

# Women's Franchise.

No. 10.

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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.

## 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 60l. 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.

### The Suffrage in Other Lands.

**SWEDEN.** Although the last Suffrage proposal was rejected by the Swedish Parliament, it is evident that the question has entered the domain of practical politics. The Government has in fact called for a return of the number of women over twenty-five years of age, to ascertain how many would be entitled to vote under the provisions of the present law, taking the 1900 population as a basis, how many are self-supporting, married, or living with relations. This return, which is now being made by the Central Bureau, is to be completed by the end of the year.

One of the most important of the Swedish Temperance Associations has now made Women's Suffrage a plank in its platform, on the ground that it would afford an effective means of fighting alcohol. The Society *Verdandiorden*, therefore, recommends its members, in the interests of temperance, to work unceasingly for universal, equal, and direct suffrage, that every adult Swedish citizen, man or woman, may obtain a vote."

Under these auspicious circumstances the Women's Suffrage Society is working with redoubled energy, and many new branches have recently been formed. The total number of branches is now 86.

In **DENMARK**, Suffrage Associations are being organized on the same lines as in Sweden. Thirty branches have now been formed; and it is hoped that the movement will soon spread all over the country. Progress has been hampered here by the unfortunate attempt to couple in the bill women's suffrage and the extension of the male franchise. Advocates of the suffrage have now happily come to realize that the only hope for the women is to keep the two questions distinct, and to work unremittingly for this one end. Here the cause has been greatly strengthened by the adhesion of the old-established society *Dansk Kvindesamfund*, founded to promote the general welfare of women. At the Annual Meeting, held in July, members were exhorted to do all in their power to promote the Suffrage movement.

In **BELGIUM** the question was discussed at the Labour Party Congress held at Brussels on June 30th. The subject was introduced by Madame Tillmans, who called on the party to undertake an active propaganda in the country, with a view to convincing the men of the necessity and utility of giving the franchise to women, a proposal that was adopted unanimously. It is interesting to learn that, in the referendum organized by the Labour Party at Ghent last May, to enable the workers to express their views on the legal limitation of hours and the question of a minimum wage, 15,000 women recorded their votes. A. ZIMMERN.

### Women and Local Government.

ALTHOUGH the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women is held—and rightly held—by those who are concerned in the moral and economic welfare of this country to be of supreme national importance, it must not be thought that the sympathisers in the legitimate desires of women for an enlargement of their political rights are indifferent to the shameful manner in which the slender local legislative powers which women already possess have been curtailed during the last few years.

The recent debates in the House of Lords on the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill have brought the anomalous position of women with regard to the exercise of local legislative and executive functions into prominent public notice. The original Bill provided that women should not be disqualified by sex or marriage from being elected a councillor or alderman of any county or borough (including a metropolitan one). Lord Monk Bretton attempted, in committee, to limit the enabling

part of the Bill to aldermen, in which case women would still have been ineligible to serve as councillors; but his amendment was defeated. Even before the passing of this Bill into law women were eligible to sit on parish and district councils (both urban and rural).

With regard to parish councils, Mr. Sidney Webb points out, in his interesting work on English Local Government (1906), that it had never been thought of sufficient importance to discover, either by statutory or judicial decision, whether women were entitled to be present at vestry meetings. It was decided in the case of *Olive v. Ingram* in 1739, that in the absence of proved local custom to the contrary, women ratepayers might vote at the election of a sexton; but the right was qualified by the *obiter dicta* that this "is an office which does not concern the public, or the care and inspection of the morals of parishioners."

The common law right of women to be present at the ancient parish meeting was won for her by the Church. The parish priest in the fourteenth century was the advocate and protector of his illiterate flock against the exactions of the lord's stewards, whose feudal ideas would have been shocked by the presence of women legislators. By reviving the old town moot of pre-Norman days the priest managed to triumph over the Manorial Court; the moot became the parish meeting, and the lord and the steward fell to the level of mere parishioners, for in the church all were equal, and in this way women came to take their part in parochial government. In later times women served as parochial officers; the office of overseer of the door, established by the Poor Law Act (43 Elizabeth) generally went by house row rotation through the parish, and from time to time women acted as overseers when the "turn had come to their house." In Ribchester (Lancashire), for instance, the overseers were women in 1674, 1675, 1779, 1782, and 1795. The parochial office of sexton was also not unusually held by women. Both rights continued intermittently, and were exercised from time to time. In 1818 the Earl of Sheffield writes with indignation on 'Observations on Abuses of the Poor Law': "The Courts of law have thought proper to decide that women are eligible for office."

But the assumption that every parishioner was entitled to vote was broken in upon by the vestry. The vestry was originally an assembly of the town for ecclesiastical matters, but it gradually interfered more and more with the secular affairs until it absorbed all the functions of the parish meeting.

Some vestries were open to all "ratepayers of the parish in vestry assembled," and to these vestries every ratepayer, male or female, might come; but in larger parishes "select vestries" were formed, which were committees of the parish council, made up of elected representatives known as vestrymen. Certain select vestries were also created by statute. It was these select vestries which interfered with the common law rights of women parishioners.

At St. Pancras in 1788 it was decided by the vestry that ladies should not be entitled to vote for parish officers; so also at Chelsea the right to vote at the election of a preacher for the parish was denied to women. It was indeed said "that this vestry is of opinion that ladies and gentlewomen, widows and maidens who pay and stand charged have not a right to vote in this election, there being no precedent in this parish for the same."

But the right of women to vote at open or common vestries was not disputed, and with the revival of the parish authority in 1894 by the Local Government Act (whereby in rural parishes the power of the vestries, whether common or select, has been vested in the Parish Council) the right of qualified (married women must possess a separate qualification from their husbands) women to vote at all parochial elections has received statutory recognition; and further, any such parochial elector may be elected to serve either as Councillor or Chairman. At the District Council elections, whether rural or urban, the same provisions apply as at the Parish one; and in the same way an elector, male or female, may be a Councillor or Chairman.

As regards County Councils, also the creatures of statute, women are in this position, that under the Act of 1888 they are eligible to vote as county electors, but they cannot be elected

to serve as county councillors. In the municipal franchise ratepayers, including single women and widows, may vote if otherwise qualified, but a married woman, though qualified by payment of rates, may not vote, even though her name is on the burgess list, and in no case may a woman hold any corporate office.

It appears, then, that married women will still be debarred from sitting on borough councils, for as they will not be able to vote at borough council elections, they will not be qualified as burgesses, to sit on the councils, a contingency which was surely not contemplated by the framers of the Act.

With regard to school boards, women were entitled both to sit and vote, and the effect of the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 has been to automatically deprive them of the right to sit on the County Council committees which now administer the Education Act, as they are unable to sit on County Councils. They have been but inadequately recompensed by section 17 of the Act, which directs that every scheme for the establishment of an education committee shall provide for the inclusion of women as well as men among the members of the committee (it has been suggested that this direction would be satisfied by the inclusion of one woman).

The London Government Act, 1899, has also deprived women of their right to sit on London bodies. Under the Local Government Act, 1899, women were eligible to serve on the London vestries; but by the municipalization of the vestries women have lost their right to take part in the government of London. It is further expressly declared in the Act that women are ineligible for the office of Mayor, Alderman, and Councillor.

The effect, then, of the new Act will be not only to restore to women their old vestry and school board functions, but to open the County and Borough Councils to them, and to give that complete legislative capacity in Local Government which they have too long been denied.

HENRY H. SCHLOSSER.

### Correspondence.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE'

SIR.—The debate in the Upper House on the Second Reading of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was distinguished by one rare and remarkable feature. Reference was actually made to the opinion of the women of England! Said the Archbishop of Canterbury, in regard to the opinion of the women of England, so far as they had come into the arena by petition or otherwise, he believed the evidence was that they were overwhelmingly antagonistic to the change.

Now whether it is true or not that the women of England are opposed to the Bill I do not know; but if such is the case, it is but one more example of how completely the wishes of the unenfranchised are disregarded by the Legislature.

Again, the Archbishop speaks of petitions. Well, we Suffragists have learnt by experience the value of petitioning! Supposing that zealous opponents of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill had collected as many women's signatures to petitions against it as have been given in favour of Women's Suffrage, do they imagine that such evidence of non-voters' opinions would have had the slightest weight with the Government? If His Grace really cares for the opinion of women upon this or upon any other of the innumerable questions which touch the health and happiness of the home, let him bring his great power and influence to bear in aiding them to obtain that which alone can give adequate expression to their wishes, *i.e.*, the Parliamentary Franchise.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,  
EVELYN MORRISON, B.A.

\*\* It is hoped to insert correspondence received on other subjects in our next issue.



## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

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

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

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

LADY STRACHEY  
And the Hon. Officers,  
ex officio.

### Current Topics.

We print the following extract from a letter received during the past week from a correspondent in the North of England. A keen supporter of the Women's Suffrage movement the writer has given a most practical proof of his sympathy with the rights of women as citizens. He says:—"I am entirely in sympathy with your movement, though I cannot vote at present without depriving my mother of her municipal vote. I am sorry to know she cannot vote parliamentary. She has been the breadwinner at our house up to my starting work, and I consider she has as much right to a vote as any man."

We have seldom met with a stronger protest against the exclusion of women from the full rights of citizenship than this instance of personal self-sacrifice on the part of a man who could qualify as a voter, and of the respect engendered by the example of an unselfish life.

The news that Fräulein Richter has been appointed Lecturer on Philology at Vienna University will be welcomed by all readers of *Women's Franchise*. It is now seven years since women were admitted to the Austrian universities, with permission to take their degrees, every faculty being open to them except law and theology. Last year the Vienna University bestowed the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on two women. Fräulein Doctor Goldenthal, who graduated in chemistry, and Fräulein Doctor Karoline Huber, who took her degree in German, a wide subject which includes the ancient and modern dialects and languages of German and Anglo-Saxon countries. The University of Prague, on the other hand, refuses to admit women as doctors of philosophy, though ready to admit them as doctors of medicine.

### THE "LYDIA BECKER" MEMORIAL.

THE beautiful memorial of Lydia Becker, subscribed for soon after her death in 1890 by friends and admirers, is now being offered by its trustees to the city of Manchester, with the desire that it may be placed in the Town Hall of her own city, in honourable recognition of her public service to the community. Miss Becker was the first woman in Manchester to stand for election to any public office, and she offered to her fellow-citizens their first opportunity of electing a woman their representative in educational work. She sat on the Manchester School Board for twenty years, and justified their choice by devoted work and long service, which ended only with her life. It was no easy or pleasant task thirty-seven years ago for a woman to plunge into the public turmoil of a contested election, and it is owing to the action of Miss Becker and the few strong spirits—brave leaders of women in those days—that the nation has now secured the service of so many women in local government and education. It is not easy to realize the change that has taken place in the public estimate of the value of women's work until we look back to the ridicule and opposition the pioneers of such service had to face before they won the recognition of the fitness and necessity of women's co-operation in administrative work.

The duty of all citizens to take their share in public service was the key-note of Miss Becker's career—to win for the community the right of unfettered choice, the object of her life.

How far she succeeded we who follow her can tell. And Manchester, the great centre of women's industrial life in England, will honour herself in honouring her first woman public servant by placing her memorial in her Town Hall among those other citizens whose work and worth are so recognized. The memorial, itself an artistic work, is a fine marble bas-relief portrait of Miss Becker, surrounded by a classic wreath and is by Swynerton, a well-known Manchester artist. Hitherto it has been in the care of old personal friends, but it is desired to give it a more lasting and public position, that her work may not be forgotten by those who reap where she has sowed, and that her city may keep in remembrance another of its devoted servants.

### WOMEN AS MAYORS.

THE fact that women may now be appointed Mayors seems to be arousing public interest. One gentleman writes to a daily paper to inquire what will be the official designation of the husband of a lady Mayor. The Mayor of Hammersmith, in answer to a *Daily Mail* correspondent, remarks that there are few women in London who could fill the post of metropolitan Mayor with complete satisfaction. He goes on to say that "women are proverbially ignorant of law, and their capacity for handling figures is not generally accepted as great. Many of the municipal problems of the day can only be settled by expert business men after hard mental application." He considers that "a woman Mayor struggling with the technical and business details of a discussion on electric power would be a very sorry spectacle indeed."

In answer to these observations we ask whether all men fill the position of Mayor with complete satisfaction? We seem to have heard of wars and rumours of wars in connexion with municipal affairs where the Mayor does not always come out "top dog." Is the Mayor of Hammersmith prepared to assert that all his brother Mayors are well versed in the technical and business details of electric power? If not, why should the fact of a woman trying to master their difficulties present a sorer spectacle than that of a man?

### AMENDMENTS TO THE NEW BILL.

ON the order for the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement (No. 2) Bill in the Commons on Monday, August 26th, there were fifteen notices of motion, five of which, standing respectively in the names of Sir Frederick Banbury (U., City of London), Mr. Bertram (L., Hitchin division of Hertfordshire), Major Renton (L., Gainsborough division of Lincolnshire), Mr. Cathcart Wason (L., Orkney and Shetland), and Sir Francis Powell (U., Wigan), moved in the usual formula, "that the Bill be read a second time upon this day three months."

The remaining ten read as follows:—

Sir Maurice Levy (L., Loughborough division of Leicestershire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That no alteration in the laws of franchise will be acceptable to the electorate which fails to provide a single vote for every adult British subject resident in the United Kingdom, other than those confined in prisons and lunatic asylums.

### Branch Societies.

**NORTH EASTERN SOCIETY.**—No meetings have been held during August in Newcastle, as most of the members have been absent on holiday. Several new members have joined. Arrangements are in progress for meetings to be addressed by two gentlemen from Cambridge in October or November.

The annual invitation is being sent round to debating societies in the two counties to avail themselves of the services of one of our members to lecture, read a paper, or open a debate on the question of Women's Suffrage. Last year forty such meetings were spoken to, and, judging from the applications for speakers already to hand, the number will be doubled this year quite easily. Applications can be made to Mrs. Harrison Bell, 6, Hotspur Street, Heaton, Newcastle, and to Miss Clarke, 96, Havelock Terrace, Sunderland.

The Sunderland section is making steady progress, and one active member who is away is endeavouring to form a Committee in her own neighbourhood. The Durham section languishes for lack of a secretary. Is there any lady in Durham who will volunteer?

The section in Durham has been strengthened by the admission of the Rev. David Pughe, of Willington, to the Society. He will be a great help in his own neighbourhood.

A visit was paid recently to Bishop Auckland, and a meeting held at which three members joined. Literature was distributed and arrangements made for holding a public meeting in the autumn.

In Gateshead, Jarrow, Morpeth, Wansbeck, and Tyneside divisions quiet propaganda goes on all the time, and the Morpeth and Wansbeck sections note with satisfaction that their two members are backing Mr. Dickinson's Bill.

South Shields is the most important section, as a Cabinet Minister in the person of Sir W. S. Robson is its member. As his position is that of not personally being in favour of Women's Suffrage but as a politician not voting against it, his constituency will repay Suffrage work, and I hope to be in a position to report items of interest in the course of a few weeks.

FLORENCE A. HARRISON BELL.

**Huddersfield Branch.**—We are indebted to *The Huddersfield Daily Examiner* for the particulars of the following meeting. On Thursday afternoon, August 29th, a number of the members of the branch had a waggonette excursion. After an inspection of Blackmoorfoot reservoir, where a history of the undertaking was given by Councillor E. A. Beaumont, the party greatly enjoyed a walk through the grounds. They next proceeded to Helme, where Mrs. Charles John Brook met them, and conducted them through the church. Thence they drove to the Oddfellows' Hall, Meltham, where an excellent tea was provided. Afterwards the annual meeting was held, presided over by Miss Siddon. Mr. John Sugden, J.P., in felicitous terms proposed the re-election of Miss Siddon, who has been a Poor Law Guardian for twenty years, as President. This was seconded by Mrs. Pechey Phipson, M.D., and carried with acclamation. Miss Siddon thanked the members for their confidence.

Mrs. J. E. Bannister moved, and Mrs. Sanderson seconded, the appointment of the following officers: Vice-presidents, the Lady Dorothy Howard, Mrs. Benjamin Broadbent, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Miss B. Mason, Mrs. E. Pechey Phipson, M.D., Mrs. C. J. Brook, Mrs. W. P. Raynor, Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Wm. Mellor, Mrs. T. Cockin, Miss E. Dixon, Mrs. T. K. Clarke, Mrs. R. Rushforth, Mrs. S. A. Jagger, Miss Lowenthal, Mrs. E. A. Beaumont, Mrs. A. G. Lockett, Mrs. Alfred Wade, the Mayor (Alderman Owen Balmforth, J.P.), the Deputy Mayor (Alderman B. Broadbent, M.A., J.P.), Mr. Arthur J. Sherwell, M.P., Mr. W. P. Raynor, J.P., the Rev. Wm. Mellor, Dr. P. Macgregor, J.P., Mr. John Sugden, J.P., Alderman A. Gee, J.P., Mr. Thomas Mallinson, J.P., Mr. C. I. Armitage, J.P., Councillor E. A. Beaumont, Councillor B. Riley, the Rev. H. Collins, M.A., Dr. J. L. Parke; hon. auditor, Mrs. L. A. Haigh; hon. treasurer, Mrs. E. A. Beaumont; hon. secretary, Mrs. Studdard.

Sir Randal Cremer (L., Haggerston division of Shoreditch).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That, as only a small minority of women have evinced any desire to possess the Parliamentary franchise, the further consideration of the Bill be postponed until proof has been afforded to this house that a majority of women desire to vote for Members of this House.

Mr. Harwood (L., Bolton).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That this House disapproves of the passing of a Bill which would make it impossible to adopt adult franchise except at the cost of handing over the control of this Country and Empire to a body of voters the majority of whom would be women.

Mr. Samuel Evans (L., Mid-Glamorganshire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That this House, being of opinion that the government of the Country and of the Empire should be in the hands of men, declines to discuss a measure the ultimate result of which would be to transfer such government into the hands of a majority constituted of women.

Mr. Massie (L., Cricklade division of Wiltshire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That no such fundamental constitutional change as the enfranchisement of women ought to be introduced by Parliament into the electorate until the question has been made a clear and vital issue at a general election.

Mr. Arnold Herbert (L., Wycombe division of Buckinghamshire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That this House, having passed a measure for the abolition of plural voting, declines to stultify itself by entertaining a Bill designed to increase and aggravate that evil; and, further, this House declines to consider a piece of class legislation which, while purporting to enfranchise women, is designed to confer upon women of the wealthier classes a privilege refused to women of the working classes.

Mr. Lehmann (L., Market Harboro' division of Leicestershire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That, as no evidence has been presented to the House either by the Government or by a Committee of Inquiry concerning the changes that would be effected by the Bill in the electoral system of the Country, this House declines in the absence of such information to agree to the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. Chiozza-Money (L., Paddington N.).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That this House, while affirming the principle of women's suffrage, also affirms the principle of men's suffrage, and, in view of the fact that about 12,000,000 women, and 3,000,000 men over 21 years of age, are now deprived of the Parliamentary franchise, refuses to consider a measure which merely extends the present conditions of the male franchise to a small proportion of the women of the upper and middle classes, and altogether ignores working women.

Mr. Forster Boulton (L., Ramsey division of Huntingdonshire).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That, in view of the fact that the Imperial Parliament has absolute control over foreign and colonial affairs, and can by its policy involve the whole Empire in war or conclude an ignominious peace, this House is of opinion that before entrusting the election of the Imperial Parliament to an electorate of which the majority may be women the opinion of the Colonies on the question should be ascertained.

Viscount Helmsley (U., Thirsk division of Yorkshire, N.R.).—On Second Reading of Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to move, That this House declines to consider, within the limits of a Friday Sitting, a measure which will increase to an unknown extent the electorate of the United Kingdom, and further declines to proceed with so great an alteration of the Parliamentary franchise on the initiative of a private Member.



Mrs. Studdard, the hon. secretary, read letters of apology and good wishes from the Mayor (Alderman O. Balmforth, J.P.), Miss Bertha Mason, Miss I. O. Ford, Mr. J. C. Moody, Mrs. Donkersley, Alderman B. Broadbent, J.P., and Alderman A. Gee, J.P.

Councillor E. A. Beaumont moved the election of the following committee: Mesdames S. A. Jagger, Donkersley, J. E. Bannister, Montgomery, Rushfirth, Shires, Wade, Walker, Lockett, W. Mellor, W. Haigh, E. A. Beaumont, Studdard, Misses Gee and Crosland, Alderman Gee, and Councillor E. A. Beaumont. This was seconded by Mrs. Rushfirth, and carried unanimously.

The President moved the adoption of the report and accounts.

The report set forth that the branch had been thoroughly successful and was reported by representatives of all political parties and creeds, unitedly working for one common object, viz., the granting of the vote to women and the general amelioration of the working women's conditions. The branch was again fortunate in possessing an ideal president in Miss Siddon. During the year much active work has been done in Huddersfield and other parts of the country. The last annual general meeting was held 13th June, 1906, in the Town Hall, and on the next day the National Union held a very successful convention in the reception room. Delegates from all parts of the country were present. Thanks were recorded to Alderman Broadbent and his successor (Alderman Owen Balmforth, J.P.), for their sympathy with the objects of the society; also to Mrs. E. Pechey Phipson, M.D., and Captain Jessop, for their handsome donations, and to the local press. Reference was made to the work done in connection with Miss Clementina Black's national petition signed by women, and to petitions which had from time to time been sent to the Prime Minister and his colleagues. The branch had been represented at various meetings in London organised by the National Union. The hon. secretary represented the society at the International Congress held in August at Copenhagen, and her report was much appreciated and ordered to be printed. Twelve delegates were elected to represent Great Britain and Ireland—three from Huddersfield—Miss Siddon, Councillor E. A. Beaumont, and Mrs. H. Studdard. The two former, however, were unable to attend. Reference was made to the next International Congress, to be held at Amsterdam, June, 1908, at which period it is expected that a Bill will be considered by the Dutch Parliament. After a reference to the hold the movement was obtaining on the public, the report proceeded to say that the Member of Parliament for Huddersfield, Mr. Arthur Sherwell, at the request of the branch, has balloted for a private Member's day in order to introduce a Bill, and had rendered the cause every assistance, for which he was heartily thanked. At the annual convention of the National Union at Newcastle in January, where a new constitution was established, one of the vice-presidents, Mrs. E. Pechey Phipson, M.D., was elected to the Council, and the president, Miss Siddon, was elected a vice-president. Reference was made to the whist drive and concert in the Temperance Hall, at which the Mayor, Alderman O. Balmforth, J.P., gave an excellent address, and to the distribution of literature. Mrs. Donkersley, Mrs. R. Montgomery, Mrs. Studdard, Alderman Gee, and Councillor E. A. Beaumont had all engaged in propaganda work. Mrs. E. A. Beaumont, the hon. treasurer, had granted the free use of rooms for Executive meetings. The financial accounts showed a slight surplus, and there were no outstanding liabilities.

The adoption of the report and balance-sheet was seconded by Mrs. S. A. Jagger, and carried unanimously.

Mrs. C. J. Brook, in an earnest address, in which she urged fulfilment, and not mere promises, moved: "That the Government be urged to no longer delay giving a definite promise to bring in a satisfactory Women's Suffrage Bill at an early date."

Mrs. E. Pechey Phipson, M.D. London, urged all the women present to work steadfastly until they obtained the right to Parliamentary votes, and congratulated the local branch upon their good work in the cause.

The Rev. Canon Walsham How, in a humorous speech, supported the motion, which was carried unanimously, and the

secretary was instructed to send a copy to the Prime Minister and others.

A cordial vote of thanks, on the motion of the President, seconded by Mrs. Studdard, was passed to Mrs. C. J. Brook for the arrangements she had made.

The party then inspected the Carlile Institute and Mr. Charles Brook's beautiful gardens, and then attended a reception kindly given by Mrs. C. J. Brook at Harewood Lodge. Several new members were made, and the party arrived back in Huddersfield at 9 p.m., delighted with the trip.

#### WHITBY AND DISTRICT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY. GARDEN PARTY AT ESK HALL.

By the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Channing Heron, the members of the above Society (of which Mrs. Heron is a vice-president) were entertained in the beautiful grounds of Esk Hall, Sleights, on Tuesday, August 27th. The large company included several gentlemen and a sprinkling of supporters of the movement from other parts, who were visiting the neighbourhood. The day proved to be one of the few brilliant days of this summer. Tea tables were set out under the fine old trees, and after a sociable hour the guests adjourned to the drawing-room to hear Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, of Leicester, speak upon the conditions of women's work.

Mrs. Channing Heron having introduced the speaker, Mrs. MacDonald said that England was behind other countries in the enfranchisement of women. In her tour round the world last year she saw women voting in New Zealand and in Australia, and in Germany recently she had the pleasure of meeting one of the newly elected women members of the Finnish Parliament, who said that her great interest was to try to improve the condition of women and children in Finland.

In our own country the questions before Parliament were becoming more and more those upon which women's interest and opinions were valuable. The housing question, the education question, the feeding of school-children, were subjects which touched women closely, as also did the industrial questions, such as sweating and home-work, on which a Parliamentary Committee was now sitting. The great majority of home-workers were women engaged in making dresses, shirts, &c., and they had to have women as witnesses, yet there was not a single woman on that Committee. Speaking of women as wage earners, Mrs. MacDonald said that as a rule the unskilled woman worker would get about 10s. per week, while the unskilled male worker would get 18s. to 20s. In many cases where men and women did exactly the same work the women received only half or two-thirds of the wages paid to men.

Teachers were just beginning to ask for equal pay for equal work. In Australia in the Federal Post Office men and women received equal pay; but in England the women get less pay and less holiday. In the sweated industries there were terrible tales of low pay, women working far into the night at labour which brought them less than one penny per hour. The question was a complicated one, but that was all the more reason to get women interested in it. It was argued that a man had wife and family dependent upon him; but what of the widows with small children to keep? Moreover, a man did not get less pay if he happened to be a bachelor. At present a child if it lost its father practically lost its mother also, as she had to go out to work. Such women had to accept any wages they could get in order to scrape along. She hoped that the Poor Law Commission, now sitting, would deal with this subject and make some recommendation upon it.

Votes of thanks to Mrs. MacDonald and to Mr. and Mrs. Channing Heron were proposed and seconded respectively by Mr. George Thompson and Mrs. Bell, Mr. F. Marquis, B.Sc., Manchester, and Mrs. J. T. Sewell, President of the Society.

F. N. PRINGLE, } Hon. Secs.  
S. THOMPSON, }

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Women's Social and Political Union. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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

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.

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. W. F. PETHICK LAWRENCE, 87, Clements Inn, W.C.

Organizing Secretary: MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY, BEVAN & Co., 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

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

#### The Movement Week by Week.

##### THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.

ON Tuesday, September 10th, there is to be a general business meeting of London members in Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 8 p.m., to consider the autumn work and other important matters. It is hoped that every London member will attend this important gathering.

The Queen's Hall has been engaged for a demonstration on November 11th. Further particulars concerning this meeting will be announced later.

Various London branches are laying plans for a campaign in their respective districts, and special propaganda will be undertaken in certain London constituencies.

Several demonstrations are to be held in the provinces. Those already decided upon will take place in Bradford, Bristol, Birmingham, Northampton, and Nottingham. The Leicester Branch intend to have a large meeting in their town, and it is likely that in all the towns where we have branches, great meetings in favour of Women's Suffrage will be held.

##### ORGANISING IN THE PROVINCES.

Miss Annie Kenney has just concluded a very successful week's work in Liverpool. The local press have given good reports of her meetings.

Miss A. Pankhurst is working in Yorkshire and will visit each Yorkshire branch in turn.

Mrs. Martel, who since her return from Bury St. Edmunds, has been busy in London, is about to visit Suffolk. Our success in Bury St. Edmunds having been so great, we have determined to do what we can to capture the whole of Suffolk for Women's Suffrage. It was at Ipswich that the Liberals won their first seat at the General Election, and the Prime Minister is very proud of the fact that, with a single exception, all the Suffolk representatives in the House of Commons are followers of his own. It is evident that it is an important county, and that if we can make the Prime Minister feel that his influence there is being undermined, we shall have gained a point.

Mrs. Pankhurst is now in Lancashire. On Saturday last she opened the new offices of the Rochdale Branch. This branch is in a very satisfactory condition, and is certain to do excellent work in the coming month. Mrs. Pankhurst is to meet as many Lancashire branches as possible this week. She will then pay a flying visit to Scotland and will return to London in time for the meeting of London members on Tuesday next.

The work of the Union is also being carried on in the north-eastern counties, where two new branches have recently been formed by Miss Nellie Kenney.

##### SOMERSET CAMPAIGN.

Mrs. Cullen reports that in Holford, near Bridgwater, Somerset, there is a very live interest in Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Rowe, Miss Chapman, and herself have held two or three outdoor meetings at Holford and the surrounding villages, also a cottage meeting and a meeting in the school-room. Men and women in the village and visitors staying in the place attended the meetings and showed great interest. Subscriptions to the funds were obtained, and there was a good sale of literature.

#### ANOTHER BY-ELECTION.

The death of Mr. David MacIver has caused a vacancy to occur in the Kirkdale division of Liverpool. Those members of the National Committee who take charge of the election will have the assistance of the local branch of the Union, and our campaign there is certain to be particularly effective; while one of our first steps will be to get into touch with the women of the constituency, particularly those who possess the qualification which would entitle them to vote.

The Treasurer of the Preston Branch reports that a local fund has been started for the purpose of sending delegates from Preston to the by-elections. This is an example which I hope our other branches will hasten to follow.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

#### Members' Garden Meeting on September 14th at Holmwood, Surrey.

ON Saturday, September 14th, an excursion to Holmwood will be arranged, and every London member of the Union is invited to join the party, and to send her name either through her branch secretary or else direct to the office, 4, Clements Inn. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has invited the party to tea at The Mascot. All members who are able to come should send in their names not later than Saturday, September 7th, so that arrangements may be made with the railway company to get reduced fares. Further particulars as to completed railway arrangements will be given next week.

#### Paddington Canvas.

WORKERS are wanted to finish the Paddington canvas, which has been held in abeyance on account of the holiday season. This canvas must be finished in a week or two, as we are anxious to begin the same work in North St. Pancras as soon as possible. If workers will call at Miss Chapman's, 53, Walerton Road, Harrow Road, Paddington, all instructions will be given them as to the work to be done.

#### Meetings in Clapham.

THE Clapham Branch has held two open-air meetings during the past month. The crowd which listened to Miss Abadam, to whom belong the honours of the inaugural meeting, seemed astonished and convinced at one and the same time, and not one amongst them—to our regret—ventured to lift up his voice at question-time, neither was there a single interruption during the speeches. The second venture was not devoid of an element of excitement. Our heroic Miss Smith, like Horatio of old, volunteered to keep the position against all comers until the arrival of the main body. Following ancient precedent, this proved a somewhat watery proceeding, as certain of the *genus puer*, tempted by the adjacent horse-trough, tried to damp her enthusiasm, her person, and her large visiting card (20 by 16 in.), with its "Votes for Women" legend. Miss Smith, however, with wonderful tact, soon turned opposition into support. It was a splendid object-lesson in "How to capture an open-air meeting."



### A Typical Street Meeting.

ENCOURAGED by their successes at previous outdoor meetings, the Lewisham Branch of the Women's Social and Political Union carried their campaign into Deptford.

On Friday last, at 7.30 P.M., the now familiar white banner with the strange device, "Votes for Women," was unfurled on the Broadway.

On opening the proceedings, Mrs. Hanson, who "was in the chair," explained to the audience that now almost every woman wanted Women's Suffrage, they only differed about methods. They represented not the Suffragists, but the Suffragettes. A working man had beautifully explained

#### THE DIFFERENCE.

"A Suffragist," he said, "is a woman that wants a vote, but she jist wants it. A Suffragette is a woman that wants a vote and says she is a-going to 'git' it." She was not used to talking—even about Women's Suffrage—to a gramophone accompaniment, and she hoped the magnificent audience could hear without too much inconvenience; if not, she hoped they would give her and Mrs. Drummond (a real bona-fide Suffragette, who had advocated "Votes for Women" in spite of having served a term of imprisonment) a hint to speak up.

Mrs. Drummond said she was a Suffragette because the only way to get a thing you wanted was

#### NOT TO BE DISCOURAGED

by obstacles or opposition. By this she didn't mean that all men put obstacles in the way of doing justice to women and that all men opposed giving them votes. Hundreds of men were on their side. The trades unionists wanted votes for women. Why did women "under-cut"? They did it because their labour wasn't organized, and because men declared they weren't fit for equality in political life or in married life, and so the employer reaped the benefit of cheap, sweated labour, and took a woman to do a man's work, not because he had any preference for employing women; not because they were better, but because they could be got for the asking and got for less than the men. In the north, in Lancashire, they have a trade union which admits men and women. (A Voice: "Gawn.") I am going on; I am going to tell you about it. It is the union that Annie Kenny, whom you may have heard of, belongs to. It has Mr. Shackleton, the Labour Member for Clitheroe, as its Parliamentary representative (paid by the levy on both women and men), and it has secured to its members an equal wage for men and women for the same work.

In vain, she proceeded, have I been working to abolish sweating for fourteen years, and I have come to see that the only way to do it is by giving women votes.

Mrs. Bouvier, hon. secretary of the branch, seconded the resolution calling upon the Government to give votes to women on the same terms as they are now or may be granted to men. She was, she said, by birth a Russian, but she had made England her home for twenty years. There was the same need for women in Russia as in England to have the vote. Women's Suffrage was

#### THE WORLD'S QUESTION,

and those women who were working for it formed, as it were, a vast sisterhood. Women all rejoiced when any new country gave the suffrage to their women. In four American States women voted now, they vote in the Australian colonies of Great Britain, the little country of Norway had just obtained Women's Suffrage. In Sweden and in Holland they were hoping for it. In Russia women had always cared as much for political freedom as the men. For the sake of freedom they had suffered imprisonment, insult, exile, torture, and death; but they were not yet free, though in Finland, a little country which is a dependency of Russia—a sort of Ireland—women had been allowed the franchise under the newly granted Constitution, and for the past three months nineteen women representatives had sat in the Finnish Parliament—those were the first women M.P.s in the world.

The resolution was put to the meeting, which was by that time a huge, dense crowd, and carried, amid great enthusiasm, without a dissentient.

### MALE CONVERTS AT LEWISHAM.

A further meeting was held on Tuesday evening at Craythorne Road, near Lewisham Junction Station where a large crowd collected and listened to Mrs. Borrmann Wells, the author of 'Women's Suffrage in America.' In spite of a street organ, the L.C.C. trams, the S.E. trains, and some interruptions, the speaker secured an attentive and sympathetic hearing. New members were added to the local branch, one or two male converts being made.

### Scottish Notes.

AFTER a successful series of meetings in Dunfermline district Miss Fraser travelled to Aberdeen, where, after a few days' holiday, she held several meetings. The full details are, unfortunately, not to hand, but any matters of interest contained in the belated reports will be incorporated in next week's notes.

The Edinburgh branch reports a very successful meeting held at the Mound on Saturday the 24th. Mrs. Sanderson was the speaker, and she did full justice to her subject, but was unfortunately forced to leave questions unanswered because of her train. The audiences have grown steadily during the month, and it is to be hoped that the series of meetings will be extended throughout September. I addressed the meeting on Saturday, August 31st. There was a good attendance, a fair collection, and a very satisfactory sale of literature. The questioners were so many and so earnest for information that they made themselves heard before the end of the lecture. The presence of a few beery electors could have been dispensed with to our advantage, but it was Saturday and a holiday season. As a compensation the mass of the crowd was intelligent and sympathetic. Friends of four different nationalities wished me God-speed at the close.

On Monday Mrs. Sanderson addressed the Kilmarnock branch. She made a fine impression on the members, who will welcome her back again with pleasure. On her side she reports that the discussion was energetic and interesting, and prophecies great things from the latest of our Scottish branches.

The preparations for the October demonstration in Edinburgh are now going on apace. The holiday lassitude has evaporated, there is to be much strenuous work done in the next few weeks. Preparatory meetings are being held up and down the country, and signs of interest are to be marked where all was once indifference and apathy. A series of final send-off meetings is to be held just before the event, and Dundee, Dunfermline, Montrose, Forfar, and Glasgow are to be visited. The Glasgow meeting, on October 4th, has been promoted by the Glasgow branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and is to take place in St. Andrew's Hall.

The growing interest in our cause is indicated by the numerous letters requesting meetings and information which now reach the offices of the Scottish Council. As far as possible requests for meetings are granted, but we need another organizer and more voluntary workers, especially more speakers, before full justice can be done to the districts that ask for our presence.

A new and greater interest has been awakened in the country in regard to the Edinburgh demonstration by the knowledge that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is to speak in the King's Theatre in the city on the very day fixed for the Procession. This coincidence is remarkable, and very welcome to Suffragists. The opportunity will not be missed, and a request for a Scottish deputation is to be made immediately. Steps have been already taken towards securing the interview, and details of the arrangement proposed will be made public as soon as a settlement has been made.

The subject on which the Premier is to address his Scottish audience is the iniquities of the House of Lords! The hollow-ness of this appeal to the democratic sentiment of the Scottish people will be abundantly demonstrated by the procession of voteless women with which Sir Henry's meeting will coincide. There is now a hundred fold more reason why women should be present in Edinburgh on that day in their thousands. Every possible effort should be directed towards this end.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREGG.

### Meeting at the City Temple.

ON a recent Sunday, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed the United Conferences of the young men and the young women of the City Temple Church. The Rev. R. J. Campbell was in the chair, and introduced Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to a large audience, which is in these days always drawn by the fascinating subject of Woman's Suffrage. Mr. Campbell said that he had many years ago made up his own mind with reference to this great question of political equality of men and women. For his own part he welcomed the women's movement, and he was glad that women were now making demands for full citizen rights. But whether this movement was welcomed or not by the politicians of the day, it could not be resisted.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence opened the subject by telling her audience of the lessons of history—the position of women in Egypt, and in our own islands under the ancient Britons. She reminded her hearers of the figure of Boadicea, the British chieftainess, which stands as a monument to her fame on Westminster Bridge, close to the national House of Parliament.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then spoke of the element of reverence for women inherent in the Saxon race. It is recorded of them that they had a veneration for their women as possessing an almost superhuman insight and wisdom. They called them into their councils of war and of peace.

When the Norman race super-imposed its legal code upon the Britain which they had conquered, there was one law which they could not impose, and that was the Salic Law, which refused to recognize a woman as a person who could inherit or transmit inheritance. This law the British people would not have at any price, and the great Magna Charta, which secured the extension of citizen rights, secured these hominal rights to women as well as to men. There was no public office which women in the Middle Ages could not inherit and fill. They could be magistrates, high sheriffs of the county, and could, in their own person, render homage to the king and receive homage. They could choose their representatives for Parliament and, as abbesses, could sit in the Upper House. It was not until 1832—the year which saw the triumph of the principle of democracy as applied to men—that the word "male person" appeared for the first time upon the statute book of the British Constitution.

That dangerous and wicked innovation upon the British Constitution was a disaster to the whole nation; for in that year it was decided that not the principle of aristocracy or the standard of education should determine who should be the rulers of the country, but that democracy, and democracy only, should be the principle of British Government. Yet before the giant of democracy was given its authority and its opportunity, it was deliberately crippled. One eye was bandaged, one arm was bound, one leg was paralyzed, and it is this one-eyed crippled democracy which has been the cause of the social troubles with which we are confronted to-day. Women could never be men. Nature made them different, and they would be different to the end of time. (Applause.) She was glad the audience expressed approval of that statement, because this was the greatest argument why women should be represented in any really democratic State. If they were the same as men, then it would not matter so much that the State should be deprived of their point of view, and of their especial service. It was because they were so different, and because they had their own special point of view that no State could be properly governed unless the two points of view and the two kinds of service which men and women can separately render were united in the organization of the State, as they are united in the organization of the human family. The woman is essentially the guardian of human life. She is this by virtue of the decree of nature. It is she who has to pay the price of every life born into the world. She therefore knows what human life is worth.

While man is intent upon all sorts of scientific and intellectual and commercial progress, she is intent upon human progress and human evolution. She measures progress by the life of the human beings in the State, by the welfare of the children. While the man asks with regard to every question, "How is this going to benefit me and my mates?" a woman asks, "How is this going

to benefit my children?" Now, then, this is where the failure of democracy comes in. Soon after the passing of the Reform Bill came a sudden extension in the use of machinery in industrial life. The introduction of machinery and the new inventions should have been unmitigated good to the human race. They should have lightened the toil and eased the burden for all. Instead of that, men, intent only upon commercial progress and development of science, threw the individual human lives of thousands of the people upon the waste heap.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence dealt with the problems of unemployment, of sweated work, of the workhouse, and other social problems from this point of view, showing how clumsy were the expedients which had been evolved by the male mind acting by itself, and how wasteful was the prejudice that had flung away the wisdom and the help of that half of the human race whose special province is the care of human life. Women were not asking for the vote for the sake of the pleasure it would give them to go to the ballot box. They were asking for the vote because they knew that their help was needed in the solution of these great social problems with which the nation was concerned.

She concluded with a special appeal to the men and to the women. Speaking to the men, whose fathers had won for them the present freedom they enjoyed, she asked them, for the sake of the debt they owed to their fathers, to come and help the women of to-day to free the future daughters of the nation.

Appealing specially to the women, she urged them not to let this great fight for righteousness and principle go on without their individual help—not to let the victory for women be won without them. She believed that the twentieth century was going to see the world-wide awakening of women.

### Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

From Aug. 24th to Aug. 31st.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	2,407 5 9½	Mrs. Myohl	0 10 0
Miss Dorothy Arter	0 10 0	"Workman"	0 2 6
Mrs. Elliott	0 2 0	Mrs. E. Slater	0 5 0
Miss Ethel Newcombe	0 5 0	Miss Lillian Sheppard	1 1 0
Miss Wiltshire	0 10 0	Miss E. Ratcliffe	0 2 6
Miss Mary Home	0 10 6	Collections, &c.	1 8 9
Anon. (Sale of Jewels)	6 0 0		
Mrs. Lizzie Morris	6 0 0		
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	100 0 0	Total	£2,524 18 0½
Miss E. Wellington	0 5 0		

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From September 5th to September 11th.

		P.M.
Thurs.	Ravenscourt Park	Open air meeting
	Trimdon, Miner's Hall, Public Meeting	8.30
	Oldham	7.30
	W. Hartlepool, Dock Office	Mrs. Pankhurst 7.30
	Trimdon, Miners' Hall	Miss N. Kenney 12.30
Fri.	Barnes, the Pond	Miss N. Kenney 7.30
	Stepney, Mission Hall, Church Road	Mrs. Drummond and others 8
	Hartlepool, Darlington Street, Open air meeting	Mrs. Baldock 8
	Blackburn	Miss A. Kenney 7.30
	W. Hartlepool, Darlington Street	Mrs. Pankhurst 7.30
Sat.	Suffragette Scouts, Sloane Square, for Harrow-on-the-Hill	Miss N. Kenney 7.30
	Gunnersbury, Mrs. East, 21, Brandenburg Road	2
Sun.	London, Hyde Park	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence 4-7
		Mrs. Baldock
		Miss Lightman
		Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett
		Mrs. Drummond
	London, Victoria Park	3.30
	London, Finsbury Park	Miss I. Miller 3.30
Mon.	London, "At Home," 4, Clement's Inn	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence 4-6
	London, Evening Meeting, 4, Clement's Inn	
	Highgate, Open air meeting	Mrs. Baldock and others 8
Tues.	Essex Hall, Strand, Business Meeting of London Members	Mrs. Drummond 8
	Wolverhampton, Market Place	Mrs. Pankhurst and others 8
Wed.	Putney, Weimar Road	Mrs. Sproson 7.30
	Paddington, corner of Elgin Avenue and WALTERTON ROAD	Mrs. Borrmann Wells 8
	Darlington	8
		Miss N. Kenney
Sat., Sept. 14	Meeting of Members at The Mascot, Holmwood	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence 1-7
Mon., Nov. 11	Queen's Hall Meeting	Special Speakers 8



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

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

### Mr. Dickinson's Bill.

WE have received a very large number of communications during the past week, the majority in connexion with the letter printed over the signature A. B. in the issue of August 22nd. That letter dealt with Mr. Dickinson's new Bill, not so much from the writer's own standpoint as from those of certain classes of opponents to Women's Enfranchisement. A. B. very properly, as we think, raised the question as to whether the new Bill, apart from its intrinsic merits, is tactically well advised. In other words, A. B. suggested that certain provisions will not only alienate the support of many who are in favour of the general principle, but will also consolidate and give rational ground to the objections of many of our opponents, who at present are to a great extent compelled to depend on prejudice thinly disguised as argument.

It is very unfortunate that space does not permit us to print all the letters which have been received. For the interest which they manifest, not only in the cause which we have at heart, but also in this journal, we are profoundly grateful, and we trust that those whose letters do not appear in these columns will sympathize with, rather than condemn, the Editor.

We propose very briefly to notice a few of the points raised in these letters. A. B. pointed out that if the wife of every voter were entitled, as in Mr. Dickinson's new Bill, to a vote solely as the wife of a voter, there would be many cases of high-minded wives who, literally following the words of the Church of England marriage service, would to all intents and purposes present their votes to their husbands. Many of our correspondents have taken this warning as implying that A. B. is an advocate of the literal interpretation and the authority of the Established Church service. If we understand A. B. aright, his words were entirely non-committal as regards his own view. Whether this be so, we, at all events, attach weight to his warning.

The fact is that there are men and women of high moral and religious character who do regard obedience as the fundamental duty of the wife. The more seriously a woman regards her oath in this respect, the more preposterous does it appear that she should be given a vote in virtue of her being married. Our correspondent suggests that no husband would be so truculent as to take advantage of this attitude, and that at least a careful exposition of the whole problem in any given election would take place to the enlightenment of both. We do not think we are unduly pessimistic in doubting whether this happy condition would be frequently realised. The woman who devotes herself exclusively to household supervision or finds her whole vocation in bridge would unquestionably find a welcome relief from political discussion in a ready acquiescence, which would at the same time serve as an economical device for assuring her husband of her respect for his judgment. In a word some very good and some very bad wives would use their votes simply as gifts to their husbands.

Apart altogether from such considerations we would suggest two important issues. In the first place we, and the Men's League officially (as was pointed out in a recent issue), are in favour of Women's Suffrage not because we are desirous of reforming the Church of England marriage service, but because we believe that women ought to have an opportunity of effectively expressing their views on such subjects, just as men have and have had. We are not grinding our private axes with a view to disposing of opponents whom we are not strong enough to combat of ourselves. We hold no brief against the Church of England and can see no need for antagonism between it and Women's Suffrage. Unquestionably there are among us some who disagree with the official marriage service, with the exist-

ing divorce laws and the like. But, editorially, and as members of the Men's League, we are concerned solely to express the belief that all those women who satisfy the existing electoral qualification should have a voice, equally with men, in the discussion of the laws under which they live. When women have the vote on the same terms as men, then will be the time for the members of the Men's League to disband and work for the modification or the retention of existing laws. Till then the only possible circumstances under which the Men's League would find itself in definite official opposition to any religious body would be if that body were to embark upon organized official opposition to the Enfranchisement of Women.

The second issue is equally important. Some are inclined to regret Mr. Dickinson's new Bill on a ground which is only implicitly expressed in A. B.'s letter. In saying this we must not be understood as speaking officially for the Men's League, the Executive of which has not yet pronounced upon the new measure. The objection is this. Under present conditions, rightly or wrongly, no man has the privilege of voting in parliamentary elections unless he possesses a certain small property qualification. Now if the wife of every such voter is to have the vote simply *quod married*, it is submitted that she would enjoy a privilege which is quite without justification, even supposing she does not vote merely according to her husband's wishes. That a man should have to qualify himself by the acquisition of a certain financial status, while his wife qualifies by proxy, is, we are told, alien to the whole spirit, not only of the present system, but also of fairness. It gives a privilege to married women not only over unmarried women but also over men. If a man's sister, for example, managed a man's house, she would not receive a vote, though her work might be equally valuable. The question is, "Can those who advocate the Enfranchisement of Women on the same terms as men avoid the charge of inconsistency if they support a provision which seems to give to a woman a privilege which men have not?"

For our part we most firmly believe that the vote should be given to those married women who possess the necessary qualification. But those who criticize the new Bill hold that marriage should of itself neither entitle to, nor debar from, possession of the vote. This seems to them to be the only logical solution of a problem which the most ardent woman's suffragist cannot but admit to be full of difficulty.

We have much pleasure in printing a letter received from Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, to whose unwearied labours on behalf of women, socially and politically, the cause owes a debt of gratitude which no words of ours can adequately express. We hope next week to publish at least excerpts from a number of other letters, which we are compelled to hold over for the present.

### Correspondence.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

SIR.—I hope you will allow me, as one of the oldest living workers in England for the enfranchisement of women, to say how deeply I deplore, on tactical grounds, the introduction of Mr. Dickinson's Bill. It can scarcely be supposed that I, who gave fifteen of the best years of my life to win for the married women of these islands the right to their own earnings and property, and three years more to win for them even such limited rights as they now have with regard to their own children, can be prejudiced against the enfranchisement of married women for any and all voting purposes whatsoever. It is simply that the introduction of this measure divides the forces and thereby diminishes the active strength of Suffrage workers, by raising a fresh issue—that of the enfranchisement

of every married woman who, if living with a husband who possesses a parliamentary voting qualification, shall herself become a qualified voter in virtue of her husband's qualification—a proposal for which, if we are to judge by their action hitherto, there is not the slightest reason for expecting the support of the existing Ministry. It was a Liberal Ministry which in 1894 created for the first time a distinction between women and men with regard to the vote for local purposes, and to this hour it remains the fact that throughout England and Wales women can only vote as occupiers, although men in England and Wales vote for local purposes not merely as occupiers but as owners, lodgers, or possessors of the service franchise. Sir Henry Fowler then pledged himself to "repeal" the case of *Regina v. Harald*, and so free married women from the stigma of not being persons, placed upon them in 1871 by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, and enable them to vote for town and county councils. The pledge remains unfulfilled to this hour, although Sir Henry Fowler is a member of the Cabinet.

The same measure, the Local Government (England and Wales) Act of 1894, expressly disqualified a woman, if elected chairman of a District Council, from becoming a justice of the peace, whilst every male person so elected was thus dignified *ex officio*, a disqualification which the existing Ministry has taken care to extend in their Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill to any woman who may be elected Mayor of a Borough or Chairman of a County Council.

It is not from the existing Ministry that we can expect support for so sweeping a measure as Mr. Dickinson's, enfranchising as it would the bulk of the married women of these islands, whilst the proposal will certainly alienate much support in the House of Commons.

But I further object to this proposal on the grounds of principle. The right to vote should be a human and personal right. The Bill which has the ardent support, not only of the Women's Social and Political Union, but of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, would in its ultimate issues assure this right to every woman as a human being, for not merely would it enfranchise at once all women possessing any one of the qualifications entitling men to vote, but it would assure the creation of a true Adult in the place of a mere "Manhood" Suffrage. I contend, therefore, that on the grounds of policy and principle alike, all earnest Women's Suffragists ought to support this larger, juster, and wiser measure, and I venture therefore to appeal through your columns to the Women's Co-operative Guild, the body responsible for this "new departure," to withdraw their support from Mr. Dickinson's Bill, and thereby avoid that disruption of forces which must involve great loss of strength, and indefinitely delay the enfranchisement of women.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,  
ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

SIR.—The letter of A. B. in your last issue raises an important question, which has always been a difficulty when Women's Franchise comes within the horizon of practical politics. On the face of it, the present system of representation is iniquitous, in that it makes an unjustifiable distinction on the ground of sex, and this iniquity ought to be removed by the simple extension of the Franchise to Women "on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men."

Unfortunately, however, the subject is complicated by the further difficulty that while single women are under the disability of sex, married women are under the double disability of sex and of coverture, and it is clear to most who have appreciated the injustice and inexpediency of the first ground of distinction, that there is no more justification for the second. On the contrary, the experience and maternal spirit of the mothers of the race is, above all, needed to bring back politics to its legitimate function of guarding the interests of humanity, and to advise in all legislation affecting children.

This being conceded, it is clear that the equitable measure is one which, while containing the clause above mentioned, contains a second which removes, as far as possible, the disability of marriage. I say as far as possible, as the disability of married women is partly legal and partly economic. Even if the legal barrier of coverture were withdrawn, there would

still be the difficulty that so long as the qualification for the Franchise is based upon property, and married women are economically dependent on their husbands, they would be unable to qualify.

On this account it appears to me that the Bill introduced by Mr. Dickinson on the last occasion, is about the best that can be framed under the circumstances. So far as I recollect (I have not the text available at the moment) this Bill, after the clause extending the Franchise to women on the same terms as to men, now or in the future, expressly includes married women, when the total property qualification of the family exceeds double of that required for a single voter. I am well aware that there are many ethical objections which may be made to this proposal, but although I hold no brief for this particular Bill, it appears to me on reflection that it is the most logical solution of the problem.

To those who will hear of nothing less than Adult Suffrage, I would say that men owe it to women to redress the grievous wrong they have done them in the past before anything else; and that they should wait for the refining influence of women to take effect before completely opening the gates.

Finally, I would urge above all, that no predilection for one or other measure should prevent us from supporting any Bill which is introduced. Nothing gives the opponents of Women's Suffrage such joy as the stirring up of jealousies between married and single women, or between the advocates of a limited Bill, and those of Adult Suffrage. Let us remember that the injustice of sex disqualification overpowers all others, and be willing to vote and work for any measure, even if it should only enfranchise one woman, secure in the belief that if the smallest breach is made in the barrier of sex, its complete fall is certain.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,  
Letchworth.  
CHARLES V. DRYSDALE.

#### D. H.'s Letter.

SIR.—I never met one educated, thoughtful woman who was not anxious to establish Old Age Pensions, to strive for such practical reforms as would bring workers "back to the land," and would equalise the present iniquitous system of taxation. Having for thirty years visited all sorts and conditions of women, I had first-rate opportunities of gauging thoroughly feminine opinion both in U.S.A. and in Britain.

Even members of the Established Church perceive the need of radical reforms in that body, such as abolition of sinecures, &c. That the Upper House should be reorganized, brought into touch with the progressive, purifying spirit of this century is equally evident. Woman's voice will plead here—as in New Zealand, Australia, and Finland—for unsectarian, universal education, for sanitation, for equal rights for every human being however high or low socially. We are in harmony with D. H.

But truth should always prevail. Thus, I must own that the majority of woman thinkers prefer the political equipose of a sensible Second Chamber. We disapprove *in toto* of the one-sided "Wife's Sister Bill," which adds to the long list of our disabilities\* by not allowing a widow to marry her deceased husband's brother, and ignores us—as reasonable beings—by omitting to elicit feminine opinion, before insolently passing a law which must affect thousands.

May your nobly unselfish efforts hasten the longed-for advent of reform. May justice soon cease to relegate every English woman (however moral, cultured, useful and refined) to the degrading, voteless, impotent status of mentally dead idiots, and of crime-stained felons.

Yours cordially,  
ISOLA A. D'AGUILAR BURTON.

\* Does not the disability press equally hard on the deceased husband's brother?—ED.

We have received an invitation from the Liberal League for Women's Suffrage at Poole to join "An Outing to Christchurch" on Wednesday, September 11th, and to be present at a meeting to be held afterwards, at which Alderman Charles Carter, J.P. will preside.

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



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