

# Women's Franchise.

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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,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,

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

## To Our Readers.

For the encouragement given by all those—both writers and readers—who have so generously supported this journal, the General Editor desires to express most heartfelt thanks, and ventures to make yet further demand. We have relied in the past, wisely as events have proved, not on monetary capital (in which, indeed, we are absolutely lacking), but on the splendid enthusiasm felt for the cause by its supporters. We now appeal to those who are holiday-making not to relax their efforts.

In London, so far as the limited means at our disposal permit, we have found it useful to take advantage of a public meeting in any particular district, firstly to advertise the fact that such meeting will be reported in *Women's Franchise*, and, secondly, to organize free distribution of copies, so that interest, once aroused, may be kept alive. What, however, is suitable to one neighbourhood is not equally useful in another.

We therefore leave the matter to the initiative of our helpers, with every confidence that they will each find out the best method of propaganda for their particular environment.

Suggestions will be welcomed, and such help as lies in our power will be most gladly given.

## The Suffrage in Other Lands.

**NORWAY** claims first place, for the nine days' wonder at little Finland is nearly over, though the work of the women deputies there will be watched with sympathetic interest by Suffragists all the world over. But the event in Norway is even more surprising, because here the women have done what has hitherto been considered impossible in a European country, *i.e.*, broken down the opposition of their legislators, and won over to their side the majority in a parliament of men. Even before this the women of Norway stood in the forefront of progress. They have the communal and municipal franchises, they serve on juries, and practise at the bar. This last victory is largely due to the untiring efforts of the Norwegian Women's Suffrage Association. Its president, Fru Quam, has been overwhelmed with congratulations; letters, telegrams, and floral tributes have poured in; and on her return from the parliament house on the great day of victory she was met at the station by a deputation, and presented with the International Women's Suffrage badge in gold. Her message of thanks, published in the newspapers, ends with these words: "Receive my hearty thanks! It has been a great joy to me to take all this for the sign of women's awakening to a new radiant day."

**SWEDEN** is naturally suggested by Norway, and certainly we should expect the sister country to be the next to follow suit. Indeed, Swedish women are in no way behind in enthusiasm. Last year a Bill altering the electoral basis was introduced in the Riksdag, and the opportunity was taken to demand the inclusion of women. In a few weeks 60,000 signatures were collected to a petition, but the old time-worn objection to "overloading the ship" carried the day, and the demand was refused. The Lower House declined to enfranchise the women lest this should furnish the Upper House with an excuse for throwing out the Bill: and the Socialists, though professedly in favour, joined in the refusal, on the ground that the first step was to enfranchise the working men, and they would in their turn do the same for the women. This disappointment has, however, only stimulated the energies of the women. In February they presented a petition to the Riksdag, signed by 142,128 women, a very remarkable number in a country whose total population scarcely exceeds 5,000,000. Even more effective than the petitions is the press propaganda, for the Swedish papers, unlike the English, have freely opened their columns to the Suffrage leaders, and invited them to express their views.

*Dagens Nyheter*, the principal organ of the federated Liberal parties, has recently published three articles by Miss Anna Whitlock, president of the Swedish Women's Suffrage Society. On the much debated question as to which party women would be most likely to favour, she says: "It is mostly questions of a social and educational nature that occupy women's minds. It is highly improbable that women will found a new political party of their own, once they have got the franchise. We may expect them to enter the different parties, but to join forces whenever the interests of humanity are at stake. That is what experience shows in Australia and America." Another essay by Miss Whitlock was published in the form of a leaflet by an association of students, and inserted in twenty-six provincial papers. Meetings are now being held all over the country, and pamphlets, &c., are being sent to all the summer meetings of teachers, philanthropic and other workers. Evidently the women of Sweden have made up their minds that 1908 shall bring them what their Norwegian sisters won in 1907.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

\*\* Next week we hope to deal with Germany and some other countries.

## 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.

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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.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

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

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

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

LADY STRACHEY  
And the Hon. Officers,  
ex officio.

### Quarterly Council Meeting.

(Concluded from No. 3.)

AFTERNOON SITTING.

The Council met again at 2.15.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Miss Mason, in presenting the quarterly financial statement, emphasized the fact that the Council, as well as the Executive Committee, were responsible for raising funds. She said it was of the greatest importance, if we were to do our work satisfactorily, that the income of the National Union should be steadily increased. She appealed very earnestly to the representatives to take the matter back to their Societies to consider ways and means of increasing the income. Funds were most urgently needed.

Mrs. Fawcett urged that the Societies consider the matter fully, and that they be ready to propose something definite at the next Council Meeting, which would be at the end of the financial year.

REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES were then taken, as follows:—

#### BIRMINGHAM. (Given by Miss Marris.)

Two new branches had been formed in the suburbs of Birmingham, and a committee in Stratford-on-Avon. As many as 3,565 signatures had been obtained for Miss Black's Declaration, and speakers had been supplied for thirty-nine meetings.

#### CAMBRIDGE. (Given by Mrs. Heitland.)

Good meetings, both open-air and in drawing-rooms, had been held in Cambridge and the outlying districts. The chief work recently done, however, had been in preparation for the Council meeting and in getting up the public meeting overnight. (Applause.)

#### LONDON (CENTRAL SOCIETY). (Given by Miss Strachey.)

The Society had taken an active part in the Wimbledon Election, 243 out of the 328 persons recorded as having worked there having belonged to the Central Society. Many of these had been there every day and all day, and, besides, over 1,000 outvoters living in or near London had been canvassed by the local hon. secretaries and members. During the ten weeks since the last report twenty drawing-room meetings had been held in the metropolitan area, besides a large "At Home" given by the Hampstead branch. Meetings had also been held at Ealing, Reigate, Sutton, and Willesden. The local committee of North Kensington had organized a highly successful open-air meeting, and the experiment would be repeated. Fifty-one new members had joined in May, and fifty-eight in June.

#### MANCHESTER (NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIETY).

(Given by Miss Ashton.)

Manchester reported six public meetings during June in new districts, resulting in the formation of two new branches; a campaign in Stockport had resulted in an enormous proportion of the women ratepayers of the borough (nearly 600) having signed a petition in favour of Women's Suffrage. This work had been invaluable as propaganda.

A new departure had been the holding of quarterly meetings of members of the Society to debate questions of interest. The first debate had been on the question of the payment or non-payment of taxes by unrepresented women. There was an almost equal division of opinion.

A very large joint demonstration was planned in connexion with the visit of the Council to Manchester next October. All the women's organizations, such as temperance, religious, and Suffrage societies were being asked, and those connected with women's work.

#### NEWCASTLE (NORTH-EASTERN SOCIETY).

(Given by Mrs. Harrison Bell.)

Newcastle had been through a period of much excitement. After the Hexham by-election the threads had been picked up in that district, meetings being held in three places. The Sunderland branch was not ready for affiliation to the Union. Ten meetings had been held in cottages and drawing-rooms, and speakers sent to forty-nine debating societies. At Jarrow all three candidates were in favour of granting the franchise to women on the same terms as men, to put it in their election-addresses, and to ballot for a Bill. To the question: "What action would you take should Manhood Suffrage be introduced?" the replies were:—

1. The Tariff Reform candidate would not vote for any such measure.
2. The Liberal did not reply in time.
3. The Irish candidate would support Manhood Suffrage.
4. The Labour candidate would move (and press his party to move) an Adult Suffrage Amendment; if that failed he would move to have women included; if that again failed, he would oppose the Bill.

He regarded the removal of the sex disability as preliminary to Adult Suffrage, but did not believe in Manhood Suffrage, which worked badly in America.

On this the members of the Society agreed, by a not very large majority, to support Mr. Curran. The loyalty of all was, however, shown in a splendid way by those who had not voted for that action going down to work in the election, as soon as the decision had been come to.

Meetings were held in Jarrow and in Telling, and speakers were sent to thirty more; fifty members helped with the ordinary election work, and two lent motor cars.

The Society's action caused the whole movement to be regarded as of much wider and greater importance, in its area, than ever before.

Reports were taken as read from Cheltenham and Warwick and Leamington societies.

Various resolutions were then considered. Among them were the following:—

Resolution moved by Mrs. Heitland (Cambridge): "That it is desirable to devote special attention to the enrolment of a larger number of men as members of Women's Suffrage organizations, and that the Societies composing the Union be invited to consider by what means this result may be achieved."

Seconded by Miss Corbett, and carried.

Resolution moved by Miss Ashton (North of England Society): "That the National Union urge the women ratepayers of Worcester, as a national duty, to make public protest against the injustice of levying a bribery rate upon women ratepayers who, while denied the Parliamentary vote, should at least be exempted from penalties for corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections."

Seconded by Dr. Ethel Bentham, and carried by acclamation. The Council rose, on the completion of its business, at 4.30 P.M. Before leaving Cambridge the members of the Council were given two further opportunities of meeting, in a less formal manner, as Dr. and Mrs. Whitehead were at home to them in the afternoon, and Dr. and Mrs. Ramsey gave an evening reception at Magdalene College, both of which functions were most successful and enjoyable.

### CENTRAL SOCIETY.

DURING the last fortnight the various Local Committees of this Society (whose area of work covers London and the suburbs, have been holding their final meetings before adjourning for the summer holidays. Various interesting schemes of work have been outlined as the autumn programme, dates and details of which will, it is hoped, be forthcoming early in October.

It is proposed to organize a series of lectures and concerts in the different localities, for which it is hoped the services of the many talented friends of the movement may be secured.

Due notice will be given of the time and place of these gatherings, in order that there may be every opportunity for those interested to attend.

The Willesden Committee is organizing a large public meeting, to be held on November 7th, at which Mrs. Fawcett has promised to speak. Full particulars will be announced later.

The request of Mrs. Fawcett and others to be heard at the Bar of the House of Commons, and the resulting correspondence has recently been published in pamphlet form by the Central Society, 25, Victoria Street, S.W. Price one halfpenny each, or 3s. per hundred.

The precedents on which they based their request to be allowed to plead the case for the enfranchisement of women before the house were the cases of Ann Fitzharris, widow of Edward Fitzharris, executed for treason in 1681, and Mrs. Clarke in 1809.

In both cases the women appeared personally at the Bar of the House—Ann Fitzharris to plead extenuating circumstances with regard to her husband's conduct, and to pray the House to give its merciful consideration to the deplorable condition of herself and her three children.

Mrs. Clarke was required to give evidence in connexion with the charges brought against the then Duke of York regarding the corrupt sale of Army Commissions, and was examined by the House for two hours. Full accounts of both these cases are to be found in 'Parliament Past and Present,' by Arnold Wright and Philip Smith, pp. 87, 88, 391.

### CHELTENHAM.

THE local W.S.S. held a most successful meeting on July 17th in one of the Town Hall rooms. There was an excellent attendance, including a large group of labouring men.

Mrs. Swiney, who took the chair, was supported by several members of the committee and other well-known persons. In her remarks she said they were celebrating the liberation of the Norwegian women, which had followed that of Finland, where nineteen women now sat in Parliament. It was not only Englishwomen who were fighting for their rights, but in Switzerland men had started an influential Suffrage Society; in Italy the Government had promised a Bill next session; and in little Bohemia women taxpayers would probably be enfranchised next year. She made a strong attack on the Church clergy and Nonconformists alike, who should have been there supporting them, but were all absent. Women could not be patient any longer. Worry killed the cat, and it would kill the opposition to Women's Suffrage.

Miss Alison Garland (of the N.U.W.S.S.) proposed a resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women, in order that the House of Commons might represent the will of the people. She said women had made tremendous strides as far as Parliament went, and the question when debated there was taken much more seriously. Dealing with Mr. Labouchere's dictum that women should be "angels by the hearthstone," she said there were thousands of women who provided their own hearthstones, and supported husband and children too. It was nothing but political cant to call women that, and then allow them to do the rough work of the world, while denying them the chance of deciding under what conditions they would earn their livelihood. Some said women were not interested in politics; but let them once get the vote, and men would see to it that they were, for there was no education so cheap as the political one. Contending that all the great questions of the day appealed to women as much as to men, she said the Government could not do everything at once, but it could, at least, promise something.

They declared the time had come for this great act of justice, and if any Government ought to do it, it was a Government professing the radical principle that taxation should go with representation. It was nothing to them how the women were going to vote afterwards. They could only do what was right at the time; they could not be responsible for results. She would say to the men who were nervous, "Be just and fear not."

Dr. W. G. Earegey seconded, saying that arguments for Women's Suffrage were now unnecessary, and therefore dealing with some of the arguments usually brought against it. In conclusion, he expressed the opinion that it was the militant policy of the advanced section that had given the movement such a great advance.

Mr. Charles Boulton (President of the local Independent Labour Party), in supporting, said his was the only association which recognized no sex distinctions. It was the economic more than the political side which concerned the Labour Party. He was convinced that 90 per cent. of the greatest evil of the times—prostitution—was due to the economic dependence of women on men. He accused Mr. Sears, the borough member, of getting behind his promise on the question of Women's Franchise.

The motion was carried with but one dissident, and a collection was then taken.

A duologue in rhyme, 'The Lady and the Woman,' was performed by Mrs. How Earegey (hon. secretary local W.S.P.U.) and Miss Theodora Mills (hon. secretary W.S.S.), and the meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to speakers and chair, proposed by Mrs. McIlquhaun and seconded by Dr. E. W. Wilkins.

Literature was sold during the evening, and signatures to the Declaration were collected.

THEODORA MILLS.

### Women Ratepayers of Worcester.

At the Council Meeting of the National Union the following resolution was passed: "That the National Union urge the ratepayers of Worcester, as a national duty, to make public protest against the injustice of levying a bribery rate upon women ratepayers who, while denied the Parliamentary vote, should at least be exempted from penalties for corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections."

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., at the request of the National Union, agreed to call attention to the matter in the House of Commons. He asked the following question on Tuesday, the 16th inst.: "If the Prime Minister is aware that the overseers of the city of Worcester have levied a rate of 3½d. in the pound on the municipal ratepayers to meet the cost of the Election Petition proceedings, and that women ratepayers are being called upon to pay this rate; and whether he will consider the desirability of introducing early next Session legislation which will relieve women from having to pay for the consequences of male political corruption, or a measure by which women may have the rights as well as the duties of citizenship?"

The reply was as follows:—

Sir H. Campbell Bannerman said he was afraid he could make no promise on this subject.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

## Women's Social and Political Union.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.

Hon. Secretaries: MRS. DESPARD. MRS. EDITH HOW MARTIN, B.Sc., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Hon. Auditor: A. G. SAYERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY, BEVAN &amp; CO., 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

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

Organizers: MISS ANNIE KENNEY. MISS MARY E. GAWTHORPE. MRS. M. BALDOCK. MRS. MARTEL. MISS ADRELA 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.

## THE COLNE VALLEY ELECTION.

By the defeat of the Government at Colne Valley our movement is brought a stage nearer to success. The only question now is how long the Government can afford to have the Women's Social and Political Union turning the scale against them at the by-elections. Undoubtedly the Liberal Cabinet's objection to Women's Suffrage is very strong, but, on the other hand, to be continually defeated at the by-elections is very injurious to the prestige of the Government. We have only to pursue with unflagging energy our by-election policy, and victory is certain. As yet the newspapers allege for the four recent Government reverses all kinds of reasons save one. They still ignore the part played by the Women's Social and Political Union in robbing the Government of support. There is nothing unusual in this, however; the daily press is always slow to recognize the coming into existence of a new political force. It was not until thirty Labour Members were actually in the House of Commons that the newspaper world realized that there was a Labour Party. So with the Women's Party: the vote will probably be all but won before the editors of newspapers grasp the facts of the situation.

In the Colne Valley contest, to this policy of ignoring the work done by the Union was added the deliberate misquoting of the statement made as to Women's Suffrage by the successful candidate. After the poll was declared Mr. Victor Grayson, as elected Member for the division, made the following statement: "I claim to represent the men, the outlawed and voteless women, and the starving children." Every newspaper left out "the outlawed and voteless women." This cannot undo the fact, admitted on all hands in the constituency, that it was the voteless women who prevented the return of the Liberal candidate.

## NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE ELECTION.

We are making a determined effort to defeat the Liberal candidate in North-West Staffordshire. There are certain special circumstances which make this contest perhaps the most difficult of any that we have yet been engaged in. To begin with, the time at our disposal is unusually short. Secondly, the industrial portion of the electorate consists chiefly of miners. Miners are as a class strongly Liberal. Their belief in the Liberal Party is quite remarkable, and their fidelity remains practically unshaken in spite of the fact that it has hitherto been quite unrewarded. To the miners, the idea of voting for a Tory is almost inconceivable, for, if the Liberal Party seems to them the source from which all political blessings do and necessarily must flow, the Tory Party is, in their eyes, the sworn and implacable foe of popular liberty. A further difficulty is the exaggerated importance attached to the private and unofficial pledges of the Liberal candidate.

Our task, then, is to show the miners of North-West Staffordshire that to revolt against the Government is the best way, often the only way, of forcing the concession of reforms. We have to convince them that the return of a Tory will be the

means of compelling the Government to act. We point out that the differences between political parties are nominal rather than real, and that Governments, whatever they may be called, do not grant reform except in response to pressure from the electors. To uproot the ideas and prepossessions of a lifetime in the space of ten days is no easy matter, but our case is seen to be very convincing, and we are making excellent progress. A belief in the enfranchisement of women is almost universal among the men and women of the constituency; the only opposition we have to face is due to misunderstanding of our object in opposing the Government. Everywhere we receive most courteous treatment, and with very few exceptions all those who offer objection to our campaign do so in a most kindly way.

The constituency borders on the Pottery towns. The poverty in which the people are living and the grime and gloom and squalor which lie heavy on this stricken district, sharpen one's desire for the vote. It is a place to which to bring those women who say they do not want political power.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

## London Branches.

FOR the last time we remind our readers that the train for the "all day contingent" to Mrs. Despard's on Saturday next leaves Waterloo for Oxshott at 10.17, and calls at Vauxhall and Clapham Junction. The middle-day trains are 1.37 and 2.15. Return tickets, price 1*s.* 7*d.*, must be specially asked for at the booking-office, or the full fare will be charged.

A public meeting has been arranged by the Beckenham branch for September 27th at the Co-operative Hall, speakers for which will be announced later. It is very satisfactory to learn that the members of the Women's Co-operative Guild intend to join the Beckenham branch of the Union. At the last branch meeting the chairman made an excellent suggestion, namely, that each member should make it her business to bring at least one woman to the proposed meeting in September.

A particularly successful garden party, resulting in several new members, is reported from Hammersmith. A fine day and Mrs. Elland's charming garden were in themselves great attractions, and those who heard the stirring and delightful speeches of Mrs. Eates and Miss Murby were not surprised at the interest aroused in those present for the first time. These garden meetings are found to be most helpful, and, taken in conjunction with the open-air speaking in Ravenscourt Park, are productive of good results.

The last "At Home" of the Clapham branch was even better attended than those which have gone before. Miss Winterbourne, the secretary of the Balham Liberal Association, opened a debate by opposing the tactics of the W.S.P.U., and was replied to by Miss Conolan. Some excellent speeches were made, a lady guardian from Battersea supporting Miss Winterbourne with warmth and vigour, while several were found equally ready to champion the cause defended by Miss Conolan. It is satisfactory to note that at the end of the evening three new members were added to the branch (including one who came intending to oppose), a gentleman present confessed himself a convert, and a lady from Berlin returns to Germany

with the conviction that the "Suffragettes" have been grossly maligned by the press of her country and that she learned nothing that was new from the opposition.

The Clapham branch has also good reason to be proud of its first special effort to interest the working women of the neighbourhood in the movement, and Mrs. Bartlett is to be congratulated on the members who rallied round her at the opening meeting at Morris Hall. The intelligent interest displayed and the hearty singing of the choruses on the song-sheet were quite inspiring, and it may encourage other branches who think of making similar efforts to know that this is an ultra-respectable and non-industrial neighbourhood—consequently one where one would imagine it very difficult to rouse the workers.

C. H.

## Provincial Branches.

THE Leicester branch has not a large membership at present, but, judging by the activity of the few, this should soon be altered. Several open-air meetings have recently been held, and we are told the people flock to hear Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who is visiting Leicester just now, and the usual resolution calling upon the Government to remove the sex disability of women with regard to the Parliamentary franchise is in all cases almost unanimously carried.

The provincial branches unite with the London ones in expressing the pleasure they derive from *Women's Franchise*, which is already "eagerly looked for" in many quarters.

All branches, too, are greatly cheered by the results of the Jarrow and Colne Valley elections.

The Cardiff branch has an excellent method of helping its young speakers to answer questions, &c. At branch meetings they argue from the point of view of the opposition and search for all the reasons, possible and impossible, why women should not have the vote. This plan is proving very helpful.

On Monday, July 8th, a meeting was held in the Lecture Hall of the Higher Grade School, the success of which was assured when it was known that the Rev. Gertrud von Petzold and Miss R. Barratt, B.Sc., would be the speakers. The former, who is a most able and convincing speaker, gave an address on "The Pioneers of the Woman's Movement," dating from as far back as the feudal system right up to the present day. The Chairman, Councillor Smith, remarked that he was "heart and soul, body and mind with the women in their struggle for freedom"—for struggle he says it is, and will be.

## Scottish Notes.

THE seaside campaign has been started at Dunoon, down the Clyde. There Miss Fraser and Miss Phillips have held two meetings daily for a week on the esplanade. The many attractions of the beach have suffered from a new form of competition, and in spite of the presence of large numbers of holiday youths—generally so irrepressible—from the beginning the meetings have been quite orderly. It is a proof of the interest now existing in our campaign that the crowds have increased steadily in size, and that the sale of literature is enormous.

This week Miss Fraser will be at Rothesay, where she is to be joined by several members of the Union.

Mrs. Sanderson reports a good meeting at Perth; and this week she will be in Montrose, where she will prepare the way for organization. Thus all the towns in Mr. Morley's constituency are now in hand.

The old Suffrage workers are entitled to an apology from me. Judging merely from existing conditions, I have assumed that we were breaking new ground wherever we undertook the organization of a district in which there was no Suffrage body and no record of one. The townships of Forfarshire being now unorganized, I applied this assumption. But unfortunately it is not justified. A Montrose Suffrage Committee existed in 1873! In that year there were sixty local Suffrage Committees in Scotland alone! As Miss Methven says, in sending me these facts, "It is pathetic, humiliating, almost infuriating, to think

that, in spite of all we have done, we are still where we are." More recent visits have also been paid to these districts by Miss Balgarnie, Miss Roper, and Miss Gore Booth. Yet the harvest is still to be reaped, and indeed, because of lapse of time and other circumstances, the seed in most cases must be sown again. If Scots Women Suffragists of to-day do not wish to look back on a similarly humiliating record, let them buckle on the armour and come out into the present fight. We want volunteers for every kind of service. We want money to appoint new organizers to undertake the systematic organization of these districts. We want office accommodation in Glasgow in order that we may provide a rallying centre for the Scottish movement and may do our work effectively. We want fighters—women who are willing to sacrifice something in order to awaken the public conscience. Let us see to it that this great movement carries the standard to victory. The present address of the Scottish Council officials is 139, West Regent Street, Glasgow. Send some contribution to the Treasurer, or send for a collecting card and help us by gathering in small sums. Any other offers of help, suggestions, or names of probable supporters, &c., should be sent to me at the same address. T. B.-G.

## Colne Valley By-Election.

STEPNEY, Hornsey, Rutland, Jarrow, and now Colne Valley, have sent their answer to the Government's request for a vote of confidence, by refusing to return the Government nominee in each of these by-elections. In one unbroken line they stand—a definite protest on the part of the electors to support the Government which refuses to do justice to women. There can be no doubt whatever that the intervention of the Women's Social and Political Union in the by-elections is a factor to be reckoned with. The power of the Union grows with every election, and the influence of the women with the electors stronger and stronger. The opening work of the campaign was commenced by Miss Adela Pankhurst, who left us at Jarrow a few days before the rest of us were able to go, owing to the overlapping of the elections. Mrs. Pankhurst paid a flying visit to inaugurate the series of meetings, the first one of all taking place at Slaithwaite, and a good start was made.

Directly after the declaration of the Jarrow result we descended on Huddersfield, and proceeded to make the very most of the remaining ten days of the campaign.

Colne Valley is a long, rambling county constituency, containing a large number of the busy manufacturing villages of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Large numbers of women work, as well as men, in the innumerable woollen and cotton mills dotted in almost every available spot. We divided the constituency into four main districts. The Honley centre, comprising Honley, Meltham, Armitage Bridge, Netherton, Brockholes, and surrounding villages was in charge of Mrs. Baines, who was assisted by Miss Milne and Mrs. Chatterton; Golcan was well looked after by Mrs. Clayton, Miss Glyde, Mrs. Goodison, and Mrs. Rigby; in the Slaithwaite centre, comprising Slaithwaite, Marsden, and Linthwaite, Mrs. Mitchell, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Brook, the Misses Wilkie, and the Marsden branch worked indefatigably. The remaining district, the Saddleworth centre, is separated by a natural barrier—Saddleworth Moor—from the other centres, and physically is more akin to Lancashire, on which it abuts, than Yorkshire. Here we had just the right supervisor in the person of Miss Annie Kenney, who, with Mrs. Tuke and Miss May Start, of London, won the hearts of everybody, and not only their hearts, but their votes too. In Delph, Diggle, Dobcross, and Upper Mill their names were, indeed, household words, and are likely to remain so.

Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massey (of London), and I visited practically every part of the constituency, addressing large and undeniably enthusiastic meetings everywhere. The members of the Huddersfield and Bradford branches put in excellent canvassing work wherever their services were most needed, and Lancashire branch workers did the same for the Saddleworth district.

Polling day was a great finish to the "sowing" part of the campaign. Outside the polling booths stood our women, and to every voter as he entered a small leaflet was presented requesting him to "Vote against the Government" and "Vote for the women this time." It was certainly comical to note with reference to this that the very Liberals who jeeringly advised us to go home and not waste our time over so ineffectual a propaganda as this, were just the ones who next day, when "reaping" time came and the Government was again defeated, attributed the defeat to us and our works! It is evidently a case of "Cherchez la femme?" with a variation.

The final meeting in Colne Valley took the form of a huge demonstration of rejoicing in Slaithwaite just after the declaration of the poll. Thousands of people thronged the streets, millworkers—men and women alike—being almost delirious with joy at the Government defeat. "Votes for Women" badges abounded on every hand. Mrs. Martel took the chair and made a straight appeal to Liberal women. Mrs. Pankhurst followed, pointing out significantly that the candidate who had voiced women's claims most effectively and who had stood by them best in this fight had been returned. Others of us having added a few words of thanks to the electors, a message was brought to us that, if the meeting wished, the new member, not as representing any special party, but as member for Colne Valley, would like to say a few words to the women present. Needless to say, the proposition was hailed with delight, and everybody experienced the greatest pleasure in hearing Mr. Victor Grayson, M.P., reiterate not only his profound belief in the cause of women, but his determination to do whatever lay within his power, *in season and out of season*, for this great political reform.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

#### REMEMBER THE 20,000. FUND.

I had a letter this week from a lady who is withdrawing subscriptions from those hospitals which have no woman on the Management Committee, in order to send more help to the Union. I hope many others will follow her example.

Another lady has placed three rings and an opal and diamond bracelet in my hands. She feels so deeply the present outlawed position of women that she wishes her ornaments to be sold for our Campaign Fund. They will be on view at the weekly "At Home" held every Monday from 4 to 6 o'clock at 4, Clements Inn, to which we cordially invite all who are interested in the question of Votes for Women.

#### EARL'S COURT EXHIBITION.

At our Literature Stall at Earl's Court we come in touch by personal talk with over a thousand people every week. During August we hope to draw greater numbers than ever round our banner there. More workers are wanted. Let all who want to see our stall at Earl's Court remember to send to 4, Clements Inn for the shilling ticket which admits them to the Exhibition.

#### HOLIDAYS AND HELP.

The annual summer holiday affords the one opportunity of the year for school teachers and many other women engaged in business professions to bend personally to the oars and to help to bring the woman's galley into safe harbour. Change of work is as good as play. There is work for all who come. Two women who spent their holiday in the Colne Valley and worked morning, noon and night for that magnificent result, told me on their return that they have never enjoyed anything half so much. They would not have missed that experience for worlds.

#### HELP AT BY-ELECTIONS.

There are by-elections and rumours of by-elections in the air, and in every by-election the organizers of the Union would welcome gladly fifty or a hundred women as volunteers. Effective as these campaigns have been, a larger staff of workers would have made them still more effective. In Colne Valley, where sixteen meetings a day were held, some remoter districts were hardly touched. Canvassers are in great request.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

### Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

| From July 1st to July 20th.              |        | From July 1st to July 20th.            |            |
|--|--------|--|------------|
| £  | s. d.  | £                                      | s. d.      |
| Miss Cicely Hamilton ..                  | 0 5 0  | Miss Edith Stacey ..                   | 0 2 6      |
| Miss Chapman ..                          | 1 0 0  | Mr. S. E. Dawes ..                     | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Parsons ..                          | 0 1 0  | Miss Constance House ..                | 0 5 0      |
| Miss Louisa Corben ..                    | 0 2 6  | Miss Janet Manson's Collecting Card .. | 1 3 10 1/2 |
| Mrs. H. H. Welch ..                      | 0 1 0  | Miss Washington Sullivan ..            | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Constance Johnson ..                | 0 1 0  | Miss Emily Duncan ..                   | 1 0 0      |
| Miss A. R. Williams ..                   | 0 3 0  | Miss E. W. Davidson ..                 | 1 0 0      |
| Miss S. A. Fowler ..                     | 0 5 0  | Miss Badley ..                         | 5 0 4      |
| Mrs. Ellen Sutch ..                      | 0 5 0  | Miss Florence Haig ..                  | 5 0 0      |
| Miss L. Kathleen Shareman ..             | 0 1 0  | Miss Dorothy Pethick ..                | 0 10 0     |
| Miss Florence Haig ..                    | 4 0 0  | Mrs. Thomas ..                         | 45 0 0     |
| Miss M. E. Verrall ..                    | 0 10 0 | Miss Blanche Smith ..                  | 1 0 0      |
| Miss C. Pankhurst ..                     | 2 0 0  | Miss Harrop ..                         | 0 15 0     |
| Miss Hooper ..                           | 1 0 0  | Miss O. Waller ..                      | 2 0 0      |
| Mrs. Monck Mason ..                      | 1 0 0  | Mrs. Julia Frankau ..                  | 0 5 0      |
| Mrs. Wighwick ..                         | 1 0 0  | Miss E. W. Davidson ..                 | 0 5 0      |
| Lady Horne ..                            | 1 0 0  | Miss Ada Wright ..                     | 20 0 0     |
| Mrs. Mary Gillies ..                     | 0 5 0  | Miss Mary Whiteford ..                 | 0 5 0      |
| Mrs. Mary Sutcliffe ..                   | 0 5 0  | Miss Aimie Muspratt ..                 | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. Despard ..                          | 1 0 0  | Blackney Branch W.S.P.U. ..            | 3 0 0      |
| Mrs. Alice Gobbett ..                    | 0 4 4  | Dundee Branch W.S.P.U. ..              | 0 17 6     |
| Mrs. D. Meeson Coates ..                 | 0 5 0  | Miss T. Bonwick ..                     | 1 0 0      |
| Weekly Guarantee ..                      | 2 4 10 | Miss Margaret Moore ..                 | 0 5 0      |
| Miss Lena Willcocks ..                   | 0 3 0  | Mrs. Jane Brownlow ..                  | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Winifred Mayo ..                    | 1 0 0  | "Josephine" ..                         | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. E. Zangwill ..                      | 2 0 0  | Miss F. E. Gardiner ..                 | 0 10 0     |
| Brixton and Streatham Branch W.S.P.U. .. | 1 0 0  | Miss Mearns ..                         | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Edith Brown ..                      | 0 10 0 | Miss Llewellyn Davies ..               | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Macdonald ..                        | 1 0 0  | Miss Hart Davies ..                    | 0 10 0     |
| Miss Annie Williams ..                   | 1 0 0  | Mrs. Wilson ..                         | 0 10 0     |
| Miss K. Walshe ..                        | 1 0 0  | Miss Agnes Champ ..                    | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Ethel Mew ..                        | 1 0 0  | Mrs. A. J. Webbe ..                    | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. Murray ..                           | 1 0 0  | Mrs. E. W. Osler ..                    | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Murray ..                           | 1 0 0  | Miss Kati Griffith ..                  | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. W. Murray ..                        | 1 0 0  | Per Miss Annie Kenney ..               | 1 0 0      |
| Dr. Jones ..                             | 1 10 0 | Mrs. S. Bonwick ..                     | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. Devlin ..                           | 0 5 0  | Miss Dorothy Hollins ..                | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Sheppard ..                         | 0 5 0  | Miss Judith Bretherton ..              | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Annie Kenney ..                     | 0 15 0 | Mrs. John E. Bartrum ..                | 0 3 4      |
| Mrs. Mitchell ..                         | 0 4 0  | Miss Dering Curtis ..                  | 0 2 0      |
| Miss Cora Hodges ..                      | 0 8 0  | Miss Landless ..                       | 0 8 0      |
| Mrs. Fagan ..                            | 1 0 0  | Miss Edith E. Jeffries ..              | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Clare E. Mordan ..                  | 1 0 0  | Miss Marie L. Naylor ..                | 1 0 0      |
| Mrs. Ella Dunn ..                        | 0 5 0  | H. J. Osborne, Esq. ..                 | 0 5 0      |
| Mrs. E. P. Waddington ..                 | 0 5 0  | Dr. Beddoe ..                          | 1 0 0      |
| Miss Henri Fink ..                       | 0 1 0  | Collections, &c. ..                    | 12 6 7 1/2 |
| Miss Cary Fink ..                        | 0 1 0  | Received prior to July 1st ..          | 157 7 10   |
| Miss F. Keys ..                          | 0 1 0  |  | 1910 12 2  |
| Miss Annie Briger ..                     | 0 1 0  |  |            |
| Mrs. East ..                             | 0 2 6  | Total .. .. .                          | 2068 0 0   |
| Miss Thomson Harris ..                   | 0 2 0  |  |            |
| Mrs. Stacey ..                           | 1 0 0  |  |            |

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

| From July 24th to July 31st. |   |                              |        |
|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|--------|
| Wed.                         | Putney, Montserrat Road   | Dr. Jones                    | P.M. 8 |
|                              |   | Mrs. Borrmann Wells          |        |
|                              | Redhill, Women's Liberal Association  | Mrs. Martel                  |        |
|                              | Fulham Palace, Fête, West London Industrial Co-operative Society  | Mrs. Martel                  | 4-6    |
| Thurs.                       | Rothsay   | Miss Fraser                  |        |
|                              | Walthamstow, Queen's Road Schools   | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence        | 8      |
|                              | Fulham, corner Effie Road   | Miss Mary Smith              | 7.30   |
|                              | Preston, Central Hall, St. Peter St.  |                              |        |
| Fri.                         | Partick, Hamilton Street  | Mrs. Billington-Greig        |        |
|                              | Barnes Common   | Dr. Jones                    | 8      |
|                              | Rothsay   | Mrs. Borrmann Wells          |        |
|                              |   | Mrs. Billington-Greig        |        |
|                              |   | Miss Fraser                  |        |
| Sat.                         | Oxshott, Garden Party for local branch secretaries and members, by invitation of Mrs. Despard                                   |                              |        |
|                              | Rothsay, Great Demonstration  |                              |        |
| Sun.                         | London, Hyde Park   | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence        | 3      |
|                              | London, Victoria Park   | Mrs. Pankhurst               |        |
|                              | London, Blackheath Common   | Mrs. Baldoock                | 3.30   |
|                              |   | Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett       |        |
| Mon.                         | Willenhall Market Place   | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence        | 7      |
|                              | Bradford  | Mrs. Pankhurst               |        |
|                              | London, 4, Clements Inn, "At Home"  | Miss Nellie Kenney           |        |
|                              | London, 4, Clements Inn   | Miss C. H. Pankhurst         |        |
| Tues.                        | Liverpool, 6, Colquitt Street, Wolverhampton, Market Place  | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence        | 4-6    |
|                              |   | Dr. Helen Putnam, M.D.       | 8      |
|                              |   | Branch Meeting               | 8      |
| Wed.                         | Liverpool, "Clarion Café"   | Mrs. Sproson                 | 7.30   |
|                              |   | Mrs. Hillier                 | 8      |
|                              | North-West Staffordshire by-election. Meetings in all parts of the constituency mid-day, afternoon, and evening during the week | Miss C. H. Pankhurst         |        |
|                              |   | Miss Annie Kenney            |        |
|                              |   | Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe       |        |
|                              |   | Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Drummond   |        |
|                              |   | Miss Jessie Kenney           |        |
|                              |   | Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Baines     |        |
|                              |   | Miss Lamb, Miss Gye          |        |
|                              |   | The Misses Wilkie and others |        |

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

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

### The Colne Valley Election.

THE Men's League as such is in no way identified with any political party. We cannot, however, help feeling great satisfaction at the success of Mr. Victor Grayson in the Colne Valley constituency. Following as it does so soon on the election of Mr. Pete Curran at Jarrow, we cannot but regard it as the outward sign of a steadily growing feeling throughout the country in favour of the enfranchisement of women. That Mr. Grayson's attitude on this question is satisfactory is apparent from his election address, and as the daily papers have, as usual, ignored this aspect of the contest, we take the opportunity of subjoining the actual words of his address so far as it affects this subject.

#### "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

"The placing of women constitutionally in the same category as infants, idiots, and peers does not impress me as either manly or just. If returned I am prepared to give the most immediate and enthusiastic support to a measure according women the vote on the same terms as men."

Nothing could be more emphatic or less open to misconception than these words, and it is impossible to argue that those who voted for Mr. Grayson are other than friendly to the enfranchisement of women.

This aspect of the election is emphasized by the fact that the only member of Parliament who spoke on Mr. Grayson's behalf is a pronounced advocate of Women's Suffrage and a member of the Men's League. The deduction clearly is that there are, in a constituency which polled over 10,000 votes, nearly 4,000 who, to say the least, are not opposed to the movement.

### A Woman's Book.

EVERY WOMAN'S OWN LAWYER. By Gordon C. Whadcoat. Solicitor. (T. Fisher Unwin. 3s. 4d. net.)

THIS is an original and interesting work. It does not deal exclusively with matters in which the law concerning women differs from that concerning men. The author recognises the fact that women have less opportunity than men of becoming familiar with legal phraseology and the simpler legal principles, and he has therefore set himself to help women by discussing every subject likely to interest them. No one who possesses property and no one who works for a living, from the merchant prince to the domestic servant, can go through life without being occasionally troubled by a point of law, and we feel sure that this book will solve many difficulties and save much anxiety.

The author is an advocate of sex equality, and this greatly adds to the usefulness of his work, because it gives him a sympathetic insight into the needs of women. Consequently every subject likely to assist women is touched upon, regard being had to their ordinary avocations in life under present economic conditions. There is a chapter on the Sale of Goods under the delightful title of 'Shopping.' Vainly would the lawyer search his thousand books for such a title! Yet what could be better? The ordinary woman wants a guide to settle a dispute with a tradesman, and often she does not like to ask the advice of a solicitor or male friend, especially if the amount involved is small. Another feature of the book is the almost total rejection of technical language. This was a very difficult task, because it is not easy to substitute popular language for the precise and formal terms of the law without sacrificing its accuracy of expression; but the author has successfully surmounted this difficulty, and his exposition of the subjects with which he deals is quite adequate. Again, for the sake of simplicity, no reference is made to the decided cases upon which the statements in the text are based. The lawyer will, however, easily recognise them,

and he can seldom quarrel with the manner of their use. Thus in dealing with the responsibility for boarders' goods, the law as settled by the case of *Scarborough v. Cosgrove* (1905—2 K.B. 805) is accurately stated. The author, however, goes on to express his own opinion of the facts of the case, which he considers showed "gross negligence" on the part of the lodging-house keeper. The case itself was never tried out, as the parties settled it, and the Court of Appeal certainly expressed no such view of the facts; but some of the judges were only persuaded with difficulty that there was any evidence of negligence fit for a jury to consider. Of course the author's view of the facts may be correct, but it would have been better not to have expressed it so strongly upon a matter that is fairly open to discussion.

There are, however, some subjects upon which it would be unsafe for any woman, or man either, to act without professional assistance, and we note with pleasure that the author is always careful to indicate this when the point is too thorny for popular treatment. Thus he only devotes a page to Bills of Sale, just enough to inform the reader that money may be borrowed on furniture, and that it must be done in a particular way; but he at once warns her that "the law on the subject is so strict and intricate that it would be most imprudent of any one to act without the assistance of a solicitor."

It is hoped that the book will pass through many editions and survive until legal questions affecting women no longer require separate treatment.

HERBERT JACOBS.

### Correspondence.

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

DEAR SIR,—I have rarely been more entertained by any correspondence during the Silly Season than that to which *The Globe* has extended the publicity of its hospitable columns under the title of 'The Menace of Women.' Several of the letters, especially those which have appeared over signatures of an *ad captandum* character, claiming the qualities of fair play and tolerance, seem to have emanated from persons conscious of illogical prejudice, taking refuge under self-laudatory epithets.

The most amusing is that which appeared on the 17th inst. from a "Tolerant Bachelor." With the adjective we cannot quarrel; no doubt the author is convinced of his impartiality; we should, however, be inclined to question his bachelorhood. If he were thus unattached we doubt whether he could possibly have so little sense of humour as not to see that his very signature tells against the cogency of his argument.

The most striking feature of his melancholy complaint is its abysmal ignorance not only of women, but also of men, and still more of the economic facts on which he relies. Nothing could well be imagined more grossly inaccurate than his description of the advance of women into what he regards as male activities as an "attack." The presence of women in business and the labour market so far from being an attack, is of the nature of a retreat before forces of overwhelming power. An eagerness to bear the burden and heat of the day, rather than be content with the "light mechanical tasks compatible with the performance of domestic duties" is scarcely characteristic of either sex. In point of fact, among the forces which have caused the "Women's Invasion" of men's provinces must be numbered the author of the article—that is, if he is the bachelor he describes himself to be. Had he sought diligently among a sex so utterly deficient in judgment as he would have us believe women to be, he must ultimately have succeeded—by his very "tolerance"—in impressing his desirability as a husband upon some lady, thus withdrawing one from the ranks of the invading army.

If all our opponents would thus frankly state their arguments we are convinced that no further advocacy of women's economic and civic capacity would be required from us. We are gradually beginning to see that the silence of our opponents is not to be taken as a sign of profound indifference or of the wisdom of the sage. No doubt among the ranks of our opponents there are many "Sir Oracles" whose silence has dressed "them up in an opinion of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit." Though we must not despise our opponents, we must entirely abandon the idea that they have a strong armoury of sound reasoning which enables them to maintain a dignified silence.

His description of women as "the furniture in the house of man" apart from its impertinence and its impropriety in the mouth of a bachelor, is childishly incompatible with the fact that, barring bigamous unions, which he does not advocate, there must always be a large number of women who must become "remainder stock" in the marriage market. The "house of man" is not large enough to accommodate all this surplus furniture.

Finally the gem of the whole letter comes in the passage in which the writer charges women with "superficiality and lack of humour." "Satan reproving sin" must find place as a metaphor to "The Tolerant Bachelor on the sense of humour."

Yours faithfully,

FATHER OF SIX.  
(Card enclosed.)

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

SIR,—I have been urged more than once to join the Men's League. I have always refused, and in that refusal I intend for the present to persist. As I understand that the columns of *Women's Franchise* are open to others than those of your own persuasion in this matter, it has occurred to me that it might be worth while to set out my own views on the question, not because they are of intrinsic value, still less because they are mine, but because I believe them to be the opinions (whether they acknowledge it or not) of the great mass of ordinary men on the subject. And until you contrive to conciliate this mass of opinion—or prejudice if you will—I believe your movement is not destined to succeed.

Let me observe, then, in the first instance, that by the constantly urged plea of the justice and the logic of your cause, I, and I believe thousands of others, are profoundly unexcited. You may be wrong or you may be right; we may, in our deafness to it, stand self-convicted of a low standard of morality and very indifferent sense. The fact remains that the world as it is does not present itself (except to a mathematician) as a Euclidian problem, nor (except to a decadent dramatist) as a moral problem. In a word, the price of my tea is greatly more important to me than the nature of the supreme good or the rules of correct inference. Perhaps it ought not to be so: all I say is, that it is.

If you doubt the practical application of what I have said, let me ask you to look at the history of two of the present political parties in England. Why have the Irish not obtained Home Rule after sixty years of agitation? Because their demands are unjust or impracticable? Not so. It is because the average English elector does not know what they would do when they got it; because he fears that in some way they would use it to injure his peace and his pocket. Why, again, has the Labour movement—considering how large a proportion of the electors are working men—been so slow in getting under weigh? Because its demands were felt to be unfair or illogical? No. Because no one quite knew what they were; because it was feared vaguely that they would lead to revolutionary excesses in which all who had anything to lose would stand a fair chance of losing it. "I will not admit that two and two make four," said the disputant in the story, "until I see what use you are going to make of the statement." It is the key-note of British Conservatism, a force which is about equally powerful in all three British parties.

Briefly, we must know what women are going to do with their votes—or at any rate we must have some assurance that

they will do no harm with them, or no more harm than the men do—before you will ever persuade the mass of men to vote for it. Mind you, I am not saying that the fear which this feeling implies is intelligent or worthy. The average man is not particularly intelligent or worthy. He only knows that here is a proposal to allow thousands of inexperienced hands to be thrust, with all the enthusiasm of virtue and ignorance, into the complicated machinery which protects him, however imperfectly, in getting it. It is all nonsense to say that the "inferior" position of women is justified in man's mind by some belief in their defective capacity or moral qualities. I fully believe in the power for work and the enthusiasm for high ideals of the average woman; when I think of the application of these forces to our political institutions, like the devils, I believe and tremble. We know what comes of the intermeddling of idealists with our naughty little world; wise men already spend most of their time in public as in private life in undoing the harm that good men do; and I cannot look without great fear on the indefinite multiplication of the works of the latter. One may be on the side of the angels, and yet think the rule of the apes on the whole the more comfortable and safe. For we can chastise our Yahoos when they grow outrageous; but how will you bring your destroying angels to book—destroying in utmost purity of heart—rooting-up our poor little wheat crop in a holy determination to burn the tares at any cost?

I know very well, of course, the arguments that are opposed to this view. You will tell me that the practical effect of your reform will be at first small; that the number of women admitted to the franchise will not be in the first instance overwhelming; that women possess as highly developed a business instinct, as keen a sense of the practical importance of hurrying slowly as men (a proposition which I may be permitted to doubt). Well, if you will insist on these facts, if you will give them due prominence in your propaganda, if you can succeed in exorcising the demon of rhetorical exaggeration and visionary idealism which possesses the leaders of the present movement, the dead weight of middle-class opposition will ultimately be dissipated. The average man has a somewhat thick head and a rather cold heart; but he is not—as some of your speakers seem to believe—a villain of melodrama, and he is not intellectually less than God's creature. He will not waste time and energy in opposing any measure which he is quite sure will do him no harm. Then prove it; show him that Woman's Suffrage will do him no harm; convince him that you have come not to destroy, but to fulfil; muzzle your ecstatic virgins. Convince me, convince us all, that your firebrands will not set to work to make us so philanthropic that we shall all be bankrupt, so virtuous that the Blue Laws of Connecticut shall seem a worldly minded code, so plagued with the curse of politics (for which, so long as they do not react on our own work and play, we do not greatly care) that we shall have no peace even in our homes, and the average man will no longer resist you.

We are not your opponents, on the merits of the case; we have no animus against you and your cause; we are simply rather frightened of you. But fear, especially in a dull man, is a powerful passion in resistance, at any rate; and remember our name is legion, for we are many. We do not ask for your good opinion; we do not care at all about it. I have simply set out what I hold to be certain very important tactical points for your consideration. Regard them, and fairly speedy success is, I think, assured; neglect them, and you will find that all your eloquence and all the ethical qualities of your cause and its supporters will avail you very little; and even the great influence which you may in the last resort bring to bear on men will be broken at the polls against the stolid resistance of the average man. *Cet animal est bien méchant: quand on attaque, il se défend.* I enclose my card.

Yours faithfully,

AN AVERAGE MAN.

[Pressure of space prevents our dealing with the questions raised in this letter. We hope to reply to them in our next issue. In the meantime we cordially welcome the communication of "An Average Man," and we hope that others will follow his example.—Ed.]

Meeting at Hampstead.

(Concluded from No. 3.)

THE Rev. Percy Dearmer said he was very glad to be able to second this resolution. "I suppose a parson naturally is sympathetic with persons who were disabled politically. In all other civilized countries, I believe, the clergy are allowed to sit in the House of Commons or what takes its place; but in this, as in so many other things, England is behind in such matters.

It is exceedingly difficult to speak on this subject of Woman's Suffrage, because it is so difficult to think of anything on the other side. You are really only opposed by the general dead weight of humanity, by people who say that because your grandmother did not vote, therefore why should women have a vote to-day, or to-morrow? Then there are the people who say that whatever is right. That is so exceedingly trying, because it is not true. You might as well say whatever is, is wrong.

Every grudging extension that has been made to women, women have justified.

The cause we are advocating here to-night is the winning cause, and I want that cause to come about quickly. I do not want to see England wasting its time in the welter of political misrepresentation which at present we call democracy.

We want the voice of the women to help us men in the great battle that is before us, the battle to make life tolerable and decent for the millions in our lands. It is for the sake of men and for the sake of women and for the sake of this whole country that I plead here to-night."

On putting the resolution it was carried, with only four dissentients—all men.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst: "We are always being told that women don't want the vote, and that is why the men don't give us the vote; I wish we had some of those people in this hall to-night, because they would have seen that all the women here do want votes. I venture to say that if we went right through Hampstead collecting the names of those women who wanted the vote, we should find that they all want it just as much as you people here. I know there are many women who don't want the vote—at least, they think they don't want it; but it is because they have not heard the thing explained. The only people they have heard are the men who want to keep them from wanting the vote, and it is natural that, having heard one side only, they should not want the vote. That has been the difficulty with our movement so far. We have not been able to get into touch with the women. You can come into touch with only comparatively a few women at one meeting, and if you do not get in the papers, how can you touch the masses of the people in this country? Well, our tactics have made every woman realize that there is a movement in favour of Woman's Suffrage. Every woman has had to think about the vote, and once you really think about it you are bound to come to the conclusion that the vote is a good thing to have. After all, the men have found out that it is a good thing, that it is protection to their interests; and if the stronger sex, as they call themselves, find the vote is indispensable, naturally, where we have been always termed the weaker sex, we must need it even more. How is it the chivalrous men friends, who are always ready to protect us, but don't quite do it, have been keeping the knowledge of this great benefit? They have been trying to persuade women that it would not do them any good to have the vote. Is it not time that we investigated this matter?"

These ladies against the vote must have very small ambitions and be very easily satisfied, or belong to the privileged minority. The women with nice frocks to wear and leisure and amusements are a small minority in womanhood. Most women work hard, have little leisure, and have to go without the things men say women are so fond of. Most are without these comforts, and many without necessities. It is not so much what it is to do for the fortunate few, as what it is to do for the less fortunate many. Let me tell you how the vote is to help working women. I have been told by members of Parliament that if they could be convinced that the vote would help the

working women they would do more for us than they have. The vote will help us as it has helped the working man. Would the Trades Disputes Bill, the Workmen's Compensation Bill, and many other things—would they have come about if men had not had the vote? Of course not. We all know why many of the men in the House of Commons were opposed to these bills; but they voted for them. If they did not, the working men would vote against them at the election. This is proof, plain, positive proof, that the vote will help the working people. It will help them directly, because they will be able to go to the House of Commons and say, "We want certain legislation." Now if the women had the vote they could do this.

The women in the colonies, the working women, have been able by means of their vote to entirely do away with the evil of sweated labour such as we know it here. The women have done it themselves. They have not had to say, "Please listen to our tale of woe; please have mercy upon us." Is not that the quickest way of getting anything done—to be able to do it yourself?

Well, now, from the point of view of legislation, there are two dangers to be faced by working women. One danger. They won't get the laws they want and they will get the laws they don't want until women have the vote. They have always had the difficulty that their employers were represented in the House of Commons and are actually sitting there, uncontrolled by women, and have been able to damage the working women's interest to their heart's content. Now the working men have got the vote, and direct representatives of labour. Now these working men are, of course, very good friends to themselves, and very often, when their minds are open, they are good friends to other people; but there is a danger that they will come and legislate for working women with the expressed desire of helping the working women; but really more with the desire of helping themselves, of keeping the women from competing.

Is it right that the working woman should be entirely left out, that she alone should not be able to protect her interests, whereas these two sections of men can legislate in the House of Commons at the present time. That is a great injustice. Englishmen, who should have a sense of fair play, should revolt against it.

There is another way in which the women will be helped by getting the vote. It is not in the way of legislation, because legislation can do practically little. There are other things that will do work in this world besides Acts of Parliament. People have observed a certain deplorable fact, and it is this—that women's wages are very much lower than the wages of men. This is a very great pity, even for the sake of men, because it tends to lower their wages too. The men are not prepared to keep us all, and there are over 5,000,000 of us engaged in earning our livelihood. If the burden of maintaining these women were thrown upon the men they would not like it. If women must live they must work. Turn them out of industry! You cannot do it without bringing disaster upon the nation; but you must find some way of strengthening the position of the women as well as the men. What is the cause of their under-payment? Men say that women have nobody to keep but themselves. Well, a woman's wage is not enough often to keep herself alone, but is it true that women have only to keep themselves? The common experience is that a woman with a weekly wage has somebody who wants a share of that wage besides herself. They say women work for pocket-money wages. Among the working women, even unmarried girls at home have to pay for their board and lodging. Are their wages spent in finery and so on? They have to help to maintain their younger brothers and sisters. The pocket-money wage is practically unknown amongst working people. Working men have an idea that when their children are over school age their duty is to help to maintain their parents. After forty years of age a Lancashire man with a large family need do no more work. Then they say the woman is to marry, and does not mind low wages. All women cannot marry. Is it any consolation to a woman who is starving to-day to think that five years hence she may be married? even if marriage always meant that a woman stopped going to work and had no more to earn money.

There is a lower standard of living for women than for men. Is this natural; or is it second nature? Women know perfectly well that it costs as much to keep a daughter as to keep a son. We should make all women stand up for their rights and insist on a living wage, make them have confidence in their own opinion, make the men realize that anything is not good enough for women, that they have a right to stand upon an equality with men, socially, politically, industrially. The higher man's social position, the better chance of getting a higher remuneration for the work he does.

If women are prosperous, even rich, they must determine that they will help those women who are struggling and who are poor. There is a select committee of men discussing the question of the sweated trades. Like most of these schemes and inquiries conducted by men, nothing will come of it. (Applause.) Is it likely that a House of Commons representing only men beset on all sides by the claims of men, is going to turn its serious attention to the question of women's liberty? It is not. We are going to do this thing ourselves. We are going to revolutionize the position of the working women. The working men's position has been revolutionized during the last fifty years. It is not only the women in the factory, at the sewing machine, who need the vote; it is also the educated working women who need the vote, the professional women—those women who have to fight the battle of life.

I am sorry that there should be any women who have not got a mind a little above material things. If you are well cared for in the physical sense or not, you are not spiritually free, your opinion is thought to be no more important than that of a criminal, a pauper, a lunatic, an infant. Only your incapacity and your disability is far more fixed than theirs. The infant may become a man; the criminal comes out of prison; the lunatic becomes of sound mind, and gets a vote. But you are always a woman, and never get the vote. They seem to forget that they are making bricks without straw.

It would be much more sensible if those women whom I greatly respect would say, 'Yes, we want temperance reform; we want whatever it may be that they are interested in, but we want to get the vote first, and then we can work with and for our movement. Men respect power only, and when you have power they will respect your opinion.'

Now, we are all social reformers, or we should not be so keen about this question. We want the vote because we want to do something with it. I see in it the symbol of humanity. It means—to have a vote—you are recognized as one of a company of human beings, of responsible, intelligent people. But also the vote is a means to an end; it is a tool whereby you can carve out reform. We shall, in the future, have the women behind us who want to make this world better than it is to-day. A man cannot do it alone. They only have half the intellect, half the capacity, half the energy. We give them credit for half. (Applause.) I always say that men are quite equal to women; but they are no more than half; and how can you expect things to go as they should when half the world is working alone? We are the other half, and a very indispensable half, too. Our enthusiasm, our energy, our intelligence—all these things are needed to be thrown into the common stock if the country is to be governed as it should be. There is one thing I am glad we adopted our tactics for. The ground of argument is shifted for women who feel themselves to be more or less intelligent to come forward and fight against the ignorance of men. Every one believes now that we should have the vote. They don't believe in our tactics, which, nevertheless, have converted everybody to votes for women; and now you have the other excuse: we must not have the vote because we are not going the right way to work. We have spent forty years asking for the vote and working in the way they like, and they would not give us the vote. Now we think the best thing to do is to work in a way they do not like. I am surprised at the hypocrisy of men at saying such a thing. They know perfectly well that it is only by means of our tactics that we can get the vote. It is only by fighting the Government, and making disturbances if need be, that we can get any assistance. We do not want men to like them. Don't suppose that for one moment. We want the men to dislike them so much that they are perfectly ashamed of

driving women to adopt such tactics. And we want the Government to dislike our tactics so much, that in order to get rid of them, they will give us the vote. Now there are women who say they do not like our tactics. What have they done to get the vote? Have they done anything?

We fight straight against the Government whether the candidate is in favour or not. We know those pledges of theirs. We shall fight against the Government until they promise to give us the vote. I know they are begging for fair play. There may not be much mercy about us, but at least we are straight and above board; but if the Liberals do not like it, there is a remedy. We can be pacified; our opposition can be got rid of if they will give us the vote. (Applause.)

If there are Liberal women here they are the people who can actually get the vote for us. We need not have any more women in prison if the Liberal women will do their duty and put principle before party. The Prime Minister would give the vote if the Liberal women would work against the Government.

Even we, who began so few, but are now growing fast, even we have produced a great effect, but much more effect would be produced if the Liberal women would join us.

I daresay the Unionist women quite enjoy the spectacle of us worrying Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. I do not ask you to fight against the Tories now—that is a waste of strength and time—only if they come into power before we get the vote, we shall have to worry them too, and the Tory women must be prepared to give us the vote when that time comes.

Is it not because both parties hold out that we do not get the vote? If we could bring one party round the other would come round instantaneously.

We have no party; we fight against whatever Government is in power. And we can see neither Liberal, nor Conservative, nor Labour. It is all one to us. We want the vote itself—that is our first duty.

If we have not the sense to vote, we have not the sense to work for either of the parties. Go on strike!

What influence we have let us use for the emancipation of our sex; and as for women going to prison, I think all of you might be prepared to do that much for the sake of the vote. It is not very much to do I think. I really do not know why more of you are not willing to do it. One hundred and forty-three women have already gone to prison. Had they been passive resisters they would have been the salt of the earth, according to the Prime Minister."

Mr. John Russell said he had been asked to speak for three reasons—"because I am a Hampstead resident, because I am a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage—(applause)—and, strongest reason of all, because I am known to harbour certain quite unconquerable prejudices in favour of this cause.

I go on convincing myself every time I hear anything said against Women's Suffrage. I like to put it in the form of a catechism. What is a woman? It is a very tempting subject. I will only just say a woman is a human creature. What is a man? Also a human creature. Is there any difference between those two human creatures? There are certain most obvious physical differences, and there are certain most obvious—some people not obvious at all—shall I call them spiritual differences. I do not call them superiority or inferiority—only differences. Certain spiritual differences which follow necessarily from those obvious physical differences. And my next question is this: Do these recognized physical and spiritual differences between the two human creatures—the man and the woman—affect in the most infinitesimal degree their common humanity, the rights and the duties and the significance of their common humanity? No, not one jot or one tittle. They would of course have certain inevitable results in a properly organized community. Those differences have already had certain results, most undesirable results, most immoral results. The sort of results they should have, it seems to me, are that the stronger sex should do its utmost to provide more generous nurture and more generous comfort for the weaker sex in its greatest of all duties—the duty of motherhood.

My next question is, 'What is a vote?' Surely a vote is the ultimate expression of one's individuality—a man or a woman's individuality—in the public affairs of the nation."

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