

Women's Franchise.

No. 9.

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Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions. Subscriptions for the weekly numbers to the end of September (1s. 8d.), or less if back numbers are not desired, should be forwarded to the Publisher, 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,' 13, Bream's Buildings, E.C.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

FINLAND. Our international contemporary *Jus Suffragii* brings some very interesting news of the course of events in Finland. Here one of the lady deputies, Miss Lucina Hagmann, secured six votes for the second vice-presidency in the Parliament, and was elected president of one of the select committees, the Committee of Petitions, which entitles her to membership of the President's Council. It appears that the Social Democrats expressly voted for her, in order that there should be a woman member of this Council. Of the great committee of sixty, which has very important functions to perform, three women are members, and they are to be found also on all the standing committees and several of the select committees. Of the large number of motions and petitions already introduced, 26 have been brought in by women. These deal in the main with the protection and property of married women, raising the age of marriage, the position of illegitimate children, pecuniary assistance for domestic economy teaching, temperance work, and co-education. "As far as one can judge," says the report, "the men seem ready to acquiesce in the reforms urged by the women. In that respect there will be smooth sailing. Our political difficulties lie in the direction of our relation to Russia, and as reaction is making rapid progress in Russia, we have every reason to expect hard times for us too." In this connexion it is worth noting that the story freely circulated even in some English papers of the suicide of the husband of one of the Finnish lady deputies was "made in Russia" at the office of one of the most reactionary Petersburg papers.

In **ITALY** matters have developed in a curious way. Here the Suffragists took the line that they were legally entitled to the franchise, since they were not expressly excluded by the electoral law, as is the case with the municipal franchise. Last year several hundred women succeeded in getting their names placed on the electoral rolls, for the most part in towns where the Socialist interest predominates. Eventually the decisions of the local courts were reversed by a superior commission, partly on the ground that the parliamentary franchise carried with it the municipal, and that women were expressly excluded from this. The discussion aroused by these events for the first time called general attention to the question, and in February a petition presented by four ladies led to a "full-dress debate" in Parliament, at which, it is worth noting, there were ladies present in the gallery, who applauded freely without any one proposing to evict them. There was a strong feeling in favour of granting municipal suffrage as a first step, and finally the petition was referred to the Minister of the Interior. As a result a committee was appointed to investigate the question, and attempts are now being made to ascertain the number of women engaged in charitable and professional work, of women tax-payers, and of women who vote indirectly by proxy at municipal elections, in accordance with the existing law. It is expected that all these returns will be made by the middle of November. A vigorous Women's Suffrage Society has now been organized, and has just issued its first annual report.

A. ZIMMERN.

The Woman Movement in America.

THE Wisconsin Senate has defeated the Women Suffrage Bill by a vote of 53 to 35, though the committee had favourably reported on the measure. Women have here to face an insidious form of opposition and obstruction. It has become the custom to pass on the suffrage delegates to a small committee of two or three members, who pay a perfunctory attention to the logic, reason, and argument brought to bear on the suffrage question by enthusiastic and capable pleaders. The committee naturally forgets the best points, and thus has no educative influence on the main body of legislators, who remain in total ignorance of the true facts of the case as presented by the representative women of the country. In only a few cases have women been permitted to plead their cause before the full State legislatures.

Let, however, any trivial right of property be assailed by any prospective Bill, and a judge and jury are appointed to inquire into every particular. "It is better," says a witty suffragist, "to be the milkcan of a voter than a voteless woman."

But we must take the ups with the downs. The New York Court of Appeals has sustained the judgment of the Lower Court in declaring that it is not constitutional to limit the number of hours women may work in factories.

Judge Grey thus expressed himself on this important subject:—

"In this section of the labour law it will be observed that women are classed with minors under eighteen, for which there is no reason. The right of the State to restrict or regulate the labour and employment of children is unquestionable; but an adult female is not to be regarded as a ward of the State, or in any other light than the man is regarded when the question relates to the business, pursuits, or calling.

"In the gradual course of legislation upon the rights of women, in this State she has come to possess all the responsibilities of the man, and she is entitled to be placed on an equality of rights with the man. Considerations of her physical differences are sentimental, and find no proper place in the discussion of the constitutionality of the Act."

English women will do well to mark and learn by this dictum; and thus prepare a determined opposition to any interference with their rights of labour at the hands of well-meaning but ill-advised philanthropists and scheming politicians.

FRANCES SWINEY.

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.

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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.

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

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

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

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

THE NEW BILL.

THE following is the full text of the Women's Enfranchisement (No. 2) Bill, presented by Mr. Dickinson to the House of Commons on Wednesday, August 14th. The Bill, which was read a first time, is supported by Sir Charles McLaren (Liberal, Bosworth division of Leicestershire), Mr. Burt (Labour, Morpeth), Mr. Corrie Grant (Liberal, Rugby division of Warwickshire), Mr. Fenwick (Labour, Wansbeck division of Northumberland), Mr. Gulland (Liberal, Dumfries Burghs), Mr. Snowden (Labour, Blackburn), Mr. Howard (Liberal, Eskdale division of Cumberland), Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Labour, Leicester), Mr. Hartland, Mr. Davies (Liberal, Hackney, N.), Mr. Chas. E. Price (Liberal, Edinburgh Central), and Mr. Charles Roberts (Liberal, Lincoln).

It is entitled—A Bill to Enable Women to vote at Parliamentary Elections.

"Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. In all Acts relating to the qualifications and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters and to vote in such elections: Provided that—

A woman who is registered in more than one parliamentary constituency shall not vote in more than one of such constituencies at any elections occurring in the same calendar year, and if she knowingly and with the intention of evading the provisions of this section acts in contravention of this provision she shall be guilty of personation, and the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, shall be read as if this section were set forth at the end of Part III. of the Third Schedule to that Act.

2. A woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being registered and voting, notwithstanding any law or custom to the contrary.

3. For the purposes of this Act, a married woman who is living with her husband in a dwelling-house or lodgings for which the husband is entitled to be registered and to vote shall be deemed to be a joint inhabitant occupier as owner, tenant, or lodger of such dwelling-house or lodgings, and nothing contained in sections three and four of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, or section six subsection (3) of the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, shall be construed so as to prevent both husband and wife from being registered and voting as joint occupiers of such dwelling-house or lodgings.

4. This Act may be cited as the Women's Enfranchisement Act, 1907."

Short Title.

QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN'S BILL.

As the Local Government (Qualification of Women) Bill has now passed its third reading in the Commons and only awaits the Royal Assent to make it law, some of the duties of town and county councils may be usefully recited, to show why women's co-operation is needed and why those who have the time and the necessary qualifications should offer themselves for the work. Any woman entitled to vote for town or county council will be eligible to stand for election, whether married or single, but the qualification is not so broad as that for parish and district councils, for which twelve months' residence without voting qualification is sufficient. This condition places the married woman, as usual, at a distinct disadvantage, although she would usually be the most useful and acceptable member of these councils. Still this Bill is welcome, as it enables the ratepayers to secure the help of some women in local administration, even though it arbitrarily limits the choice. It enables them to secure that women shall equally with men be responsible—

- For the education of children and the choice and training of their men and women teachers;
- For the management and inspection of lunatic asylums (other than Poor Law) for men and women, hitherto entirely managed and inspected by men alone;
- For the superintendence and inspection of midwives, hitherto conducted entirely by men;
- For the management and inspection of industrial schools and reformatories for boys and girls, and of gaols for men and women, hitherto ruled and inspected entirely by men;
- For the management of fever hospitals for men, women, and children, hitherto governed by men alone; and
- For the administration of the Unemployed Acts, which affect women equally with men, but have not so far been equally applied.

It will enable women ratepayers to make themselves heard in matters affecting health and housing—where the women have so far not received equal treatment at the hands of the councils—in the provision of—

- Public baths, where the hours for women are selected as a rule not to suit the convenience of the working woman, but the working man alone.
- Sanitary conveniences, equally necessary for women as for men.
- Municipal lodging houses for women, at present conspicuous by their absence.
- Women sanitary inspectors, both for houses and for workshops where women are employed.
- The sufficient provision of playing fields for girls as well as boys.
- The more rigid administration of watch committees in matters affecting the protection of women and girls in our great towns.

These are a few of the opportunities for social betterment now offered for women to take up, and, in a world made of both men and women, for the first time for several centuries the women's needs will have some chance of being met from their own, and not only from the men's point of view.

As a ratepayer and a woman whose money has been arbi-

trarily used chiefly on man's behalf in the past, I look with hope to the possibilities opened by this measure for help to the working women, to the children, and to the sick, insane, and criminals, which woman's co-operation in administration may gradually bring about, as it has already done under the Poor Law, where men and women sit together to solve other equally difficult problems of another kind.

MARGARET ASHTON.

hour's quiet statement of facts, be thoroughly appreciated. At tea the talk was all of the Suffrage, and of what "my husband" should hear when his wife got home. Several women declared their intention of attending the next open-air meeting held in the neighbourhood, and before the party broke up nearly forty new signatures to the Women's Franchise Declaration were enrolled.

V. M. S.

Central Society:—

THE WORK OF THE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE DECLARATION COMMITTEE.

HOW IT MAY BE OF USE TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL SOCIETY.

THE Women's Franchise Declaration Committee, called into existence by the rapid growth in the number of signatures received by Miss Black, was so largely composed of members of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage that a few words on the subject of the present position of the declaration may not be out of place under the columns of the Central Society's news.

The declaration started by Miss Clementina Black was intended to be a declaration marked by the quality rather than the quantity of the signatures, and the Committee have always felt that in this lay the chief value of their work.

At a certain point in the work it became impossible, without actual injustice to many women who had the cause of Women's Suffrage deeply at heart, to exclude them any longer, and the declaration was therefore thrown open to those who had before been debarred from signing. But the organized efforts of the Committee still continued to be in the direction of obtaining the signatures of those women who formed the educational and skilled classes of workers—women in responsible positions—women whose desire for the vote could not be said to have been arrived at without thought, and whose decision must receive attentive consideration from thinking men.

There is, however, another side to the work of the Declaration Committee—a practical side—namely the use that can be made of the valuable material that has come to our hands. It is chiefly on this side that the question should be of interest to the Central Society.

During the summer the members of the Committee and their friends have been at work indexing the names already received, and arranging them according to their constituencies. In the provincial part of the work, as far as England was concerned, they were fortunately able to employ trained workers. In the case of the London, Scotch, and Irish names the work had to be done by volunteer effort. They have to thank for their kind help those members of the Central Society who wrote cards, and the Executive Committee for the use of their room and maps. The Committee hope that the work may be finished by the autumn, and they will then place the material at the disposal of the Central Society.

It need hardly be pointed out to the Hon. Secretaries and local Committees that here is material ready for use, which must be dealt with speedily if at all. Speaking from personal experience, I am convinced that there are many to whom the declaration has been a first stepping-stone towards helping in the Suffrage movement. It is surely the duty of those who have the interests of Women's Suffrage at heart to get to know those who are in sympathy with the movement—to help them to follow the progress of the movement and chiefly to help them to help the movement. One word of warning is needed. There are many women who have signed the declaration who cannot give active assistance because of the circumstances of their lives—the true friend of Women's Suffrage will not make these other friends who must be silent wish they had never signed.

It is not for the Declaration Committee to say how the material is to be best used by different individuals in different circumstances; but they do earnestly beg them not to miss this opportunity of using valuable material, and so to make the hard work of the last months of no use. We all have our own methods of working, but surely the end should be—get to know those who sympathize, and by your enthusiasm kindle theirs.

A. WRIGHT.

Branch Societies.

LEEDS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—On Tuesday, the 20th of August, through the kind hospitality of the Misses Ford, a delightful afternoon was spent by the members of the Leeds Women's Suffrage Society at an "At Home" and garden party held at Adel Grange. Although many members were still away on holiday, the attendance was good, and, as the weather was fortunately on its best behaviour, full advantage was taken of the beautiful grounds.

After tea, a short committee meeting was held, and then an informal gathering of the guests took place on the lawn. The President (Miss Lucy Stables), after proposing a vote of thanks to the Misses Ford, drew special attention to the recently published paper *Women's Franchise*, and made an earnest appeal for volunteers to act as canvassers at by-elections.

Miss Emily Ford gave an interesting account of the Artists' League, and of the help given by the artists at Wimbledon election.

The Hon. Organizing Secretary (Miss I. O. Ford) referred to the international character of the Women's Suffrage movement, to the rapid strides it was making in other European countries, and to the recent successes which had crowned the efforts of the Finnish and Norwegian women. Allusion was made to the Women's Qualification Bill, now before Parliament, and to the opportunities it would afford women (when it became law) of rendering useful service to their country.

Miss I. O. Ford spoke in eulogistic terms of the original methods adopted by the "Suffragettes" in their work of propaganda, instancing the Earl's Court stall for sale of literature. Much amusement was caused by her suggestion that the Leeds Women's Suffrage Society should follow their example, and set up a similar stall in the market on Saturday nights.

Copies of *Women's Franchise* were freely distributed amongst the guests before their departure, which took place about 6.30 P.M.

WANDSWORTH.—Pressure on our space has prevented us heretofore from noticing an event which occurred early in the month, when Mrs. Shillington, of Wandsworth, entertained a large party of working women to tea in her garden, to meet Mrs. Francis and Mrs. Bartlett, two of the most energetic workers for the Suffrage in the district. Most of the women had heard "all about those Suffragettes" before, but, ranged in a semicircle round the speakers, they listened this afternoon with an eagerness that showed how all too new the subject was to them in the aspect under which it was now presented. Mrs. Francis explained in simple, forcible words the injustice of taxing women without giving them a voice in the spending of the nation's money, and the folly of ignoring the experience and practical wisdom of women in all questions of education, housing and licensing reform, feeding of school children, old age pensions, &c. Passing to matters which came still nearer home, Mrs. Francis spoke with conviction as to the unnecessary suffering entailed upon women at present through man-made legislation with regard to divorce, the guardianship of children, and other subjects, with the frequent downright cruelty of the sex-distinction made by the Government (leading the way for other employers) in the wages paid to their men and women employees doing the same work under the same conditions. This subject was pursued by Mrs. Bartlett, who from her own personal experience gave examples of the pressing need for reform in the conditions of women's life and work in England.

Only by those who know a little of Wandsworth working women, women to whom in their respectability it came as a ghastly revelation that their sisters in the East End were making blouses or shirts for a few shillings per week, could the enthusiasm for justice and fair play, which was thus roused by half-an-

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, 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, 57, Clements Inn, W.C.

Organizing Secretary: MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

The Movement Week by Week.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS ELECTION.

The Bury St. Edmunds election has resulted in a great triumph for the Women's Social and Political Union. At the General Election the Liberal candidate, fighting against the present Marquis of Bristol, a man of strong family influence and personal popularity, was defeated by 434 votes. The majority against the Government at the recent by-election is 890, more than double the previous majority, and far larger than any Conservative believed it would be. A prominent Conservative told me early in the contest that he thought the majority would not be greatly reduced.

The Government's loss of support at Bury is due to our intervention in the contest. Women's Suffrage was the one question which interested the people, the fiscal issue so persistently brought forward by both candidates being felt to be remote and unreal compared with the great human cause for which we were fighting. On the morning of the poll *The Tribune*, speaking of the election, said, "The difficulties of the Liberal candidate, who is fighting against many odds, have been aggravated by the ill-considered interposition of Women's Suffrage enthusiasts." This is an interesting admission of the influence exerted by the Union at the election. Our aim is to become more and more dangerous to Government nominees at the by-elections. Strengthened and encouraged by our success at Bury, we now await the next opportunity of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government.

THE WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

The passing of the Women's Local Government Bill through Parliament is a matter of great importance to the Women's Suffrage Movement. Nothing now remains except the vote itself to be offered to us by a Government anxious to buy off the opposition of women. The Prime Minister may have imagined that by granting the long-delayed reform which has just been accomplished, he would succeed in staying the demand for the vote, but he will find that he has but stirred us to further efforts. Encouraged by his partial surrender, we shall not rest until we have won a complete victory over him.

The acceptance by the Lords of this Bill means the disappearance of the last excuse the Liberals can offer for their refusal to grant Women's Suffrage. Hitherto, Liberals have said that for the Government to introduce a Women's Suffrage Bill would be futile because the Lords would certainly throw it out. Never can they say this again, for the Lords have now proved themselves to be as favourable to women's emancipation as is the House of Commons. Indeed, we can with good reason say to the Government, when they complain of the Lords' interference with their freedom to work reform, that by introducing a Women's Suffrage Bill they would be following the line of least resistance, as the Lords are more likely to carry that measure than they are to carry any other which may be submitted to them by the Government.

Already the autumn campaign has begun. On Saturday four Liberal leaders (Messrs. Asquith, Haldane, Birrell, and Winston Churchill) who, with their colleagues in the Government, are responsible for the denial of citizen rights to the qualified women of the country, were engaged in loudly proclaiming that the will of the people must prevail. Apparently

they forget that the very principle on which they take their stand in fighting the House of Lords involves the enfranchisement of women. Our task is to remind them in an irresistible way that they ought, before railing against the Upper House, to take the beam out of their own eye. The question of making the House of Commons truly representative of the people ought obviously to precede the reform of the House of Lords.

Mr. Winston Churchill announced that he had every reason to believe that before the Liberal party appeals to the country some change will be made in the electoral law, with the object of securing that in a triangular contest that candidate who has the support of the majority of the electors shall be returned. His words point to the conclusion that the Government are disposed to deal with the question of popular representation. Women suffragists will naturally claim that their measure shall be incorporated in the Government Bill. Even if a provision for second ballot is made the subject of a separate measure we can, as we did in the case of the Plural Voting Bill, insist that Women's Suffrage must form part of any electoral measure, however limited its scope.

MISS GAWTHORPE'S HEALTH.

We all rejoice that Miss Gawthorpe has safely undergone her operation. Dr. Garrett Anderson, who performed the operation, is quite satisfied with the progress her patient is making, and we hope it will not be long before Miss Gawthorpe is working amongst us once more. CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

Some Incidents at Bury St. Edmunds.

ONE of the most successful meetings in the campaign was the Town Hall meeting for women only. The hall was filled to overflowing, and many women were turned away. The women were very enthusiastic, and declared afterwards that they were delighted to find their point of view expressed for the first time. A collection—an unusual incident in a by-election—was taken, and realized 6l.

On the polling day the women were stationed at every polling booth. One man who was a Radical said, "I am going to vote against the Liberal because you have asked us to do so. You have won me over to your cause by your speeches, not because they were clever, but because you expressed such beautiful thoughts, and because of the noble spirit that you have shown."

After the poll had been declared, Mr. Guinness appeared at the window of the Angel Hotel and began to give an address. He said that they all knew what had been the cause of such a splendid victory. The people immediately began to shout, "Three cheers for the Suffragettes! Three cheers for the Women!" When Mr. Guinness went on further to say that it was through Tariff Reform, there was scarcely any response on the part of the crowd.

When the women left Bury St. Edmunds to start on their railway journey the chief constable happened to be on the platform. He introduced himself to them, and said that he wished to thank them for the good work they had done in the town and the excellent influence they had exercised during the election and on the election day.

The men in Bury have suggested that the Men's League should get up an electors' petition for Women's Suffrage, and they are sure that both Conservatives and Liberals will sign it.

Scottish Notes.

THE Dundee branch starts its indoor meetings on Tuesday, 27th, and the members are holding an outdoor meeting every Thursday evening. Miss Munro speaks there at the High School Gate on Thursday first, and I am going up to work there on 4th, 5th, and 6th September. On the 7th the Scottish Council meets again in Glasgow at the office, and probably before we meet again the procession and the conference will both have taken place.

Most of the Scottish branches are arranging to have meetings when the speakers are here for October 5th, and the Dunfermline branch have the tickets out and every arrangement made for their meeting on October 3rd, when the Provost will be chairman. Miss Wilkie, of Dundee, is busy arranging this meeting, and the West of Scotland Men's League have taken St. Andrew's Hall in Glasgow, and hope to have a splendid success there on Friday, October 4th. Mr. Graham Moffatt, the secretary, is an indefatigable worker, and intends to make things move in this quarter.

It is a remarkable coincidence that C.-B. addresses in the King's Theatre, Edinburgh, what is said to be intended for the first great meeting of the autumn on the afternoon of October 5th.

Miss Hamilton, our Kilmarnock secretary, is busy making arrangements to have speakers to help her in working up the branch, and promises to develop some speakers for us. In Scotland we are doing splendidly in that way—Dundee, Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Aberdeen—they seem to be speaking everywhere. Glasgow must look to its laurels in that direction and give us some more orators, or it will be left hopelessly behind. On Saturday Mr. Sanderson was speaker at the Mound meeting in Edinburgh, and on Monday Miss Murchison speaks at Abbey Gate, Dunfermline. Miss Wyse and Miss Bell, of Dundee, have been canvassing in their holiday time, and have the excellent result of twenty-six new members for the branch.

I have had a splendid week in the Dunfermline district and I feel the weather clerk deserves, not a grumble this time, but my deepest curtsey and best thanks. It has been delightful weather, and my audiences deserve the same adjective. We have had splendid meetings in Dunfermline, Townhill, Cowdenheath, Lochgelly, and—back to the coast and the holiday makers—at Aberdeen.

The branch members have turned out to my meetings so well—have come long distances and have been so enthusiastic. We have gained quite a number of members this week, and have several in the new places, so have broken fresh ground. The banner helped to do it—the new banner for the procession—red, with white lettering, that, set up in the main street, brings all the villagers and the holiday-makers up to see what this strange challenge means, and to hear what the standard-bearers have to say.

I have had helping me, as speakers and in the chair, Mrs. Donaldson, Miss Munro, Miss Thomson, Mr. Simpson, Councillor Michael Lees, and Mr. Beck. The local papers have given full and sympathetic reports, and C.-B.'s constituency promises soon to have W.S.P.U. women in every nook and corner in it. We are very lucky in having such a clever secretary and enthusiastic worker as Miss Munro is, in that district, who arranges and looks after things thoroughly and capably.

On Monday I go to Aberdeen for a week there. Mrs. Billington-Greig and I speak in Wishaw on September 3rd, and we have been asked, with Mrs. I. D. Pearce, to plead our own case at the Pollokshields Parliamentary Debating Society, on October 8th, before the members there, who discuss and settle affairs of state to their own satisfaction.

I feel that Scotland has not risen properly to the occasion—nothing sensational has happened, and my term as special correspondent expires with this; but I magnanimously forgive it, because it is plodding along in a good "canny" Scotch fashion, giving us new members, showing us the better and the nobler side of its men and women, sending us day by day tokens and signs of its awakening, and promising to support us soon with that whole-hearted enthusiasm it has shown so often before in the cause of justice and freedom. HELEN FRASER.

Sunday Meeting at Victoria Park.

VERY good meetings have been held every Sunday in Victoria Park. One of the most successful was that on August 4th, Mrs. Baldock being Chairwoman and the speakers Dr. Jones (a lady doctor) and Mrs. Alice Toyne. The meeting began at 3.30, and as the women mounted the "lorry" a crowd of people surrounded it.

Dr. Jones made a most effective speech, dealing principally with the baneful effects of the divergences between the moral codes for men and women. Her appeal to the finer and more generous instincts met with a sympathetic response.

Mrs. Toyne explained that politics, nowadays touching the home so closely, made it imperative for women to take part in them, and stated that though woman's more immediate sphere might be her home, there was a wider world beyond, with whose joys and sufferings it was her duty to concern herself.

A resolution was carried in favour of Woman's Suffrage.

Suffragette Scouts.

A PARTY of cyclists, members of the Union, visited Wimbledon on Saturday last and held a very successful meeting in the Broadway. On their arrival they were greeted with the words:—"You have come at last! Why have you neglected us so long?" Mrs. Drummond's speech was listened to with close attention. The audience showed complete agreement with the methods as well as the views of the Union.

These expeditions will be made every Saturday afternoon. This week the scouts will meet outside the Court Theatre, Sloane Square, at 2 o'clock, and ride to Sydenham, where a meeting will be held. All cyclist members are cordially invited.

Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

From Aug. 19th to Aug. 24th.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	.. 2,360 14 9	Mrs. Badley, in memory of her brother, the late Edmund Garrett, Esq. 10 0 0
Miss Agatha Lawley 1 0 0	Miss Marie Lawson 0 10 6
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		Total	£2,407 5 9½

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From August 29th to September 4th.			P.M.
Thur.	Liverpool, Crawford's Factory Gates	Miss A. Kenney	1.15
	Liverpool, Picton Clock, Wavertree	Miss A. Kenney	8
	Meetings in Middlesbrough	Mrs. Coates Hansen Miss N. Kenney	
Fri.	Fulham Baths, Suffragette Swimming Club	Mrs. Drummond	7.30
	Liverpool, Edge Hill Smp	Miss A. Kenney	8
	London, Barnes Pond	Mrs. Borrmann Wells	8
	Darlington, Temperance Institute	Miss N. Kenney	7.30
Sat.	Sydenham (meet at Court Theatre, 2 P.M.)	Suffragette Scouts	3.30
Sun.	London, Hyde Park	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	3
	London, Finsbury Park	Miss Irene Miller	3.30
	London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Drummond	3.30
Mon.	London, "At Home," 4, Clement's Inn	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4-6
	London, Evening Meeting, 4, Clement's Inn	Miss C. H. Pankhurst Mrs. Drummond	8
	West Hartlepool, Watson's Café, Church Street	Miss A. Kenney	7.30
Tues.	West Hartlepool, Church Square, Open air meeting	Miss A. Kenney	7.30
Wed.	Putney, Weimar Road	Mrs. Borrmann Wells	8
	Paddington, corner of Elgin Avenue and Walterton Road		8
	West Hartlepool, Victoria Terrace	Miss A. Kenney	12.30
	London, Catford Station, The Archway	Mrs. Drummond	6.30
	Meetings in Middlesbrough	Miss N. Kenney	

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Editorial.

WE have much pleasure in publishing the subjoined letter from a correspondent who, as he says, is in sympathy with the movement for the enfranchisement of women. The attitude of D. H. is one which deserves careful attention, not only because it is based upon a large idea of political development, but also because it is characteristic of a very large body of Liberals, Radicals, and other Progressives.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

SIR,—Who knows but that the fateful hour may come when the last male voter may turn the scale for or against Woman's Franchise, and that voter may be, unconsciously, myself? "Lost by a majority of one." Dreadful thought that keeps me awake by night and haunts me by day. I am a waverer. Once I thought the matter settled for ever in my own mind, when my landholding, but voteless, sister, pointed out to me a weak-minded man, with his tongue protruding, making bread and butter for his wife and family of six, all equally imbecile, by picking up dead leaves in the garden, being all he was fit for. "That dolt," said my sister, "has a vote, though he owns nothing but my charity, and I have none."

Since then I have developed advanced Radicalism—as I understand it. Of course, as Woman's Franchise is about as Radical a measure as could well be, I hail it first because it is just, and secondly because it is Radical.

But there are Radical measures that are, to my thinking, supreme, and which languish in the desiccating atmosphere of Conservatism. Now comes the question. Will women be as Radical as the measure which brought power to them in the political world? I need mention but half a dozen. Disarmament of the Lords let me dub the first. Then disestablishment of the State Church of England, which England never was consulted about, and the State element in which has proved to be a stumbling-block in religious advancement by the nation, creating inevitable secessions, arrogating to itself a final appeal, politically, through its "Lords Spiritual," starving its curates and authorizing iniquitous stipends to sinecure livings. Then come the "Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill," "Old Age Pensions," "Taxation of Land Values," and prospective legislation to bring about "Back to the Land."

Having started as a supporter of Woman's Franchise, I am anxious for success to the cause; but if—as I have been assured by "Average Men," "Mere Men," and even women—women are characteristically Conservative, and are unlikely to support the Radical measures alluded to.....?

I am sure that many waverers like myself may become staunch supporters of the great cause if only women will declare themselves in favour of the above and other measures for the spiritual, material, merciful, and social betterment of the nation.

Yours in sympathy,
D. H.

Briefly stated, D. H.'s problem is as follows: (1) The exclusion of women from the parliamentary franchise is absolutely unjust; (2) the removal of this injustice is an essentially Radical measure; (3) but will Radicals find that by enfranchising women they will only strengthen the ranks of those who are opposed to other (and more important?) Radical measures? (4) If so, ought Radicals to support a measure which is to have such a result? Apparently this is the dilemma in which D. H. finds himself.

Now a brief exposition of the main elements in this problem may serve two purposes: first, to make clear once more the attitude of the Men's League; and second, to bring out the true relation which subsists between Liberalism and Radicalism on the one hand, and the enfranchisement of women on the other.

The only result of the enfranchisement of women with which the Men's League, as such, is not concerned, is the probable effect which it will have on the balance of parties. Individual members of the League may, and doubtless do, support the movement to a greater or less degree for extraneous reasons. For example, one man may desire to enfranchise women because, as he thinks, the position of the Established Church or the House of Lords will be thereby strengthened; another demands the same reform because, as he thinks, women will devote themselves to the study of hygiene, housing, destitution, physical degeneracy, and the like; a third, because, as he thinks, they are Socialist at heart; a fourth, because, as he thinks, they are anti-Socialist. In so far as any man works for women's enfranchisement for any one of these reasons, he

regards it as a means to an end. Such an attitude is perfectly justifiable; all honour to the man or woman who is honestly concerned to promote that which is, as he thinks, the greatest good of the community.

But none of these extraneous objects is that of the Men's League as a league. With the maintenance, reform, or abolition of the House of Lords it has absolutely no concern; as a league, it holds no views on the relations between Church and State, Capital and Labour, any more than it smiles or frowns upon the Blue Water School, the twenty-mile speed limit for motor-cars, the Higher Criticism, or "The Times Book Club." The probable attitude of women voters towards any or all of these problems is, to the League in its corporate capacity as a league, of absolutely no importance. Among the members of the League, as in the House of Commons, there are men who, Women's Franchise apart, would be at daggers drawn on any political question which might be selected.

But there is one main principle which is logically prior to all the considerations above indicated. This principle is that, whatever franchise system, wide or narrow, may be adopted by a country, there should be no distinction of sex. All persons, men or women, who have the required qualification should be enrolled on the list of parliamentary (as well as municipal) electors. The object of the League is the abolition of the sex distinction in the matter of parliamentary franchise. Under present conditions we have a certain property qualification; a large number of women possess this qualification; all such women should have votes. If the franchise were further restricted, the League would make the same demand; if the franchise were further extended, the League would make the same demand. In the former case, some members of the League would rejoice, others lament, the increased power of property which would be involved. In the latter case the decreased power of property would, to individual members of the League, be on extraneous grounds, either distasteful or gratifying according to individual theories of government. But that which unites the members of the League and constitutes the League, as a league, is the fundamental principle, superior to all questions of party, that the parliamentary franchise should be given to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, given to men.

Now it is open to the hardheaded practical politician to reply, "Here is a collection of hare-brained theorists, reviving pre-historic, quixotic, platonic" (call it what he will) "doctrines of 'good for good's sake,' the *summum bonum*. Let us have facts, not theories." Fortunately it is not necessary to invite our hardheaded friend to accompany us in a mountaineering expedition through the chilly heights of political philosophy on the off-chance that his myopic vision may perceive in the nearer distance the true relation of politics, ethics, and logic in the Olympus of metaphysics. We can meet him on his own ground with his own sadly misused weapons. He would consign us to the modern Anticyra of Colney Hatch. Why? Because as a League for Women's Suffrage we care not which, if any, party is to swell its ranks with women-voters-to-be. But he fails to realize that, though we are Gallios towards this stupendous problem, we have a rich soil of historical fact in which our theories flourish. The Men's League recognises and lays emphasis upon the fact, admitted by the Tory, Liberal, Radical, Labour, Socialist parties alike, that, among the problems which face our legislature there are many which men cannot hope to deal with unaided by the sympathetic knowledge of women. Secondly, we all know from history that the admission to parliamentary franchise of a hitherto excluded class has always led to the consideration of special evils and difficulties hitherto disregarded or misunderstood; no voteless class has ever received or can effectively demand that consideration which in the interests of society as a whole it imperatively needs. The health of society depends on the equilibrium of its vital centres, and the atrophy

of one is the peril of the whole. Thirdly, we believe that women are competent to give the advice which is needed—not all women, of course, but such a proportion as justifies the abolition of the sex distinction just in so far as is the case with men. We believe this the more confidently inasmuch as we see large numbers of women successfully emerging from properly organized educational curricula, equipped not only with *ad hoc* knowledge, but also with that mental balance which is the product of a study of the accurate sciences.

Here then, in brief, is the practical foundation of the theories which the hardheaded one despises:—

FACT A. History shows that no society has been truly prosperous in which considerable sections are neglected.

FACT B. Under our party system, as history shows, a voteless class always is neglected.

FACT C. Some women are unquestionably qualified to aid in the removal of certain social evils. The exclusion of all women certainly means the exclusion of many fools; so would the exclusion of all men.

Therefore the League believes not only that it is unjust that women should be excluded from the effective consideration of problems which affect society as a whole, but also that the practical advantage of society demands that women should effectively combine with men in the problems of government.

Such is the position of the League, and we submit that it is not only theoretically, but also practically and politically justified. Membership of the League does not compel a man to desist from working for or against Disestablishment, for or against Universal Suffrage, Secular Education, Anti-Vaccination; as a member of the League he is concerned with Women's Suffrage only.

If D. H. is truly anxious that certain Radical reforms should be carried, this very anxiety compels him logically to demand that, before any such reforms are voted upon, the opinion of all qualified persons should be discovered at the poll. It is highly un-Radical that D. H. should win or lose his big reforms while women are excluded from expressing an opinion on them. If every woman believes in an Established Church, then to disestablish the English Church by a comparatively small majority of male electors would be in the last degree un-Radical on D. H.'s own theory of government. A constitutional change may be Radical in its character, but if it is passed by a minority in the community, that change is analogous to the tyrannical action of an oligarchy.

If D. H., then, is true to his own Radical principles, and if he believes in the justice of women's enfranchisement, he is absolutely compelled to demand that women should be qualified to vote in parliamentary elections before the momentous changes to which he refers in his letter are further discussed. No one who honestly holds and logically maintains the fundamental principle of democracy—government of the people, by the people, for the people—can possibly regard the disqualification of women as an injustice, and in the same breath postpone the removal of such a primary injustice to any conceivable democratic programme.

For any Radical to withhold the vote from duly qualified women because, as he thinks, they will vote this way or that, is disloyalty to his fundamental principle. Would he seek to disfranchise all landlords or brewers because he thinks that they, as a class, will oppose land or temperance legislation? What could be more undemocratic, more illogical, more alien to the spirit of representative government?

Therefore, while the League, as a non-party organization, disregards the probable effect on the balance of parties of the enfranchisement of women, D. H. is compelled to do the same by his own principles. D. H. as a Radical and a women's suffragist must feel qualms of conscience as to even the labour legislation effected by the present government. Here are laws affecting society passed by legislators who represent a comparatively small majority of less than half the adult population of the land! Nor would the disproportion be seriously changed if adult male suffrage were introduced. Such a fact may be regarded with comparative equanimity by those who dislike and distrust representative government. But it must be inexpressibly painful to the ardent Radical.

Correspondence.

SIR,—Seeing that a mere woman has been admitted to the columns devoted to the Men's League, I venture to call attention to one point in the letter of "Average Man" which has not been dealt with in the excellent letters so far published.

He says some of our speakers seem to believe that the average man is "a villain of melodrama." I do not think this is so. The speakers I have heard, or heard of, bring accusations much milder than this, much milder than that brought by "Average Man" himself. I sincerely hope his pseudonym is ill chosen. For what does he say about himself? He not only admits, but appears to glory in, or at least to be no whit ashamed of, the following alleged facts concerning man:—That he cares nothing for the logic and justice of a plea, however low a standard of morality this indifference implies; that the price of his tea is more to him than the supreme good; that he will have none of any reform that may touch his pocket; that he has "a thick head and a rather cold heart"; that he is not intelligent or worthy; that, "like the devils," he believes and trembles before the enthusiasm of virtue; that he dreads nothing so much as the introduction of high ideals into our political institutions, preferring "the rule of the apes" because it is "more comfortable"; that good men do harm when they meddle with "our naughty little world," and, presumably, good women will do more; in short, that he is a lump of solid selfishness, without one leavening drop of altruism.

What more awful indictment than this could be brought against him? If the charge were true, the bitterest man-hater (did such a person exist) would be justified in her hatred; the sturdiest advocate of the matriarchy would have amply sufficient grounds for his or her cry—"If this be the average man, get you gone, all of you, and make way for honest—women!"

THEODORA MILLS
(Hon. Sec. Cheltenham W.S.S.).

Prof. Armstrong on Woman's Proper Sphere.

THE readers of *Women's Franchise* may like to know what Prof. Armstrong really thinks of woman's social value and position, and may then appreciate more justly his talk about woman's sphere and the pathos of his appeal. The words are from the Professor's report on American Education (See Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to U.S.A. Oct.-Dec. 1903):

"Throughout the entire period of her existence woman has been man's slave; and if the theory of evolution be in any way correct, there is no reason to suppose, I imagine, that she will recover from the mental disabilities which this has entailed upon her within any period which we, for practical purposes, can regard as reasonable. No better proof could be asked for, however, than is afforded by the consistent failure of women to discover special wants of their own—they have always merely asked to have what men have, to be allowed to compete with men."

Of what use, we would ask the professor, to appeal to woman to reform herself and home life seeing that, by his own confession, she is, and will continue to be, a slave? A slave is not allowed to initiate anything. Possibly the professor's meaning is that a slave at home is useful, but a slave abroad is a danger to society. The professor is, however, not without cunning; he baits his appeal with references to biology. When the professor has completed his study of woman biologically he may find recreation and gain knowledge by visiting the Lancashire factories and asking the married "lasses" there why they prefer minding looms instead of tending to their bairns in their nice homes. Then, if he is anxious for further diversion, he might stray into a "home" where a woman is making blouses, working early and late—"from dawn to dewy eve" if the professor prefers—for a few pence daily. Possibly he would learn there the real significance of the woman's movement; we are not, however, over-sanguine; your theorist and idealist is hard to teach.

F. KETTLE.

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

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