakers. For the present we confine ourselves to the more sordid announcement of the price of tickets.

It has been decided to keep these as low as possible in view of the expense which we shall incur. There will be three prices: 2s. 6d. (in the area and grand circle), 1s., and 6d. These tickets will be on sale by October 14th at the latest, and members and friends are earnestly requested to undertake the sale of as many as they can. At the risk of repetition, we would remind our readers that the Society is not able to spend a great amount of money on promiscuous public advertising. If the meeting is to be made known effectively, it must be largely by the aid of our members. Small handbills for distribution, and placards for display, will be ready about the middle of October.

The circular letters issued last Friday have already produced an encouraging result. We exhort all our readers to come and help us, and that soon.

Women and Local Government.

THE NEW ACTS.

THE present Government has done something to raise the political status of women by passing the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act, 1907, and a similar Act applying to Scotland.* The text of the English Act is as follows:—

1.—(1) A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected or being a councillor or alderman of the council of any county or borough (including a metropolitan borough):
 Provided that a woman if elected as chairman of a county council or mayor of a borough shall not by virtue of holding or having held that office be a justice of the peace.

* 7 Ed. VII. c. 48. Ireland remains to be dealt with.

(2) The words "provided that no woman shall be eligible for any such office" in subsection (1) of section two of the London Government Act, 1899, are hereby repealed.

Short title and extent. 2.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act, 1907.

(2) This Act shall not extend to Scotland or Ireland.

It will be noticed that the Act removes two disqualifications, viz. those of sex and marriage; it does not remove any other disqualifications that may exist or confer any new qualification. Its effect, therefore, can only be appreciated by considering the statutes which govern the various local bodies affected.

Dealing first with the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, a necessary qualification for election as a councillor is, that a person must be enrolled and entitled to be enrolled as a burgess (section 11). The right of women to be enrolled as bargesses depends upon section 63 of the same Act. This section provides that for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at Municipal Elections words importing the masculine gender include women. At first sight this seems to confer the right to vote upon all women who possess the necessary residential and property qualifications; but unfortunately the Court of Queen's Bench decided in *The Queen v. Harrald* (L. R., 7 Q. B., 361), that the language of section 63 was not strong enough to remove the Common Law disqualification of marriage, and that accordingly married women could not vote under the Act.

As the Act of this year deals in no way with the right to vote, the old disqualification of married women remains, and it seems unlikely that the Courts would hold that a woman who could not vote was eligible for duties as a councillor.

The Local Government Act, 1888, and the County Electors Act, 1888, which govern the constitution of the County Councils, adopt the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, as regards women electors. If, therefore, the views stated above are well founded, the result will be to leave married women outside the benefits of the recent Act.

The position with regard to Metropolitan Boroughs is more satisfactory. Under the London Government Act, 1899, married women are not disqualified from being electors, as this Act adopts section 43 of the Local Government Act, 1894, which expressly removes the disqualification of marriage in the case of women electors. It follows, therefore, that in the case of Metropolitan Boroughs, married women will reap the full benefit of the new Act. Had it been otherwise, the removal of the disqualification of marriage would have had no effect, and this might have forced the judges to construe the Act as conferring the right to be elected as councillors upon persons who did not possess the lesser right of voting; but as some effect can be given to all the words of this Act, this forced construction is not likely to be adopted.

The anomalous results of this recent legislative effort for the benefit of women may seem puzzling. One ought always, however, to give the Legislature credit for the highest wisdom and for the exercise of due care in carrying their intentions into effect. There must, therefore, be some valid reason for the differential treatment of married women in London and the Counties. It seems obvious that this must be based on the superior capacity of married women residing in the metropolitan boroughs. This is, no doubt, the true explanation, although I feel a difficulty in understanding why a single woman living in a County should, upon marriage, immediately become unfit to be an elector or councillor. But the only alternative seems to be to attribute want of ordinary care to those who had the conduct of the Bill.

Our readers may be interested to know the names of those

members who distinguished themselves by voting against the Bill on the occasion of its second reading in the House of Commons.

Acland-Hood, Right Honourable Sir A. F.
 Beach, Hon. urable Michael Hugh Hicks.
 Castlereagh, Viscount.
 Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor).
 Evans, Samuel T.
 Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol West).
 Gordon, J.
 Gretton, John.
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.).
 Rawlinson, John Frederick.
 Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.).
 Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester).
 Turnour, Viscount (now Lord Winterton).
 Tellers: Mr. Harwood-Banner and
 Viscount Helmsley.

HERBERT JACOBS.

Correspondence.

THERE is little apparent connexion between the making out of jury lists and the granting of the parliamentary franchise to women. Yet the request to help in making complete one such list has given rise to some reflections on the Suffrage question which may not be altogether worthless. All over the country, during the past few weeks, town clerks and other officials have been compiling lists of every person qualified to serve on juries, and in the course of duty have circulated to householders papers containing particulars of the classes of persons exempt from such service. The catalogue of people exempted is a long and curious document, beginning with persons over sixty years of age and ending with "persons under outlawry." Women, however, do not figure in the list, as by reason of their sex, they are disqualified. It appears, however, that nearly every kind of professional man—save the unfortunate journalist—can obtain exemption, and in some districts much affected by civil servants, lawyers, and doctors, the number of people who claim exemption is so large as to reduce the jury list to inconveniently small proportions. In these boroughs, householders who are eligible are liable to be called upon to serve at far too frequently recurring intervals. Many a town clerk would be glad if the law enabled him to get out his list on a broader basis, but, save for one particular and obvious purpose, a jury of women is unknown to English law. We have here disclosed one of those anomalies in our social organization which makes it impossible to say that in England men and women are treated on a basis of equality. It is sometimes asserted that in matters municipal the question of sex is disregarded by the law. The woman pays rates, she can vote for the election of town councillors and for members of boards of guardians, and is—at length—eligible for election to both bodies. (On boards of guardians women have long had seats, and it must be confessed that they have not achieved any brilliant results. On the other hand, they have proved quite as efficient as the men guardians.) But so long as woman is excluded from jury service it cannot be said that she is called upon to exercise all the duties which fall to the lot of the man householder. This constitutes in practice an injustice to man which woman seems content to suffer to continue. That, at least, is a conclusion drawn from a considerable collection of the opinions of women—what may have been written or said on the matter by the Women's Suffrage Societies is not within my knowledge. Nothing, however, is more certain than that if woman seeks to remove all political and municipal disabilities imposed upon her simply by reason of her sex, then also must she face all the responsibilities of the position. Provided, that is, that the logical position be maintained throughout. It cannot be too much emphasized that in demanding the parliamentary vote woman is challenging the whole framework of society as now constituted. The earnest and enthusiastic women who are doing many foolish and futile things in their zeal for a cause which is to them sacred—so sacred that for its sake they expose themselves to ridicule—

have not, in my judgment, realized all the consequences that will follow if they gain their hearts' desire. Full citizenship involves all the responsibilities as well as all the privileges now exercised by men, and the possession of such rights will take away from the woman all the shelterage she, in the main, now enjoys. It will enforce upon her a fiercer and more strenuous struggle in the world's battles than that which now she has to bear. To say this is not to say that woman has no capacity for the fight, and would prove unable to fulfil her task in a society reorganized in the manner desired—as one is given to understand—by such leaders as Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson.

It is simply my desire—on the text of a jury notice—to point out to the advocates of Women's Suffrage, a cause founded on justice, as one willingly admits, that it is something much more than the right to place a cross on a ballot paper that is involved in the demands now being made. The grant of the vote implies women Members of Parliament (that is technically no novelty, for the sovereign, though a woman, constitutes one of the estates of the realm), a Cabinet of women, and even an army of women, as well as women jurymen and women police. All this women must be prepared for if they seek equality with man. Nor is there any reason in nature why woman should not possess a physical frame equal to the heaviest demands that could be made upon it. The Amazons of Dahomey were no myth, as the French soldiers found to their cost, and in many a savage race all the hard work is done by the woman. There are maternity records in plenty to prove that a woman can give birth to a child in the morning and be at field work or at the washtub within twenty-four hours—and in the matter of vitality, woman notoriously outlasts man. It is, therefore, no answer to say that nature has set an insuperable bar upon woman's activity by reason of her being the mother of the race. Centuries of subjection and doll treatment have reduced the woman of civilization to a state of physical enfeeblement no doubt, and a century or two of woman's rule will be needed to restore her to physical perfection. That this can be done while retaining the culture and the grace of the leaders of the women's movement to-day, who can doubt? It is for women themselves to make the decision; and what the Franchise Societies have to do chiefly is to convert the mass of their fellow women.

Happily, one need not always be logical, and the English people have a perfect genius for not carrying a principle to its logical conclusion. To cavil at the grant of the franchise to women on the ground of intellectual incapacity or lack of judgment betrays an arrogant ignorance on the part of the caviller. The proportion of brainless women may be high, but it is no higher than the proportion in the other sex, and though temperamentally, women act by intuition rather than by the exercise of reason, that is a condition of mind which the discipline of responsibility is likely to remedy. In short, neither babies nor brains—that is the liability of woman to possess the one and lack the other—constitute valid reasons for withholding the franchise. The fundamental question is rather, Will the perfect equality of the sexes—the inevitable result, however slow in coming, of woman's entrance into the polling booth—be for the ultimate advantage of the human race? FRANK R. CANA.

The Queen's Hall Meeting.

WE desire again to remind all our readers that it lies with them, quite as much as with the speakers and organisers, to render the meeting of December 17th a success. Members are earnestly requested to co-operate in the preliminary work of making known the object, date, and place of the meeting, and to ensure the attendance of their friends—especially of those whose views on the Suffrage question are undetermined or hostile. This can be done by judicious verbal advertisement, and especially by the sale of tickets. The Committee will at a later date welcome assistance in the distribution of handbills. All who are willing to help should write to the Hon. Secretaries, 38, Museum Street, W.C.

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

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