

Women's Franchise.

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The Suffrage in Other Lands.

IN RUSSIA, in spite of endless difficulties some advance has been made. Three significant events have to be chronicled that occurred in June. The Russian Union for Women's Rights held a Conference at Moscow, which, though sparsely attended, was able to take stock of the situation. The provincial representatives stated that considerable interest in the movement was shown, but that everywhere it was checked and hampered by official persecution. Even in this there appears to be no consistency. In one place application was made for permission to deliver a lecture on the women's movement in England. The answer, which was delayed two and a half months, was in the negative, on the ground that it might have a bad effect on the local women workers. In another town no objection was made to the lecture, so that the policy of the administration is evidently as arbitrary as it is tyrannical. Elsewhere an official had been deprived of his position because his wife had joined the local branch of the Union. In the face of such reports the conference realized that the first question to consider was how to place the Union on a legal basis, and draw up a constitution for it that the Government would be prepared to sanction. At the same time the Russian Union of Defenders of Women's Rights in St. Petersburg began the issue of a new paper entitled *Woman's Union*, edited by the Secretary Mrs. Tchekoff.

In the same month the Congress of Zemstvos met at Moscow, and for the first time accepted the principle of Women's Suffrage. This is a real gain to the cause, as it will help to spread the movement among the people. All the progressive political parties have now declared in favour of the suffrage.

So much for progress. Reaction quickly followed. Shortly after the events here recorded the second Duma was dissolved. "Progressive papers," says the correspondent of *Jus Suffragii*, from which paper the information here given is derived, "are persecuted everywhere; and new means of killing all free thought, all protest against tyranny, are devised by the enemies of liberty in Russia. Progressive papers are now subjected to heavy penalties for every printed word which displeases the representatives of the local government, the governor of a province, the chief of the police in a town, &c. And such punishments are inflicted quite autocratically, without any judgment whatever. . . . What is to occur further we cannot say: time will give an answer to that question." A. ZIMMERN.

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,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,

13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

Women's Work and Wages in America.

A REPORT has recently been issued by the United States Census Bureau, on the work and wages of the women of America. It is there stated that over five millions of women are employed in various professions and trades, the number having more than doubled within the last twenty years. It would seem that the antagonism shown by men to women "poaching on their preserves" is not so keen in America as it is in England, for women there hold Government and University appointments which would not be given them with us. It is also clear that if a woman shows talent in any direction, she has greater opportunities of exercising it.

First among the wage-earning women are those who, on leaving college, take up scientific studies; they are steadily increasing in number and importance, and are to be found in most, if not in all, the branches of scientific research. The appointment of a woman to the Chair of Anatomy in the Johns Hopkins University was a just recognition by men of the value of women's work in this direction. *The New York Times*, in commenting on the subject, said: "This recognition of a capable woman by a great university is a step calculated to make the layman open his eyes and wonder." American women are also doing valuable work in geology, biology, and sociology, and are coming to the fore as architects and engineers, mining, civil, and electrical. These branches of work, requiring, as they do, mental qualities of a high order, are well paid for. One woman, the first member of her sex to be admitted as a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, received the offer of a high engineering position from the Chinese Government. The teaching profession is still a favourite one for the college woman who wishes to earn her own living, and the number of women employed in it appears to be on the increase. The majority hold good positions in private or endowed schools, and those who have a Ph.D. degree or other distinctive qualifications are teaching in colleges. Their salaries, compared with those received in England, appear to be very good indeed. A young girl can obtain a salary of 120*l.* per annum, which increases until in some cases it reaches 520*l.* per annum. This rate of remuneration, however, is evidently much less than that earned

by men, for the New York women teachers are discontented with their lot, and have justly demanded the same pay as men receive for doing the same work. The Bill granting them this obvious right, still denied to the women of England, was actually passed by the Legislature, but was lost through the opposition of the Mayor.

The success of American women in business and in industrial life is well known, and the pluck and daring with which they have invaded the fields of work hitherto considered by men to be exclusively their own, coupled with the brilliant success which has attended their efforts, commands our unqualified admiration. America is the only country where women financiers, stockbrokers, bankers, real estate agents, &c., are looked upon as a matter of course, and their success has been astonishing. Though the number of women engaged in branches of work considered to be exclusively feminine is still very large, there is practically no profession or trade, except the naval and the military, into which women have not penetrated. The Report returns 185 blacksmiths, 45 engineers and firemen, 43 carriage drivers, 31 charcoal, coke, and lime burners, and the same number as brakemen, 10 baggagemen, 8 boiler makers, 7 conductors, and 5 pilots. Thirty-three of the occupations where women are employed include over 5,000 in each. The largest number of wage-earning women in a given occupation are those in domestic service, of whom there are more than a million; the majority of these are either immigrants or negroes, for the American woman considers it beneath her dignity to undertake housework for another, and will not enter "service" unless obliged; there are so many other openings for her to choose from that she can generally please herself in the matter. After the servants come the farm labourers, of whom we are told there are half a million in the United States, and next in number are the dressmakers.

Another fact revealed by the Census Report is that the desertion of wives in America appears to be becoming as serious a problem as it is in England, and it forces a large number of reluctant women into the wage-earning world. In 1890 one married woman in every 22 was engaged in work; ten years later, the numbers stood at one in 18. Out of 97,477 married women, 25,380 are returned as living with their parents or alone, and 15,712 as "heads of families," a distinction which would not be granted them in America if the husband were included in the family, however mentally or physically incapable he might be. It is impossible to obtain the correct number of divorced women, as divorce is constantly not acknowledged, but more than half the women returned as divorced are shown as supporting themselves, either wholly or in part.

EVELINE B. MITFORD.

Health Problems and Women's Franchise.

A LARGE audience of representative women assembled recently to hear a lecture on the above subject by Dr. Helen C. Putnam, A.B., M.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, delegate to the International Congress of School Hygiene from the American Academy of Medicine.

The chair was occupied by Miss Abadam, who in introducing the lecturer, claimed that Women's Suffrage was intimately connected with the public health, as the Franchise would be followed by a raising of women's wages, the segregation of mentally deficient, and by the equalizing of the moral code, of social conventions, and the laws of divorce. These reforms were necessary steps towards lessening the chief causes of the Social Evil.

Dr. Putnam said in part: With the twentieth century medical leaders and others have organized efforts to prevent preventable diseases. They recognize that popular education as to alarming prevalence, causes, and results is essential; that the most vital concerns of national and individual well-being are menaced by traditions based on ignorance of elementary

scientific truths.

They believe that patriotism and love of home are amply strong incentives to overcome these unnecessary evils when the relations of the facts to economic and social institutions are known; as, e.g., to expenditures for hospitals and defectives (physical and mental, including insane and a large percentage of criminals); to the protection of the fundamental institutions of marriage and the home; to the problem of a stronger race.

There is no line in which votes expressing women's view-point and interests are more logically demanded. The international crusade against tuberculosis already tells in various directions, as well as those against other social diseases affecting helpless victims (unprotected either by law, or by education, or by guardians) in larger numbers than they affect those directly concerned in their spread.

The social diseases specially due to the "social evil" are surrounded with a maze of misinformation that surpasses the medical superstitions sometimes found among our lowest and poorest people. The international and national scientific bodies studying this problem teach that these social diseases are communicated in many of the common ways of diphtheria, smallpox, and other contagions that have long been reported to health boards, although doing much less harm than the former; teach that they are responsible for the largest percentage of chronic ill-health and disabilities, being the underlying cause of many conditions that go by other names, as, e.g., some forms of blindness, of heart disease, of rheumatism, and insanity; many forms of nervous and mental disorders; the cause of much infant mortality (before and after birth), of childlessness, and of other features of "race suicide," including much pelvic surgery for inflammatory troubles; teach the injustice of the popular belief that they indicate immorality, since some men and millions of infants, children, and women are innocent victims; announce their formal vote that on health grounds pre-nuptial chastity for both sexes is the only safe standard.

Society, both in its physical life and in its mental and moral attitudes, is just now suffering for want of simple biologic knowledge—knowledge of the elementary natural laws eternally working at the bottom of humanity's highest aspirations. To be most effective this must be built into the child's character, beginning with the child's first questions, continuing through all the formative years before fifteen. Rarely, even if offered later, can these revelations of divine will ever become so vital when superadded to the faulty foundations created in those impressionable years through existing social influences.

Women's political efforts for public health should be directed not only to legislation affecting conditions of labour, segregation of the feeble-minded, creation of wholesome environments (housing, recreations, street influences), but specially to training teachers to fit for living the great 99 per cent. of children that never go to college. Knowledge of natural laws of life and environment are essential for mental, moral, and physical integrity. There is ample time for all essentials under competent teachers who understand the wisdom and practicability of co-ordination, co-ordinating school work in itself, as well as co-ordinating it with life.

Dr. Putnam quoted numerous statistics from medical authorities and students of social conditions, referring especially to Dr. P. A. Morrow's 'Social Diseases and Marriage,' in which references to other standard medical authorities can be found; also to the publications of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. The office of the secretary is 109, East 34th Street, New York. The 'Transactions' (very useful), 1905-6, 2s.; Educational pamphlets: No. 1. The Young Man's Problem, 5d.; No. 2. For Teachers, 5d.; No. 3. The Relation of Social Diseases with Marriage, 1s.

Similar societies in Germany, Holland, France, Italy, Spain, and other countries are issuing educational pamphlets discussing the problem from a scientific view-point.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was moved by Dr. Alice Johnson and seconded by Lady James.

Correspondence.

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

The Women's Co-operative Guild.

AN ORGANIZATION OF WORKING-WOMEN IN CONNEXION WITH INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

No. of Branches, 450; No. of Members, 24,100.

We are glad to express our pleasure in the appearance of a paper in which all organizations working for the Suffrage may find a place.

The Women's Co-operative Guild at its recent congress, attended by 500 delegates, passed the following resolution:—

"Seeing that the Co-operative Movement includes as many women as men, and that the prosperity of the movement can be much advanced or impeded by the action of Parliament, this Congress demands the enfranchisement of all women: (1) in order that the Co-operative Movement may possess its full weight in Parliament; (2) that women may take their rightful part in promoting their country's welfare; and (3) that the equality of men and women in the family and the State may be recognized; and further, that this Congress indignantly protests against the action of the United Board in refusing to bring a resolution on the Enfranchisement of Women, sent in by ten Societies, before the recent Co-operative Congress."

The members of the Women's Co-operative Guild, being almost entirely married working-women, are in favour of a measure which would enfranchise working-class wives. Formerly, it was considered unwise, by some Suffragists, to advocate the claims of married women at all, and there are those to-day who think it harmful to the cause to make a larger claim, and to place the demand for the removal of the sex barrier on a wide democratic basis.

But in our opinion, everything is gained and nothing lost by the wide scope of the new Bill recently introduced by Mr. Dickinson. This incorporates the suggestion made by the Guild to enfranchise the wives of voters, as well as women ratepayers and lodgers. These classes of women (except lodgers) have recently been enfranchised in Norway, where women receive the vote if they themselves or their husbands have paid taxes for the year on an income of 22l. at least.

Would it not be possible for all Suffragists to unite for the present on this platform? The Liberal majority in the House of Commons judges any Bill to extend the franchise from the standpoint of party, and all consistent democrats take a democratic standpoint. Any Bill which, like the former Women's Enfranchisement Bill, excludes the majority of working-men's wives, is open to objection from these points of view, and we think there can be no doubt that such objection is the cause of growing hesitation among members of Parliament, now that the question has become one of immediate practical politics.

Public opinion is bound to ripen in the direction of the wider franchise, and if women would turn the whole force of our movement into the larger channel, an irresistible demand would be created.

All great popular movements make large demands. Small demands only encourage politicians in Parliament to continue their invariable policy—considered so "statesmanlike"—of injuring the value of every reform by whittling it down to the smallest possible dimensions. We must show that women do not want to be admitted into public life on sufferance, as experts in domestic matters. More and more it is becoming necessary to make clear that women's demand is for the full rights of citizens in a democratic state.

As all women become imbued with the desire to serve their country, and as they show their usefulness wherever the absence of restrictions allows, we shall see that all barriers must be swept away, and that simple Adult Suffrage (the age being perhaps raised to twenty-five) for both municipal and Parlia-

mentary elections, becomes the only satisfactory solution of the present muddled and unjust state of affairs.

The special work this year of co-operative women will be to obtain a favourable pronouncement from the Co-operative Movement (which is composed of 1,600 societies and 2,250,000 members) at its next Congress. Ten societies, with a large membership of men and women, sent in resolutions in favour of the Suffrage, for discussion at the last Congress, but the United Board refused to place the subject on the Congress agenda. This year the Guild will try to induce many more co-operative societies to send in resolutions for discussion, and if the subject is brought before the Congress and debated by the delegates, we shall hope to secure a favourable vote—such as has been passed at Trade Union Congresses.

In October, the Guild is looking forward to holding a joint meeting with women trade-unionist-suffrage societies in Manchester, when the industrial aspect, from the trade union and co-operative standpoints, will be specially dealt with.

As regards the action of co-operative women at Election times, the central committee of the Guild is in favour of a series of questions being put to candidates, leaving the decision whether candidates shall be supported or not, to be settled by the answers given. It would, of course, be extremely desirable if all organizations working for the Suffrage could combine on a set of questions and agree in the choice of candidates.

We would suggest that the following questions might form a basis for combined action:—

- (1) Will you put the subject of Women's Suffrage in your Election Address, and mention it prominently in your speeches?
- (2) If the subject is not mentioned in the King's Speech would you (a) be prepared to move an amendment to the Address; (b) support and vote for a Suffrage amendment to the Address moved by any one else?
- (3) Would you support Mr. Dickinson's Bill?
- (4) Would you support an Adult Suffrage Bill which would include men and women?

MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES,

General Secretary Women's Co-operative Guild.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have read the criticisms of Mr. Dickinson's Bill in the last number of *Women's Franchise*. It seems to be rather lost sight of that the chief existing franchise for men is an *occupation* franchise. It is this democratic franchise which the Bill opens up to married women. Under the former Bill, wives would be almost entirely shut out, owing to our present social and economic conditions. A most valuable result of admitting them to an occupation franchise is the recognition that they are joint heads of households, contributing, indirectly, to the family income as much as their husbands.

It might be pointed out that sisters or daughters living with brothers or fathers could in most cases qualify as lodgers, whereas wives would be unable to do so.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

DEAR SIR,—I trust that you will pardon my delay, caused by unavoidable circumstances, in writing you as to the announcement of counsel's opinion on the case of *Chorlton v. Sings*. It was not for a moment to be expected that counsel could have given an individual opinion adverse to that of a whole bench of judges, or could give any happy augury of the decision of another bench. My argument, therefore, is not affected in any way by counsel's decision. It is, that constitutionally, logically, and verbally women do have the right to the franchise, and that the conclusion of the Bench in the case of *Chorlton v. Sings* was based on false premises. My scheme would not probably have been successful in winning a new decision in our favour, but it would have let the people understand that there should have been one. When I showed my 'Sphere of Man' and my new "Statute" to a mathematical professor, he at once exclaimed, "If the problem were worked out on mathematical lines, this would solve it"! I work, therefore, in order to make this clear to others, as I am unable to "appeal" alone.

I am yours truly,

C. C. STONES.

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.
 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 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.
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 MRS. FRED RICHARDSON
 HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
 MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN
 LADY STRACHEY
 And the Hon. Officers,
 ex officio.

Current Topics.

We would remind all intending competitors that designs for the Poster and Picture Post Card Competition should be received at the office *not later* than Monday, September 16th.

Attention is directed to the instruction that competitors must adopt a *nom de plume*, and that the actual name and address may not be written on the back of the drawing. The full name and address of the artist should be enclosed in an envelope bearing outside the *nom de plume* only.

At the Worcester City Council, which met on Tuesday, September 3rd, a memorial, the text of which was printed in our issue of August 1st, signed by Canon Wilson, Canon Claughton, Canon Knox-Little, and over three hundred women ratepayers and others, was presented and read. It protested against any portion of the rate of 3½d. in the pound for the cost of the Worcester Election Commission being levied on women ratepayers who are excluded by law from voting for the election of Parliamentary representatives. A letter from the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society protested against the glaring scandal of penalising women ratepayers for male voters' misdeeds. The Mayor said however much the Council might sympathize with the ladies they were quite powerless to do anything to relieve them. The only course they could follow was to allow the letter to lie on the table. Copies of the protest have been sent to the Prime Minister and to the local Press.

Those advocates of a female Parliamentary Franchise who delight in summoning scraps of history to their aid missed an opportunity quite recently, when the Irish Evicted Tenants Bill was before the House of Lords, in not praying in aid of their cause a striking precedent for the acting of ladies even as legislators. In the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III., as those may be satisfied who study the Close Rolls, Mary Countess of Norfolk, Alianora Countess of Ormonde, and Anne Lady le Despenser, were summoned by writ for the day on which Parliament met, a fortnight after Easter; and Philippa Countess of March, Joan Lady Fitzwalter, Agnes Countess of Pembroke, Katherine Countess of Atholl, Marie de St. Pol, and Margery de Ros were ordered to attend a week later, while a year afterwards the same ladies were summoned to a Council for Ireland. The reason for this special request was that, as all these ladies were Irish landowners, they ought to be heard when questions affecting Irish land were under debate; but it is to be observed that they were summoned *ad colloquium ad tractatum*, and, therefore, would not talk themselves, but only by male proxies.

—Westminster Gazette.

Branch Societies.

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE is increasing its membership and extending its influence considerably in the north. In the natural order of things the summer months are quiet, still this Society has been

energetically preparing a busy campaign for the autumn and winter.

It has been found that quarterly meetings of members and friends are most helpful in stimulating the life and energy of the Society, and in bringing in new members. The next meeting will be held on Friday, September 20th, at the offices, when all interested will be welcome. The first item is a short report of the work of the previous quarter, then an open debate and tea. The subject of debate at this meeting will be extremely interesting, being "That it is undesirable for women to work for, or support Parliamentary candidates who are not responsible to them for their future actions in the House of Commons." Miss Margaret Ashton will lead the debate in the affirmative and Mrs. Swanwick the negative.

At the invitation of this Society the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will hold their annual meeting and conference in Manchester on Friday, October 25th. The morning and afternoon meetings will be held in the Banqueting Hall of the Midland Hotel, and in the evening there will be a great Suffrage demonstration in the Free Trade Hall. Many societies interested in social work have been asked to join in the demonstration, and the arrangements are in the hands of a joint committee. This demonstration being arranged for the last day in the week of the conference of the National Union of Women Workers, it is hoped that delegates, and all who are interested in the conference, will not fail to take part in the demonstration, which it is felt will do much to emphasize the interest throughout the North.

The Society has been the means of bringing the "Men's League for Women's Suffrage" more prominently to the notice of Manchester men, some of whom have joined the League. Further work in this direction is being organised.

The branch societies are in a satisfactory position, their delegates keeping in touch with the parent Society by their regular attendance at the monthly meetings of the Executive Committee.
 A. DARLINGTON, Secretary.
 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.

THE Committee met at 2, Leinster Street, on Thursday, 5th September, Lady Dockrell, U.D.C., in the chair, sixteen members present. The Hon. Secretary reported that she and Mr. Haslam had attended a number of suffrage meetings in England, and that the enthusiasm and resolution displayed by the various speakers were most encouraging. Great disappointment was expressed that, owing in part to the late period of the Session, and in part to other causes which have not been fully explained, the English and Scottish Acts enabling women to be elected members of the Borough and County Councils, had not been extended to Ireland, in consequence of which our countrywomen have been placed under an invidious and most grievous inequality as compared with their English and Scottish sisters—an inequality which may possibly continue unredressed during the existence of the present Parliament; though some hopes are entertained that a Bill to remove so flagrant an

injustice may be introduced during next Session. Lady Dockrell and Mrs. Houston were appointed delegates to the Annual Meeting of the National Union of Women Workers, to be held in Manchester in October. Mrs. Haslam also expects to be present as one of the Irish Vice-Presidents. Mrs. J. Vanston and Mrs. E. Burke have kindly consented to hold drawing-room meetings in promotion of the movement during the present month, and some other meetings are in contemplation. The Committee were reminded that the Revision Courts will immediately be sitting, when all electors who have been objected to must appear, either in person or by qualified deputy, and prove their claim, otherwise they will lose their votes during the coming year.

A Plea for Women's Suffrage in Canada.

We have recently received a Canadian magazine with an interesting article by Prof. R. G. Macnaughten, of McGill University, Canada, entitled 'A Plea for Women's Suffrage in Canada.'

The writer's main contention, based on experience gained during his residence in Tasmania, is: The women of Australasia obtained the franchise without provoking any political upheaval, whilst the consequence has been satisfactory both to the women individually and the State collectively. Hence the natural question—Why should not Canada do likewise, the conditions there being much the same and as unfettered by tradition and prejudice, while the beneficial results, at any rate as far as the State is concerned, are needed even more?

South Australia was the first Australian colony to adopt the principle under the influence of the neighbouring colony of New Zealand, where it had been in operation for at least a decade.

Four years ago, when the various Australian States decided to federate themselves into a Commonwealth, it was felt that to alter the voting lists in South Australia would be a cumbersome and retrograde step; accordingly the first Federal elections in the case of that State were conducted on the basis of adult male and female suffrage. The principle once admitted, the rest was easy, and thus in a very short time every individual state has accepted the principle in both State and Federal elections.

It was the success of the principle in New Zealand that led to its adoption in South Australia; it was the success of the principle in South Australia that made it a necessary concomitant of the new constitution when the Commonwealth was inaugurated. So much for the ease with which this important political change was achieved. As to the benefits which have accrued therefrom, both to the State and to the woman herself, Prof. Macnaughten and others well qualified to judge are agreed. They maintain the following results in particular: The women vote intelligently and conscientiously; they are purifying electionary methods, whilst they have introduced more scientific political organization, and have kept the proportions of political parties unaltered.

"Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia"—to quote Prof. Macnaughten—"to whichever of the great popular parties they might belong, would, I believe, agree in stating that the concession of the vote to women had been a real benefit to the State." Again "that women, since the boon has been granted, have shown the fullest and most intelligent appreciation of their privilege will hardly be denied by any one conversant with the actual facts of the case. In the towns women vote, if anything, in greater proportional numbers than men."

A recent writer in New South Wales is struck with what appears to him a distinctive and salutary characteristic of the women's vote, that it above all things endeavours to ascertain and act on the merits of the case. He says: "For the first few years of their political enfranchisement their principal effort has been to educate themselves as a body in political ways, and their education is still going on.... They have declared themselves in favour of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character." Since the introduction of Women's Suffrage in Australia the value of beer as an electioneering agent has very largely decreased,

because any suspicion of the employment of such means would immediately cause a considerable body of the enfranchised voters to offer the most determined opposition to the guilty candidate on conscientious grounds alone. In concluding his review of the cause and effect of the enfranchisement of women in Australia, Prof. Macnaughten says "It is not because female suffrage gives any advantage to a particular political party (a view which certainly cannot be substantiated by the actual results of the franchise in Australia), but rather because in all matters, and especially in what I may term matters of social politics, the woman's vote has a purifying, an elevating, and an ennobling influence, that the granting of female suffrage in Australia must be regarded as an unqualified success."

The second part of the article is devoted to the argument that the women of Australia, having received and proved themselves worthy of the privilege of the franchise, there is no reason why the same right should any longer be denied to their Canadian sisters. In many respects the two cases are analogous.

The women of the Commonwealth and Dominion alike spring from the same race, enjoy the same civilization, and are as little hampered by those traditions and prejudices which prove such lions in the path of the women of the Old World. And if it be true, as is so generally conceded, that Women's Suffrage in Australia is exercising a purifying influence in the domain of politics, it might well be argued that Canada has even more need of such an influence than Australia.

The proximity of the United States has a tendency to assail the purity of Canadian politics, and the help that the women of Canada could give in combating this malign influence through the same intelligent and earnest use of the privilege of the vote as their Australian sisters would be invaluable. The growth of such an institution as Tammany Hall, according to Prof. Macnaughten, may be ascribed to two causes: first, that the average male voter is too busy in pursuit of a livelihood to be able to devote much time, if any, to the study of municipal politics; secondly, he is not sufficiently endowed with a sense of civic responsibility to feel he ought to spare the time.

The admission of women to the franchise would necessarily include a large leisured class, while the case of the women of Australia proves how thoroughly women have, and do still, prepare themselves for the exercise of the privilege. The higher education of women has already in all English-speaking countries accomplished so much that the women of the leisured classes are just as potentially capable of dealing with difficult social and political problems as men.

It is interesting in this respect to contrast Prof. Macnaughten's views with those of another eminent professor criticized recently in these columns. The former regards such questions as Poor Law economy, hospital organization, the housing of the working classes, and all those educational matters in which the problem of the household are reproduced on a larger scale, as clearly within the natural and proper province of woman. And, moreover, for the consideration of all such problems women have one great advantage, in that they do not by predisposition attach the same importance to precedent and form; they are not worshippers of red-tape where they see urgent need for reform. Prof. Macnaughten even goes so far as to declare that much of the mismanagement of the past is assuredly owing to the fact that women have been so long excluded from their legitimate and natural sphere.

(The italics are ours).

N. CHESTERTON.

WHEN the Mississippi Legislature meets in November next, a Bill will be introduced for the provision of Women Suffrage in that State. For months the subject has been agitated among clubs and societies in Mississippi, and the State Women's Suffrage Association has taken definite steps toward bringing the question before the Legislature. The main purpose for petitioning that body is to ensure the supremacy of the white element. Should the measure become effective, it would double the Democratic majority, and eliminate the possibility of negro domination.

The Timidity of Women.

NOTHING has more revealed to me the extreme timidity of English women, especially in the country, than their attitude towards the Suffrage question. A vast army of well-to-do women dare not express an independent opinion on the subject (any more than German women dare discuss politics at a Kaffee Klatsch). It shows how seriously "the subjection of women" and its evil results, descanted on by John Stuart Mill, have affected the character and mind of the subjected. My experience of this excessive timidity of countrywomen relates to Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Buckinghamshire. To drawing-room meetings for the suffrage in these counties many women dared not come, and of those present many were too diffident to vote for or against a motion. One woman in Essex told me she dare not let her husband know she had come to the discussion. Truly, as Victor Hugo and Prof. Romanes asserted, "The faults of women proceed from the vices and brutality of men." Last autumn, when I gave a big "At Home" for the cause at Princes, at which Miss Emily Davies took the chair, and Lady Strachey and Mrs. Fawcett spoke, a relative of mine, married to a prominent man in Cambridgeshire, wrote to me I was "a brave woman" to do it. She did not come to the meeting, although her husband came. I suggested she should give a similar "At Home" to her local people, and let me bring some speakers, but she quailed before the daring of such an idea. This paralysing timidity of women possessed of average brains proves the truth of what a fashionable lecturer on Plato said at the Sesame Club last winter. He told us to our faces, "English women are insignificant, absolutely insignificant," and no one rose up and smote him, for all knew it was true. The women of the aristocracy and labouring classes have courage, the latter from necessity, the former because they have a high position in the eye of the world, and are expected to assert themselves. But the vast army of untitled women, with "comfort" written large all over their ample, well-dressed frames, are as timid as lambs. They literally have no courage at all over a movement which has for its objective the benefit of half the human race (and more, as women and children always go together).

What is the remedy for the timidity of these women? The Parliamentary vote.

The vote once given to women, there will be an immense development of courage and self-possession, in fact a renaissance of women as regards originality of thought, work, and status. "The immense ennui of middle-class women," which Matthew Arnold penetrated and voiced, will be considerably lessened, and in time will disappear before a developed sense of duty and an enlarged sphere of influence. At present many women in the country (and often too in towns) do not know how dull they are. But the backbiting, scandal, petty jealousies, paltry pride, social rudeness, known so well, are the direct result of "the immense ennui of women" with a limited outlook and much spare time on their hands.

The Women's Local Government Bill will do much to develop the powers of women for work for the public good. The Parliamentary vote will do more still. Men have already as much work as they can do properly, and are not inclined to take on more work for women. And why should they do so, when women are quite able to help each other—if allowed to do so.

Where are the women of the wastrels who lie on the grass in the Green Park? Who looks after them? No one. Who helps and looks after poor widows, or deserted women, married and unmarried, who are "sweated," and harried, and live in misery? "It is not our business," men say. But it is the business of women of capacity to look after the interests of women who have not the ability, spirit, or opportunity to help themselves, and men have no right to stand in their way.

If any one takes the trouble to go up to Victoria Park on a Saturday afternoon, he will see thousands of men and boys at play. But where are the girls at play? Not in Victoria Park anyhow. If one goes up to Hampstead Heath on a Bank Holiday to see how 150,000 people disport themselves, one is appalled by the ugliness and ill-development of the girls and

women. Women require help to raise themselves physically, socially, and economically, and up to now this help has not been forthcoming.

The Parliamentary vote is the lever with which men have principally improved their condition in modern times, and it is this same lever with which women hope to improve their condition by-and-by.

Charity does no permanent good. We are gradually turning our country into a large charity camp, and very little difference is made in the sum of suffering. Much of the suffering comes from the fact that men have tried to solve world-problems without women. They can never do it. The ancient Egyptians represented a man without a woman as a single grindstone, which cannot grind alone.

The old Greek myth that man and woman were originally one being, but a malevolent force cut them in two, and one half was eternally seeking the other half, is symbolical of the great truth underlying this tremendously important question. The half being Man cannot do perfect world-work without the half being Woman. When the two half beings work together, side by side, harmoniously, spiritually, gladly, for the benefit of humanity as a whole, then will the war of the sexes cease; that war which has gone on through the ages, because men have regarded women as inferior beings, who existed merely for men's benefit, to be desired, to be used, often to be preyed on and exploited by base spirits, or perhaps to be cared for tenderly like pet animals in a cage, but always to be kept down and in subjection, as a lower order. Then, when this war of the sexes ceases, will be seen the nearest possible approach to the millennium; for the sexes, having equal rights, will be human beings first, and men and women afterwards. MARIANNE DALE.

The Enfranchisement of Women in Europe.

THOSE who oppose the granting of full citizen rights to women do not appeal to the testimony of experience for their arguments. They prefer to draw upon their imaginations for a picture of the dreadful results that would follow the grant of this simple measure of justice. Many people do not even seem to know that the franchise has long been exercised by women of our blood and language in the colonies of New Zealand and Australia. Those that are aware of this fact and are compelled to accept the evidence that no evil results have followed are reduced to the statement that the Antipodes are not Europe.

Now two European countries have given the vote to women. In Finland women can not only vote, but are qualified to sit as members of the House of Representatives. The Diet consists of 200 members, of whom nineteen in this first assembly are women. Those who are fond of waving the bogie that women will combine in one anti-man party may be reassured on hearing that these nineteen women belong to five different parties. Husbands and wives have walked amicably to the poll together, and in one case a woman was elected to sit in the Diet, side by side with her husband. They do not seem to have come to blows yet.

Although the men have elected women to sit on some committees for which they had no special qualification, it is very encouraging to note that so far the only petitions and bills they have introduced have dealt with matters in which women have peculiar interests and knowledge, such as the protection and property of married women, the age at which a girl becomes marriageable, the position of illegitimate children, co-education, the endowment of teaching in domestic economy, the regulation of the drink traffic and the institution of midwives.

Who shall dare to say that women should not be allowed a direct voice in the councils of the nation in such matters?

In Norway women have long been ahead of us. They not only have the communal and municipal franchises, but they serve on juries and practise at the bar.

On June 14th, 1907, the Storting gave women the Parliamentary vote under the same conditions as now exist at municipal elections, and it is interesting to note that a married woman may obtain the vote on her husband's qualification.

How long does England propose to lag behind her colonies and her kinsmen of Northern Europe?

TO OUR READERS.

It seems desirable with the beginning of September, and in order to stem the tide of inquiries which we daily receive with regard to the continuance of our journal, to set before readers a short account of the past experience, present position, and future hopes of *Women's Franchise*.

Paradoxical as the statement may appear, the fact remains that the enthusiastic reception given to the paper constituted a source of grave anxiety to its proprietor.

For long the leaders of the movement had felt the need of an organ devoted to the Suffrage question. Indeed, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had already decided to start a monthly journal in October. As the movement daily gathered strength, it became apparent that immediate action in this direction was not only advisable but necessary. So, in order to fill the breach, the small weekly venture '*Women's Franchise*,' was launched.

The initial objective was an eight-page paper, six pages of which should be equally divided between the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Social and Political Union, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. But even before the appearance of the preliminary number the inadequacy of the arrangement was so apparent that an extension to twelve pages was decided upon. It was only by drastic excision that this limitation was maintained, and it soon became evident that unless we were to jeopardize our success further extension was necessary, hence the appearance of a sixteen-page issue. In fact the most painful process experienced in connexion with the paper so far, has been the cutting out and down of matter. In one or two cases the results have been but too apparent, and much searching of heart took place before the decision was reached, that, having regard to finances, the journal should be kept to eight pages during August at least.

The rapid development of the small venture made it clear that the sum of money set aside would be exhausted before the second of the three months for which subscriptions had been taken had elapsed, and though the heart was willing the exchequer was weak. A happy easement of this anxiety, however, occurred before the close of July. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, while welcoming anything which would advance the cause, had naturally up to this period considered first the needs of their own forthcoming journal. At this point, however, they decided to pay our work the highest compliment in their power by giving it their full support, instead of issuing a paper themselves, and at once gave substantial help towards current expenses; their policy being to ensure the continuance of *Women's Franchise* on its present basis—that is to say, as a journal 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 should be placed at their disposal. Assurance that The National Society have no desire to take over the title may be found in the specific utterance of their Executive, and also in the fact that both financial and other help has been promised so long as the present proprietor is enabled to continue his personal conduct of the journal. This he will gladly do if practical proof is forthcoming that our readers generally so desire.

At the close of this month a balance-sheet will be made out, in which it will (so far as it can at present be ascertained) be shown that, putting all debits (office, clerical, postage, printing, publishing, and advertising) at the lowest possible figure to cover out-of-pocket expenses, the circulation of upwards of 50,000 copies of 120 pp. within the three months will have involved a loss of over 60%. To those who are conversant with the starting of new journalistic ventures this deficit at the end of the first three months (bearing in mind also that these were summer months)

will appear inconsiderable. In other words, with due regard to the nature of the journal, it may be pronounced a success. Whatever the loss up to October 1st may prove to be, it will be borne by the proprietor in order that *Women's Franchise* may continue free of all debt from that month. But a necessary condition of development and continuance by its present proprietor is that future expenses be guaranteed. In calculating such expenses it should be remembered that the paper has now passed through the season which, from the business point of view, is considered the worst, and during this period has attained a wide circulation and a small income from advertisements, both which sources of income may now be expected to increase.

The Declaration Committee has placed at our disposal many thousands of names and addresses of sympathisers with the movement, a good proportion of whom may reasonably be expected to become subscribers to the paper, and advantage has been taken of the less strenuous season to get a large number of wrappers addressed—help has also been offered for like clerical work during the winter months. The General Editor has received valuable offers of assistance, of which he will avail himself in so far as the same may be compatible with preserving his complete and entire independence in the conduct of the Journal. We are also informed that the societies represented in our columns have made additional arrangements for the editing of their respective pages. Developments are called for in an extension of the foreign news under the capable editorship of Miss Alice Zimmern. Space should also be found for reviews of books and magazine articles dealing with the Suffrage question, and we have been asked to publish biographical sketches of past and present leaders of the movement. Altogether, we feel justified in hoping for an increase in our sphere of usefulness, and we look confidently to our readers to ensure the paper under its present régime against insolvency.

It is particularly requested that no money, either as subscription or donation, be sent at present, but that the forms which will be found in the present issue be filled up, so that the proprietor may ascertain how many are willing to go on taking the paper, and for how long a period, and what additional sum will be forthcoming to meet any financial loss which may occur. Should our present intention be fulfilled, a statement will be made each month of our position, and if financial help is needed, the names of those who have promised the same will be published in our columns, with a notification of the proportion of such help as is necessary to meet current expenses. Donors will be asked to accept acknowledgment of their gifts through our columns, in order that clerical and other expenses may be curtailed so far as possible. Other offers of help will be gratefully received, such as the contribution of articles, the undertaking of the free distribution of back numbers as specimen copies, &c.

The journal had its genesis in an ardent desire that the truth might prevail, and we again wish to assure readers that our columns will be as open to intelligent objectors as to warm sympathizers—the fact being recognized that to give publicity to any cause will, if that cause be ephemeral, but hasten its extinction, and will equally, if that cause be just, but hasten its consummation.

The object of our paper is first and foremost to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage by every means in our power, so that the question of profits must necessarily take a very secondary place. Should, however, any such accrue, they will be devoted to the cause.

Lastly, the present proprietor, however inadequately, must voice the thanks of all supporters of the cause to those who have been instrumental in starting and maintaining the paper. Without the splendid help already given the venture must have failed. The proprietor, feeling deeply the honour of his connexion with the movement, hopes for the support which will permit him to carry on this part of the work. [P.T.O.]

"WOMEN'S FRANCHISE."

I
residing at

am willing to take cop
weekly of "Women's Franchise"
for months.

And I hereby further
promise to give a donation not
exceeding £ s d towards
meeting any deficit which may
be incurred in publishing
"Women's Franchise."

Signature.....
Member of

If a Member of one of
the Societies please
underline same, if
not leave blank.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,
13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS,
CHANCERY LANE,
LONDON, E.C.

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. SAYERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

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 20,000*l.* 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.

OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.
Telephone—5550 Holborn.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. W. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE, 37, Clements Inn, W.C.

Organizing Secretary: MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

The Movement Week by Week.

We publish this week a report of the progress of the movement during the past six months, which form the first half of the second year of the existence of the Women's Social and Political Union as a national movement. These facts and figures will give to our members and all those interested in our movement an idea of the impetus of this Union, and of the extent and rapidity of its growth, and will show how ridiculous is the assumption of our opponents that because for the past few months there have not been startling events, therefore the movement is dying down.

The Press, as a whole, by its persistent silence, deceives the public as to the vitality and vigour of the popular demand for votes for women; but happily there are honourable exceptions. The Ipswich and Suffolk newspapers have given this week an excellent account of Mrs. Martel's campaign there. A meeting was held last Thursday in the big Co-operative Hall at Ipswich. Two days sufficed to organise it, and it was a most enthusiastic success. *The Ipswich Observer* says: "The meeting was wholly conducted by ladies; no mere man allowed to have a voice in the matter. Miss Constance Andrews, a lady of advanced views in our town, was in the chair. She made a capital chairman. There were three speakers—Miss Lamb, who has already endured martyrdom for the cause, Mrs. Hicks (of the Hampstead branch), of gentle and persuasive manner, and Mrs. Martel, the enfranchised lady of Australia, who fought and won there, and will fight in our midst and win."

CAMPAIGN IN SUFFOLK.

Commenting upon Mrs. Martel's speech, the writer says that she showed how in matters of eloquence, strength of resolution, logic, and knowledge, a woman can give points to a mere man. "She played many tunes; now she was wrathful, now indignant, then gentle and persuasive, then argumentative; always witty and humorous. Then the marvellous way in which she answered questions. It was an intellectual entertainment of a very high order." At the conclusion of the meeting Mrs. Martel and the speakers were accorded a very cordial vote of thanks, and were asked to come again. This meeting is to be followed up by others.

CANVASS IN PADDINGTON.

After the special business meeting of members in Essex Hall on Tuesday evening, Sept. 10th, the campaign in London will recommence with renewed vigour. Our London members are returning from their holidays every day, and are thirsting for the fray. Volunteers are now needed to finish the canvas in Paddington. I see that Mr. Money put down a blocking motion against Mr. Dickinson's revised Bill, which was read for the first time before Parliament dissolved. Mr. Money is an inveterate opponent of Women's Suffrage, and bolsters up his position by the dishonest and ridiculous argument that the franchise law which is good enough for men to-day is not good enough for women, therefore women must be kept out of their political rights as human beings until the franchise law for men undergoes a change. This attitude of Mr. Money's should bring London women out in great force to initiate a vigorous campaign against him in his own constituency.

NORTH ST. PANCRAS.

When Paddington canvass is finished, London members must start at once on the systematic canvas of the constituency of North St. Pancras, which is represented in Parliament by Mr. Wilson, who holds the same illiberal views on Women's Franchise as those held by Mr. Money. Will all women who are prepared to help in this way please send their names to Mrs. Drummond, 4, Clements Inn? The work is already mapped out, and she is prepared to give to each volunteer definite instructions how to proceed with it.

TOWARDS SUCCESS.

Funds are urgently needed for the national campaign, which must be carried out during the forthcoming winter. Every woman who feels that this is a great and righteous cause must contribute according to her means. The Treasurer would be very glad to receive contributions or promises of contributions before October. We are very near our end. The forces of opposition are yielding to the logic of facts and to the impetus of enthusiasm. One more strong, vigorous push, and the barriers will go down. We must get the vote next Parliamentary session.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

Six Months' Progress.

HOW THE PRESS DECEIVES THE PUBLIC.

A LITTLE while back the Press was busy upbraiding the "Suffragettes" for their "unladylike" behaviour. "Why do they not set to work to educate the men and women of the country in a constitutional manner?" it asked, "then it would have our hearty support." But the Women's Social and Political Union paid no heed to the Press, and went about its own business in its own way.

During the last few months the Suffragettes have followed strictly constitutional methods. This time the Press has tried silence. "The women's agitation has died down," it would have the public to believe. But the organisation which has been quietly growing and extending all this while with phenomenal rapidity is again unconcerned with what the Press may say or leave unsaid. It has other means of spreading its views and influencing public opinion, as some of the following facts will show.

3,000 MEETINGS IN SIX MONTHS.

Between March 1st and the end of August the National Executive has arranged (including by-elections) for over twelve hundred meetings in different parts of the country. The Scottish Council has organised several score of others. And, in addition, the local branches all over the country are responsible for another 2,000 local meetings, making a total of well over 3,000 in all. Many of these meetings have been attended by several thousand people, notably the great meetings in the St. James's Theatre, Manchester, that in the Town Hall, Birmingham, that in Exeter Hall, London, the enormous meetings every Sunday afternoon in Hyde Park, and many others. It is safe to say that over a million people have been reached in all.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

A special feature of the agitation during the last six months has been the work done at the by-elections. Last year the Women's Social and Political Union was never able to put into the field more than one or two of its organisers, and even at Huddersfield, apart from assistance rendered locally, it was only represented by four of its members. But in the string of by-elections that have taken place since March 1st, in which the W.S.P.U. have taken part—Hexham, Stepney, Rutland, Jarrow, Colne Valley, N.W. Staffs., Bury St. Edmunds—it has been able to count upon a band of volunteers numbering thirty or forty in all, who have assisted the organisers in working the election. In consequence, it has been found possible to hold from 100 to 200 meetings in each constituency, and to evoke extraordinary enthusiasm.

The election policy of the Union is now quite clearly understood. It does not support any candidate, but goes into the field to oppose the Liberal as the nominee of the Government which refuses justice to women. The results have been exceedingly encouraging. Apart from the immense interest evoked by the meetings—men and women coming in thousands, and frequently forsaking almost entirely the platforms of the candidates themselves, to listen to the speeches of the women—the actual figures have a tale to tell of marked success. In every one of the seven by-elections the Liberal poll has been considerably reduced, the figures being as follows:—Hexham, 231; Stepney, 503; Rutland, 202; Jarrow, 4,573 (four-cornered); Colne Valley, 1,204 (three-cornered); N.W. Staffs., 271; Bury St. Edmunds, 306—a total of over 7,000. It has been especially noteworthy that this achievement has sometimes told in favour of the Conservative, sometimes in favour of the Labour candidate, and it is not therefore attributable to any general change of national attitude on other political questions.

Of this work the Press in general has preferred to keep the public in ignorance; but one or two facts are significant. At the Colne Valley election Mr. Grayson openly declared that he owed his election to the assistance of the women's work; at Bury St. Edmunds the crowd refused to allow Mr. Guinness to claim the victory for Tariff Reform, crying out that it was the "Suffragettes"; and at the N.W. Staffs. election the special correspondent of *The Morning Post*, writing on August 1st, stated that as an electioneering body the Women's Social and Political Union was unsurpassed. "Woman against man," he wrote, "they are better speakers, more logical, better informed, better phrased, with a surer instinct for the telling argument"; and again, "the Suffragists are the politicians of the election."

A NETWORK OF BRANCHES.

Another indication of the growth of the movement during the six months has been the extension of the Union by branches all over the country. On March 1st there were only 47 branches affiliated to the Women's Social and Political Union. On May 10th the number had risen to 58, and on August 31st was 70. Meanwhile a Scottish Council has been formed, placing Scotland in a partially autonomous condition.

STALL IN EARL'S COURT.

An interesting development of the work in London has been the "Votes for Women" stall in the Earl's Court Exhibition, which has been taken for the season for the purpose of selling literature and getting into touch with a fresh set of people. As many as a thousand a day have visited the stall, and of these a large proportion had never previously given any serious consideration to the subject. But such success has attended the venture that there have been over 500 purchasers every week, and Mrs. Leigh, who is in charge of the stall, and the numerous volunteers who have helped her in selling, have found their time profitably employed in answering questions and in explaining the position of the Women's movement to interested visitors.

SALES OF LITERATURE.

Few signs of growth are more convincing, however, than the record of the wholesale literature department, which is now an important branch of the Union. During 1906 the total sale of literature amounted to some 60l. in all; this total was equalled during the first two months alone of 1907, and during

the six months from March 1st to August 31st the sale amounted to 450l., representing a purchase of 80,000 pamphlets, &c., and 6,000 books. So far from being a burden on the parent body, this department has succeeded in bearing all its own expenses, including rent for the room which it occupies, issuing 150,000 free leaflets, and making a net profit with which to increase the work of propaganda in the next six months.

GENERAL FINANCE.

The rapid strides of the organisation in other directions have made heavy demands upon the financial resources of its members, close on 3,000l. having been expended, in spite of careful economy, during the six months. This sum, however, has been cheerfully borne. There have been a few big subscriptions, but there have also been contributions from over 600 women who are determined to take their share in the battle which is being fought for sex freedom.

SUCCESS IN THE FUTURE.

The success which has attended the agitation during the last eighteen months justifies the Women's Social and Political Union in looking forward with confidence to the future. It is not troubled about the silence or misrepresentations of the Press. It is as content to turn to-day from the Press to the public as it was to turn from the politicians to the electors a little while back. It will continue to employ the methods most calculated to advance the cause of "Votes for Women." It will not be hurried into "unconstitutional" methods by the desire to again make the Press agog with interest. With a full sense of responsibility, it will take its own action in its own way, and it calls on all women who value their womanhood to join it in its task.

Branch Formed at Chiswick.

A GARDEN PARTY to form a new branch was given at Chiswick Park by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. East. Over a hundred guests assembled in the charming garden. Mr. East said that at one time he had taken no interest whatever in this question, and he little thought that the day would ever come when he would invite his guests to meet the Suffragettes. Sympathetic as he was, he did not even now go quite so far as his wife, though he fully realized the very great importance of this question, which was now a matter of practical politics.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, after thanking the Chairman for his sympathetic attitude to the Woman's Movement, and for the expression of his goodwill, said that she was not surprised to find that the wife was leading the way in this question. That was quite natural, and just as it should be, for the great movement of awakening amongst women at the present day must of course be led by women themselves. It was women, not men, who had to mark out the new paths; women, not men, who had to educate the public on this question; women, not men, who had to initiate and carry out the political policy; and just as there are many questions where men lead and women must follow, so this question of Women's Enfranchisement was essentially one where women must lead and men must follow. She also spoke of what the vote means, and what the absence of the vote means to any class or sex or race not represented in the Government of the country. She told the story of the Union, and sketched the extraordinary spread of the movement, and appealed to every woman present to do her part in this great battle which women were waging for their freedom.

Mrs. Baldock then dwelt upon the side which appealed to her as a working woman. She spoke of life in the East End as she saw it, as a member of the Committee for Unemployed Women, as a member of the Board of Guardians, and as a member of the School Committee. It was evident that her story reached the hearts of many women present who had never known, perhaps, what it was to face the elementary needs of existence. Many who were present promised to help and to take this question a great deal more seriously in the future than ever they had done in the past. Miss Coomb announced the formation of the Chiswick Branch, and appealed for help to reach the women engaged in factories and in laundries in the locality.

Scottish Notes.

THE monthly meeting of the Scottish Council was held in Glasgow on Saturday, September 7th, when a full agenda of important business was before the delegates. It was decided that the efforts to raise the funds necessary for the opening of a Scottish office and headquarters should be crystallized by the appointment of a special sub-committee, the members of which were empowered to take all necessary steps to find subscribers and guarantors. The Treasurer's report showed that the finances were in a stable condition, the income and expenditure of the previous month leaving us with a small balance on the month's work. This is satisfactory so far as it goes, but there is a crying need for us to extend our sphere of effort, and to do this a larger income is necessary.

The Council decided to publish in pamphlet form two articles lately written by its honorary secretary, one of which had appeared in *The Albany* and the other in *The Fortnightly Review*. It was felt that there was need for some new penny pamphlets, especially among those who were in touch with the movement and had already exhausted the list of those supplied by the National Committee.

In order to give substantial help towards the procession and demonstration of October 5th, it was decided that Miss Fraser should devote the next four weeks to working up interest in the West, and increasing the numbers of participants from Glasgow and district. The branches were appealed to to help the organiser in canvassing their districts. For the Edinburgh district the Council decided to appoint Mrs. Sanderson for as large a part of the month as she could devote to the work, in order that the canvassing and other work of organisation being done by the local branch members might be taken full advantage of, and every effort made to bring a large number of Edinburgh and Leith women into the ranks.

Practically every branch of the W.S.P.U. in Scotland is now putting forth special efforts to make the procession a great success. Perhaps Dunfermline leads the way, with a meeting every night until October 3rd. But Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen are full of work and emulation, and in Glasgow "At Homes," socials, and special meetings are the order of the day. Representative women of every party and of none, indeed of every Women's Society in Scotland, are being obtained as signatories of the request for an audience with the Premier. The detailed arrangements cannot yet be made, but they will probably be well in hand by next week.

The need for effort for this National Demonstration has already produced many good results. The chief of these is the increase of new speakers. Every week seems to bring out some fresh member. From Dunfermline, from Edinburgh, and from Dundee, we get the greater number, but other branches are showing signs of progress. It is to be regretted that Glasgow lags behind.

During the week Miss Fraser has been in Dundee and at a large meeting with me in the Wishaw Town Hall. Miss Wilkie reports three very successful meetings were held during the Dundee visit, and says that, in addition to good sales of literature and collections, volunteers for the procession were obtained. The Dundee branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage gave assistance at all the meetings. At Wishaw we had a most successful time. Our chairman, Mr. Graham Moffat, also of the Men's League, played his part more successfully than most chairmen do. His speech was pointed and humorous, and awakened the attention of the audience. Miss Fraser spoke well, and the audience were plainly deeply interested. My fighting spirit called forth the comment, "This one is a warrior!" from a canny Scot at the front. From all this it is evident that Wishaw and district offers us a harvest, and must be attacked in earnest at the earliest possible moment. It is hoped to revisit the town and to arrange for definite propaganda in Motherwell, Coatbridge, and Hamilton before the end of the year.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Holmwood Garden Meeting.

FINAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH.

THE trains for Holmwood leave London Bridge 10.38 A.M. and 2.0 P.M. Tickets (reduced fare, 2s. 10d.) can be had from Mrs. Drummond direct from the office. Mrs. Drummond will be at the entrance to the platform twenty minutes before the departure of the train on Saturday, in order to supply members with tickets who have not in the meantime already got them. Please note that members who have not secured their tickets before Saturday should be there fifteen minutes before the departure of the train, so that they will have ample time to secure their tickets from Mrs. Drummond.

All London members of the Union, whether attached to branches or not, are invited. The return train from Holmwood reaches London about 9 P.M.

Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

From Aug. 31st to Sept. 7th.

| £ s. d. | | £ s. d. | |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Already acknowledged | 2,524 13 0 | Mrs. Singer | 3 3 0 |
| Mrs. Lightman | 0 5 0 | Liverpool Branch W.S.P.U. | 0 8 0 |
| Mrs. Catherine Manson | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Esther Woods | 0 5 0 |
| Tottenham Branch W.S.P.U. | 0 5 0 | Miss O. Waller | 1 10 0 |
| Miss Jessie E. Carter | 0 5 0 | Northern Heights Branch | 0 10 0 |
| Mrs. Pegge | 0 0 0 | W.S.P.U. | 0 10 0 |
| Miss G. Keevil | 1 0 0 | Miss J. S. Dugdale | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Martin White | 10 0 0 | Mrs. and Miss A. Kenney | 0 1 0 |
| Miss G. P. Bevan | 1 0 0 | Mrs. E. Harris | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Emily Grenfell Hill | 1 0 0 | Collections, &c. | 1 16 0 |
| Rochdale Branch W.S.P.U. | 0 16 6 | Guarantee Fund (weekly) | 0 11 3 |
| Miss Cox | 1 0 0 | | |
| Mrs. Beatrice Sanders | 3 0 0 | Total | 2,662 7 3 |
| Mrs. Stratford Dugdale | 0 10 0 | | |

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From September 12th to September 18th.

| | | | P.M. |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|------|
| Thurs. | Brixton, White Horse | Mrs. Drummond | 8 |
| | Blackheath, Whitfield's Mount | Miss C. Pankhurst | 5.30 |
| | Leicester, Open air meeting | Mrs. Martel | |
| | West Hartlepool, Co-operative Hall | Mrs. Billington-Greig | 7.30 |
| | Dundee | Miss N. Kenney | |
| | Cowdenbeath | Mrs. Donaldson | |
| | Stepney, Mission Hall, Old Church Road | Miss Munro | 8 |
| | Barnes Pond | Mrs. Drummond | 8 |
| | Glasgow, Procession Meeting, Dunfermline | Miss Munro | |
| Sat. | Holmwood, Garden Party | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 4-7 |
| | Sutton, Surrey | Mrs. Martel | |
| Sun. | London, Hyde Park | Miss C. Pankhurst | 3 |
| | London, Finsbury Park | Miss I. Miller | 3.30 |
| | London, Victoria Park | Mrs. Baldock | 3.30 |
| Mon. | "At Home," 4, Clement's Inn | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 4-6 |
| | Evening Meeting, 4, Clement's Inn | Miss C. Pankhurst | |
| | Dunfermline | Mrs. Baldock | 8 |
| | Highgate, St. John's Corner | Mrs. Donaldson | |
| Tues. | Halifax | Mrs. Drummond | 8 |
| | Wolverhampton, Market Place | Mrs. Pankhurst | 8 |
| | Clapham, 43, Park Hill | Mrs. Sproson | 7.30 |
| | Rumbling Well | Mrs. Francis | 8.30 |
| | Fulham, Church space | Miss Munro | |
| Wed. | Huddersfield | Mrs. Drummond | 8 |
| | Putney, Weimar Road | Mrs. Pankhurst | 8 |
| | Paddington, corner of Elgin Avenue and Waltherton Road | Mrs. Baldock | 8 |
| | Hampstead, Library, Prince Arthur Road. Members | | |
| | Partick, Glasgow | Mrs. Billington-Greig and others | |
| Wed., Sept. 25 | Meeting in Frankfurt, German Women's Union | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | |
| Mon., Nov. 11 | Meeting at Queen's Hall | Miss Annie Kenney | |
| Workers for Paddington Canvass apply | | Special Speakers | |
| | | Miss Chapman, 53, Waltherton Road, Paddington | |

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Editorial.

WE have received a most satisfactory account of the progress achieved by the West of Scotland Men's League for Women's Suffrage. The Secretary, Mr. W. Graham Moffat, reports that the Society is already "well established with a large membership." The constitution of the Society is identical with that originally adopted by the London Society. Its members are in two classes, of which the one consists of men who are fully pledged to the by-election policy adopted by the Women's Social and Political Union—namely, opposition to any candidate supporting any Government which has not adopted a measure for the enfranchisement of women—and the other of Associates, who are willing to assist but do not pledge their votes.

"Our first public act," says Mr. Moffat, "will be to organize a great demonstration in St. Andrew's Hall on the day previous to the Edinburgh procession, Friday, October 4th. All the speakers are ladies, with the exception of the Chairman, Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham. The hall holds 4,000 people, and as all the local Suffrage Societies are interested, we hope to fill it."

We cordially congratulate the West of Scotland League on its success and on the activity which it is manifesting. At the same time we cannot but regret that the Executive has not yet seen its way to a formal affiliation with the London Society. As we have had occasion to point out before, the effectiveness of the movement is greatly increased by the combination of all its supporters, especially in the imagination of the outsider. Still we are glad to say that several of the West of Scotland members have joined the London Society as individual members, and we hope that formal affiliation is only deferred for a short time.

We have received a most interesting communication—unfortunately too long to publish *in extenso*—from one of our members, Mr. H. M. Theedam. His remarks derive a special interest from the fact that he is evidently intimately acquainted with the conditions of life in mining districts, and thus with the needs and the aims of working men and women. After pointing out that the subordination of women in primitive society is by no means surprising, and that it is only in the most highly educated societies that a proper attitude towards the physically weaker sex can be expected, he goes on to say that all educated communities having realized that "the difference in the sexes and their respective duties is but a difference of departments," and that "the difference does not necessarily mean a difference in intellect," can no longer "dream of allowing women to remain in the present unsatisfactory position." He then shows that in the absence of women household duties are necessarily apportioned to every man in turn for the benefit of the whole, without any derogation to the dignity of the men thus employed. It is a question of economy of labour. "How," he asks, "do you think a miner would manage if he had to bob up and down a mine to see if his dinner was cooking all right and make the beds?"

Applying this argument to the position of men and women, he continues:—

"But why, you may ask, is woman always in the home department? Nature has given her the honour and the misfortune of being the more important in her scheme of reproduction. To the women falls the opportunity of the loving charge of child-rearing, an honour and a charge longed for by many who have yet not received its blessing, and undertaken with pleasure by most of the more fortunate; but an honour, nevertheless, whose responsibilities entail much care and time.

"It is this time necessary in the bringing-up of a family which makes woman the person who must keep the home, and the man the person who shall be the provider. No question of intellectual equality, no question of strength, no want of military spirit, no inferiority of morals, justice, or sense, but the pure, undisputable fact that at home, and at home only, can she be said to be able to work and properly give her young children the care they need, places her in the home department. And being in this department, the seclusion it brings has brought upon her the inferiority of position and the libel that she is an inferior being.

"That the majority of women are less intellectual than the average man may, I firmly believe, be taken as a fact; but it is also a most decided fact that women have received less education... That the raw material is as good seems, after the various and numerous women's successes of late years, to be beyond dispute; and I cannot feel in any way drawn to the 'Ignorance is bliss' policy, or, in other words, in miner's tongue, 'War's the good of educating'er? She's awh right; 'erl get married.'

"It argues rather that, instead of allowing a girl's education to stop it should go on, and that, instead of a woman being told to mind her own business, that she should be a competent help to her husband and male and female kind generally, when I find, on looking at the state of the various nations of to-day, that you can trace the freedom and education of the women first and then declare the prosperity of the country.

"A gold mine is no use until it is worked; and until you obtain the benefits which women are capable of, they stand a burden instead of a help to the nation.

"A woman can be, and should be, not merely a sympathetic companion to her husband, but a helpmate capable of helping, and the enfranchisement of women will strongly tend towards such a direction.

"Talking of marriage reminds me that, never having been married, I may be open to the same argument I have heard used against Lady Sanitary Inspectors, who are told that, never having had children of their own to feed, it is abominable impertinence for them to try to teach those who have; but if such sceptics appear, I have plenty of friends able to take the matter up with them from *Experience*.

"At the present time most women, especially as they are in many matters less informed, consider themselves the inferior beings they are told they are, and more than one woman has actually told me so. This feeling by the grant of a vote would be considerably lessened, and women would look further around them, learn more, and therefore act better. Subjects which are now discussed by men almost alone, which yet directly and indirectly affect women, would be jointly discussed, and from this would arise a more general feeling of companionship, and as women would thus have imparted to them much knowledge they did not previously possess, they would become more broad-minded, intellectual members of society, and become therefore a stronger force in the advancement of the nation, and moreover less hysterical, biassed, and unreasonable in their ways.

"The effect, however, will not be all indirect. Women, though their interests coincide so much with men's, have yet their aspects of various questions, and their interests in different policies, which are greater and more direct, and in some cases different from those of man. It is a shame, for instance, that women should be unable to earn their living, and must therefore marry at the first instead of waiting for the opportunity their heart dictates. All women and all men should justify their existence by useful work—and when they do work their existences should be made happy as their reward.

"Women most decidedly would help to alleviate this and other unjust burdens of their sex when they obtained the

power to do so, and much good in this and other ways would, I am sure, result.

"By giving a woman the vote, you take, in my opinion, a large step towards the equalizing of the sexes; and when you have equalized the sexes you will have obtained one, if not the greatest, of helps towards useful reform, for you will have struck oil of intelligence from a well never before fully appreciated. Women can and will learn as soon as we men appreciate their learning; and who can refute the statement that where a man's wife is capable of doing so, her advice is second to none, and may help forward prosperity or prevent downfall?"

"Let men, therefore, married or unmarried, help to raise the position of women, both for our own and for their good. Votes for Women."

Correspondence.

Mr. Dickinson's New Bill.

SIR,—As an advocate for some form of Woman's Suffrage I was much interested in the letter of A. B. with regard to the administrative details of Mr. Dickinson's new Bill, and I fully agree with him—although on somewhat different lines—that it is a question whether this Bill is good tactics. One of the points which he has noted, that Mr. Dickinson's new measure would enfranchise the wives of practically all working men, leads up to a serious difficulty in connexion with our future legislation—a difficulty due to the possible tendency of the vote.

There are many of us who, while fully recognizing that a Socialistic tendency in our Government is necessary to the betterment of the working classes, are yet strongly opposed to a State Socialism as shown in the programmes of the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation, &c.

Now one of our most prominent Socialists has declared that he wants the woman's vote for Socialism. He has also reminded us that seven-tenths of the voting power is with the working-class. That this class is now being educated—as it is termed—in the principles of Socialism, is surely apparent to all. Witness the return of Mr. Victor Grayson, which could not have taken place some few years ago, but which is now regarded by his friends as a precedent.

With these facts before us, it would be as well to reflect upon this possible tendency of the vote should Mr. Dickinson's Bill become law, and although it is argued that women should at once be given the vote upon the same terms as it is now held by men, yet we have to remember that the franchise was granted to a certain section of the better-class working men for many years before it reached its present position. So that if we are to follow in this order, the vote, in the first instance must be given to the educated woman; secondly, it must include a certain section of the better-class working women; and thirdly, it may become general.

Whether this manner of granting the franchise would be feasible is, of course, open to question, but as the aim of the woman's vote is the better good of the community through the government of the country, those of us who, for this reason, are opposed to a State Socialism must continuously realize that the ultimate test for parliamentary representation is numerical ascendancy; and should Mr. Dickinson's Bill become law, we may shortly have to deal with Socialistic majorities due solely to the pressure of a teaching so fatally promising in its outlook as to lead astray far wiser heads than that of the ordinary working woman.

The fallacy which stands out in the working of Socialism, due to inherent qualities in human nature, has been well summed up in the little epigram of Mr. Bernard Shaw: "Socialism might be possible if it were not for the Socialists"; and as it is useless endeavouring to prove to the State Socialist the error of his ways, it would be as well to realize the not improbable capture of the ballot-box, resulting from the influence of a teaching which can neither be digested nor gainsaid by those to whom it is given.

Nevertheless, it is without question, that in the interests of the working class—more especially the woman and child of the working class—some form of Woman's Suffrage is necessary, and I fully agree with A. B. that if an assembly—such as he suggests—could agree upon some simple measure, not forgetting the "general problem of tactics, the cause would be greatly advanced."

Yours faithfully, A. W. S.

SIR,—I venture to respond to the invited discussion on A. B.'s letter in your issue of August 22nd, because, in my humble opinion, it is most important that the demand for Women's Suffrage should be kept clear of complications. Safety would seem to lie in adhering to the old demand that the vote be given "on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

Men do not hold the vote on the ground of any domestic status, and under the still existing and too often self-implied disabilities of wives, many of whom have blindly promised to obey their husbands "even as Sarah obeyed Abraham," it is desirable, in the interests of womankind, that whenever women receive the vote it should create an equal position to that of male citizenship, and not be received as a matrimonial appendage.

Yours truly

HARRIETT McILQUHOUN.

J. S. Mill and Prof. Armstrong.

SIR,—In a recent number of *Women's Franchise* (August 15th) some of your contributors deal with a paper read by Prof. Armstrong at the meeting of the British Association, concerning the question of woman and her sphere. I have not myself seen the paper, but Mr. Mitchell makes two quotations from it which appear to be typical: "The advanced woman is aggressively bent on displacing him (i.e., man) everywhere," and "that woman is becoming more and more neglectful of her own domain, and that in consequence the foundations of the homes, if not of society, are becoming undermined."

To the excellent criticisms made on these statements in your columns I think it may be interesting to your readers to add some arguments taken from John Stuart Mill's treatise on 'The Subjection of Women.'

In chap. i. para. 24 Mill says, "What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing. What they can do, but not so well as the men who are their competitors, competition suffices to exclude them from; since nobody asks for protective duties and bounties in favour of women; it is only asked that the present bounties and protective duties in favour of men should be recalled. If women have a greater natural inclination for some things than for others, there is no need of laws or social inculcation to make the majority of them do the former in preference to the latter. Whatever women's services are most wanted for, the free play of competition will hold out the strongest inducements to them to undertake. And as the words imply, they are most wanted for the things for which they are most fit; by the apportionment of which to them, the collective faculties of the two sexes can be applied on the whole with the greatest sum of valuable result."

And in chap. iii. of the same work, para. 1, he says, "if the performance of the function is decided either by competition or by any mode of choice which secures regard to the public interest, there need be no apprehension that any important employments will fall into the hands of women inferior to average men, or to the average of their male competitors. The only result would be that there would be fewer women than men in such employments; a result certain to happen in any case, if only from the preference always likely to be felt by the majority of women for the one vocation in which there is nobody to compete with them."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

ELINOR RENDEL.

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

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