

Women's Franchise.

No. 6.

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Contents.

	PAGE
HOW MEN LEGISLATE FOR WOMEN	69
THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS.. .. .	69
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES	70
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION	72
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.. .. .	74

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

IN AUSTRIA, as in England, women have actually forfeited rights they once possessed through failure to use them. For several decades the female landowners and members of the syndicate of trade were entitled to vote. They were distinctly excluded by the Bill introduced into Parliament in November, 1905, which gave equal and direct suffrage to all male citizens, thus abolishing the constituent assemblies and giving every elector the right to be elected. The distinct exclusion of women led to a widespread agitation in favour of their enfranchisement, hampered however, as in Germany, by the antiquated laws restricting the right of assembly. These laws prohibit foreigners, minors, and women from joining political associations, founding branches and federations of political societies, corresponding with other associations, and wearing union badges. Under the wide interpretation given to this law the existence of a Women's Suffrage association becomes impossible in Austria. The attempt to found one was at once checked by the authorities, and an appeal to the Minister of the Interior met with no better success. The matter was next carried to the Imperial Court, and though here too the decision was an adverse one, on the ground that aiming at political activity stamped the association as political, the discussion in the newspapers and the publicity thus given to the question brought it for the first time into general prominence. Meantime a small committee has been actively at work, whose first objective is, of course, the codification of these laws. During the elections last May this committee invited candidates belonging to the various progressive parties to attend meetings and express their views on the women's demands. As the condition of support and assistance, the Suffrage leaders asked for a definite promise to work for the repeal of article 30, the most objectionable clause of the Vereinsgesetz. While realizing the futility of vague expression of friendliness at election time, Austrian women have freely given time and money to help those candidates on whose assistance they can really rely. These tactics have proved successful, for their friends in parliament, though not numerous, have proved staunch. In the very first week of the session the Socialists brought in a proposal to confer the franchise on all persons over twenty-one, irrespective of sex. At present every male over twenty-four has a vote. They further proposed that "all persons, irrespective of sex, who have been citizens of the Austrian Empire for at least three years, and have completed their thirtieth year" shall be eligible for election. A proposal to alter the Vereinsgesetz was brought in by some of the independent progressive members. Thus in spite of all obstacles and prejudices, things are on the move in Austria.

IN FRANCE, too, progress is being made. A Suffrage Committee has recently been formed by the National Council of Frenchwomen, and at the annual meeting which has just taken place Madame Georges Martin, President of the Committee, was able to report considerable activity.

Undoubtedly the most interesting event which has as yet occurred in connexion with the movement in France was the women's procession to the Chamber on June 14th. A long line of carriages carried members of the various "feminist" societies first to the Ministry of the Interior and afterwards to the Chamber, to ask for Government support for the proposals in favour of Women's Suffrage which the Socialists are pledged to introduce. No attempt was made to check their advance or to bar the doors against the ladies. The deputation was duly admitted, and M. Jaures, who received it in lieu of M. Clemenceau, promised to report their demands in the proper quarter.

A. ZIMMERN.

Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

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

How Men Legislate for Women.

ON reading the above article in *Women's Franchise* of August 1st, it struck me that there is another point which needs to be emphasized. The real evil lies in the moral degradation entailed by the legislation of men for women, and this is as deplorable as the physical suffering and distress of the working woman for which men's legislation is largely responsible.

It is really of no importance to inquire whether men safeguard the interests of women; but for the sake of argument let us grant that they do—though, of course, no one in possession of the facts could assert that this is the case. Granted, then, that men have women's interests sufficiently at heart to legislate in their favour, they must yet face the accusation of degrading the "weaker" sex by placing them in a dependent position, by bestowing as a favour what ought to be conceded as a right. Assuredly "it is more blessed to give than to receive"; how many, many women have tasted the bitterness of the gifts men bestow on them!

Man does not suppose that woman is morally differently constituted from him. If a woman commits a crime, she is tried under the same laws as man (except that he is tried by his own sex and she by the other sex), and she has to submit to the same penalties. Why, then, does man imagine that treatment which would have a bad effect on his moral character will not have the same effect on hers?

No man will deny that it is galling to his self-respect and his sense of honour to be entirely dependent on the favour of another. He will tell you that such a position conduces to flattery, lying, and a thousand other mean devices of the toady. It is hard to believe that such a position, degrading to a man, so far from having a similar effect on woman, actually ennoble her.

In the name of man's much boasted logic, let him be consistent! Since he expects her to pay the same penalties as he does for infringing the laws, let him cease from trampling on her self-respect and her sense of honour, without which no other virtues can flourish!

M. A. LEWENZ.

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."

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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. PECHY PHIPSON, M.D.

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

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Central Society.

WIMBLEDON.

LADY GIBB'S evening garden party last Thursday was a magnificent success in every way. Addresses were made by Mrs. Henry Fawcett and Mrs. Philip Snowden, and the excellence of their arguments was demonstrated in a very practical manner by the large number of listeners who enrolled themselves on the spot as members of the Central Society and by the substantial sum to which their united subscriptions amounted.

We shall speak further next week of this gathering.

CENTRAL HACKNEY.

Miss Bompas represented the Central Society at a debate on Women's Suffrage which was held by the Central Hackney Conservative Association on Wednesday, July 24th. There was a good attendance and much interest was shown by the members, many of whom took part in the discussion.

Haslemere Women's Suffrage Association.

MISS DORA HECHT, hon. secretary of the Haslemere Women's Suffrage Association, reports a very successful meeting held under the auspices of that body on July 16th.

Among the audience were many non-members, all of whom seemed most interested, particularly in Mrs. Bertrand Russell's speech. It is hoped that a large accession of new members may be one result of the gathering.

The following account is taken from *The Farnham and Haslemere Mail* :—

A very pleasant afternoon was spent in the garden of St. George's Wood, by kind permission of Miss Neild and Miss Kempe, on Tuesday afternoon, when a meeting in support of the movement for securing Women's Suffrage was held, under the auspices of the Haslemere, Hindhead, and District Women's Suffrage Association.

The chair was occupied by Miss Kempe, supported by the Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell, Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P. (Hampstead), and Miss D. Hecht (hon. secretary), and amongst those present were the Hon. Rollo Russell, Lady Mary Murray, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Murray, Mr. Edmund Hunter Mrs. Gristow, Miss Gibson, Mr. and Mrs. Hope Pink, &c.

Miss Kempe, in opening the proceedings, said one of their number had told her that the sound of their festivity and merriment could be heard a long way down the road, and that was as it should be, for it was the gay heart that won the great battles of the world, and they were met there to help forward a great battle, in which she thought undoubtedly they were on the eve of a great victory. She would like to point out that this was not a party movement, and as an illustration of that she would remind them that their speakers that day were drawn from the two great political parties.

The Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell, in an interesting speech, said the Women's Suffrage Movement had been a living movement for forty years. It was a movement to help women forward

educationally, and to secure more legal protection, and during that time a great deal had been done, and it was a good thing to look back to see how much had been done since John Stuart Mill published his book 'The Rights of Women.' Things were going well until about eight years ago, when they had a set back. Up to that time women had been serving on School Boards and on Vestries, but with the new Borough Councils and the Education Act women were prevented from serving on these bodies, although they had done splendid work both in education and on the vestries. They could be co-opted on to councils and education committees, but of course there were not so many serving, and they had no direct responsibility to the electors. They were very disappointed over that, and felt that a very special effort must be made. Speaking of the recent demonstration previous to the deputations to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Russell said she was in the procession, and found the people as a whole sympathetic. They did not jeer very much, and their attitude was encouraging. But it was not very encouraging inside.

The Prime Minister was very sympathetic and he preached patience, but they had been patient so long and things were going back instead of forward, and a great effort must be made. They must not be lukewarm, and for that reason she was glad to think that women generally were much more keen than they were a few years ago, for it showed that the country was interested, especially when people who did not agree were willing to listen.

The first question they had to consider was "Why do women want the vote?" At least no one could say now that women did not want it. There might be a few women who did not realize its necessity and importance, but the great body of thinking active women who were keen and highly educated did want it. And even the women who were not keen were beginning to see how important a thing it was, if not for themselves personally, for the women whose lives were not so fortunate, and whose circumstances were not so happy. She thought the main reason why women wanted the vote was because they wanted to improve the homes of the country. They were always being told that woman's sphere was the home, and she quite agreed. And in the same way man's sphere was the workshop, the office, or his business. Man's sphere was not necessarily politics. His sphere lay in the work he had to do, and the woman's sphere lay in taking care of the home and looking after the children. But without going outside their spheres they must both take an interest in politics, because politics were really the science of the home. She thought some women did not think much about politics, because they thought they dealt with things which did not affect them, but questions which affected women were rapidly becoming questions of current politics.

There was, for instance, the housing question. They saw the sort of homes which existed in their cities, and they knew they were not the homes in which women could bring up their children in the right way. The housing question was very much a woman's question. Then there was the question of education. It was very curious that in this country the men entrusted the care and bringing up of their children almost entirely to their wives, and yet when it came to a question of voting about education women were supposed not to be able to

form any judgment. That was a very ridiculous position, for in fact the women knew very much more about education than the men. It was very necessary that women should be able to vote on education, which was the one great political question of the day. Continuing, the speaker said it was only now that people were beginning to realize that women were individual human beings. People had in the past taken it for granted that women did not need representation as individual human beings, and that they could be legislated for by some one else. She did not think any man would be contented with that, and she felt, and every woman felt, that she had a little bit of individuality which was different from that of every one else. They had different points of view, and for that reason women wanted to vote, because they felt that they wanted to have direct representation in the making of the country.

Continuing, Mrs. Russell said the women who had comfortable homes were often inclined to forget that there were millions of women who had to go out into the world and work. There were five millions of women who were actually supporting themselves, and when they talked about the woman's sphere being the home people forgot those five millions who were obliged to go outside their homes and become very often the bread-winners for themselves and often for others. The women who were well off too often forgot that great class of wage earners. (Applause.) Those women did require direct representation. They knew perfectly well that any body of men could get better treatment for themselves if they had some direct part in the government of the country. It was the same with the women. Women's work was quite different from that of men, and women ought to have some say in the laws governing that work, and in what the conditions governing their work should be.

The granting of the vote to women would bring about an improvement in the conditions under which women worked. She was not going to say that it would raise a woman's wages from 5s. to 10s., nor would the improvement come immediately, but it would come gradually. If women had the vote, their wishes, which now were ignored, would be attended to and would be more respected, and it was especially important just now, when there was so much talk about the minimum wage and special legislation for the regulation of women's labour, that women should be directly consulted in this matter. They ought to consult those who were most concerned in this matter. The granting of the vote would, she held, have a great educative influence on the lives of women, for, until they had the vote, they would not take a deep interest in the great political questions of the day, and if the women were to be educated politically, it must be because it was worth while—because they had the vote. It was absurd and wrong to say in these days that women were not fit to have the vote. They took just as large a part in the affairs of the country as did the men, and they ought to have the same privileges.

In conclusion, Mrs. Russell urged that all should work in this cause. They had no right to stand aside for political questions. They must make up their minds to be keen about this question, because they could not have a nation wholesome and healthy unless all its citizens—men and women—were keen, and took an interest in its welfare. (Applause.)

Mr. Fletcher, M.P., Lady Mary Murray, and Mr. Harold Murray also spoke.

Meeting at Redhill.

A MEETING of the Redhill Women's Liberal Association was held in the garden of Fengates House on July 24th.

Mrs. Powell, of Reigate, took the chair, and Mrs. Martell spoke. She told her audience of reforms carried in Australia by the pressure of the women's vote, and urged her audience to secure by any means in their power the enfranchisement of their sex. She spoke eloquently for an hour, and her audience, which numbered about 150, listened with great interest and appreciation. At the close, discussion being invited, questions were put, and Mr. Huckle, the Liberal agent, at some length combated Mrs. Martell's statements. She replied briefly, delighting her hearers with the force with which she dealt with objections.

At the close Mrs. Richmond moved, Miss Lavender seconded, and Mrs. Knight supported a vote of thanks to chairman and speaker, which was carried with acclamation.

Refreshments having been partaken of, the meeting closed—a meeting which had been felt by many to be a help and inspiration to them in their work on behalf of Women's Suffrage.

Some of the Organizations of Women who have Declared in Favour of Women's Suffrage.

110,000	National British Women's Temperance Association.
42,000	Scottish Christian Union of the British Women's Temperance Association.
86,000	Women's Liberal Federation.
15,000	Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.
	Many Women's Liberal Associations not in the Federation.
22,500	Women's Co-operative Guild.
68,000	Women engaged in the Textile Trades (by Petition).
3,000	Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council.
	Association of Head Mistresses (by resolution at Annual Conference, 1906).
1,500	Women Graduates at Universities (by Memorial, 1906).
	Incorporated Association of Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools (by resolution at Extraordinary General Meeting, 1906).
	Society of Registered Nurses
	Women's Industrial Council.
250	Women Journalists' Society.
250	Society of Women employed in bookbinding.
150	Smaller Unions of Women.
	National Union of Women Workers (comprising 140 Societies). (Largest Women's Society.)
2,000	Women's Social and Political Union.
25,000	Women's Franchise Declaration signatures. (March 2nd, 1907.)
800	Women engaged in Slipper Trade in Rossendale (by Petition).
4,250	Women Workers in Potteries, Staffordshire (by Petition).
2,000	Women Chain Makers, Cradley Heath (by Petition).
8,600	Women Tailoresses, Shirt Makers, &c., Manchester (by Petition).
400	Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association. (Largely of women.)
10,000 (over)	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (being over 100 Societies and Local Committees) in England and Scotland.
350	Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Suffrage Society.
	Hammersmith Women's Suffrage Society.

Some of the Organizations of MEN and WOMEN who have Declared in Favour of Women's Suffrage.

20,000	Independent Labour Party.
12,000	Municipal Employées' Association.
100,000	Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation.
5,250	Operative Bleachers', Dyers', &c., Association.
2,500	Leicester and Leicestershire Amalgamated Hosiery Union.
2,000	Amalgamated Felt Hat Trimmers', &c., Association.
1,600	Irish Textile Operatives' Union.
900	Fabian Society.
450	United Cigarette Makers and Tobacco Cutters' Union.
400	Irish Hemmers and Veiners' Trade Union.
400	Various smaller Unions of men and women.
1,500	General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers.
	Society for the State Registration of Nurses.
	Freedom of Labour Defence League.
12,000	Members of Lancashire and Cheshire Weavers' Unions carried ballots in favour of Women's Suffrage (Bolton, Hyde, Nelson, Haslingden, Clitheroe, and Colne).
257,000	Women of all Classes and Parties, signed an Appeal to Members of Parliament in 1896.

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 20,000l. 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.

NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE BY-ELECTION.

ALTHOUGH our attempt to defeat the Government in North-West Staffordshire was unsuccessful, we have the satisfaction of knowing that almost every man and woman in the districts in which we worked believes in "Votes for Women."

Mr. Stanley, the Liberal candidate, in his anxiety to parry our attack, did everything he could to persuade people that his election would be a step towards the enfranchisement of women. Indeed, one heard frequently the cry "Vote for Stanley and women will get votes." The point of argument therefore was narrowed down to this: would Mr. Stanley, if elected, be an ordinary Liberal member, acting at the bidding of the Government whips, or would he be a free agent, a Labour member rather than a Liberal.

The miners contended that, as the Miners' Federation were paying Mr. Stanley, they were not only bound to vote for him, but could control his action in Parliament. We, on the other hand, maintained that he was not only a miners' candidate, but also an official Liberal, and that we were accordingly bound to oppose his election.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Stanley contrived most cleverly to persuade the miners that he was a thorough-going Labour man and at the same time to persuade his middle-class supporters that he was a safe Liberal.

Mr. Stanley and his followers did not hesitate to use the weapon of misrepresentation against us. They recognized in us foes more dangerous than the others who were in the field against them, and they availed themselves of every possible means of nullifying our influence with the miners.

As will be seen from the extract from *The Morning Post* which appears below, this election has meant a decided advance in our position as a recognized political force in the country.

There are rumours of fresh parliamentary vacancies to occur in the near future. We shall be ready to fight these when the time comes.

I have to thank those of our members who came so willingly to the scene of action and worked so hard and well in the recent election. We are well on the way to having a band of election campaigners of which any political party might be proud. My experience in North-West Staffordshire has, if that were possible, strengthened my conviction that in our by-election policy of hostility towards the Government and neutrality towards every other political party, lies our strongest hope of winning the parliamentary vote for women.

CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

The Suffragist Ironsides.

(From the *Morning Post*, August 1st, by its Special N.W. Staffs. Election Correspondent).

If Mr. Stanley is the saint and Mr. Twyford the hero, the Suffragists are the politicians of the election... I confess that until I had seen the Suffragist Ironsides at work I thought the Tariff Reform Ruperts unsurpassed. The organization

of the Suffragists is as good as their political insight. They adopt the fan formation. They usually have three or four local centres in a scattered constituency. The members of each group in each centre live together, irrespective of class differences. It is a pleasure to see the fan opened, controlled, and swayed by the directing hand at the centre. Early in the morning, while men are sleeping or at the committee-rooms, a group of women will walk up the street of their centre. Their disposition in a local centre gives them unrivalled opportunities for acquiring local knowledge. At the cross roads of each centre each unit group becomes a fan itself. Each member takes a different road. Chalk in hand, each woman whilst going to one meeting makes the announcement of another.

The men usually hunt in couples. They do not care to face these hostile audiences single-handed. Each of these women as often as not tackles an audience alone. If combined hammering is necessary the central hand sends to the rescue. Their staying power, judging them by the standard of men, is extraordinary. By taking afternoon as well as evening meetings they have worked twice as hard as the men. They are up earlier; they retire just as late. Woman against man, they are better speakers, more logical, better informed, better phrased, with a surer instinct for the telling argument.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

DEAR MADAM,—When I received an invitation a little while back to a certain Women's Liberal party meeting, I accepted, thinking an opportunity might occur of speaking in some way on votes for women.

In the man's speech that we were invited to hear, the women present were urged and entreated by every means (excepting, of course, by voting themselves) to help the Liberal party now, and in any election that may occur. The speaker graciously informed us that he was in favour of Women's Suffrage; but he was most careful *not* to say one word about the Government's attitude towards the question.

After the speech I was asked to join this Women's Liberal (?) Society, and, of course, I refused to do so. As an inducement to alter my decision, one of the leading men present reminded me what a large number of Liberal M.P.s were in favour of Women's Suffrage. Naturally I remarked it had not been proved this was so. "Oh, you must wait," was the reply. "There are far more important measures to come first." "Yes," I said to myself; "there's manhood suffrage, through which the Liberal (?) party thinks it will always keep in power."

One of the chief women at this meeting said she did not consider it would be for the good of the Liberal party to give "votes to women."

Never before have I so keenly felt the absolute necessity for utmost perseverance in the "by-election" policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. PERSTO.

Scottish Notes.

THE Edinburgh branch again takes the premier place for its activities. Miss Murchison, who is acting for Mrs. Grant during the latter's well-earned holidays, reports a small but energetic branch meeting for the organization of the August outdoor campaign. Miss Munro, of Dunfermline, is to address the first meeting of the series. Miss Wilkie, Mrs. Sanderson, and Miss Fraser come between, and I take the final meeting.

A special visiting campaign has also been begun in Edinburgh. The first workers in the field are Miss Murchison and Miss Jacobs, who have commenced visiting sympathizers and absentee members on the north side of the city. They report good results. Subscriptions were received, collecting cards disposed of, and several new subscribers were obtained for *Women's Franchise*. One or two sympathetic men were persuaded to attempt the collecting of money for the Scottish Council funds.

From Edinburgh also we get the first three of the guarantors to whom we have appealed to enable us to open our Scottish office. Those who are willing to guarantee any sum, from 1l. upwards, towards the expense of opening such an office should not delay to inform us. We are very much crippled in our work at present because we have no official headquarters, no accommodation for callers, no centre for the sale of literature. An office in a central position in Glasgow would serve as an advertising centre, a social gathering place, a place for branch and council meetings, and ensure a certain increase in our membership and funds. I hope that when the Council meets again on September 7th, we shall have heard from a sufficient number of friends to make it possible for immediate steps to be taken to secure this necessary accommodation for the Union in Scotland.

Miss Fraser has had another busy week on the coast. On Monday and Tuesday she was at Greenock and Gourrock, but as the conditions were not propitious she crossed over on Wednesday to Millport on the Greater Cumbrae. Here she has broken the record by holding eleven meetings in four days. A fair amount of literature has been sold, there have been many enquiries from sympathizers who desire to renew their acquaintance with the "Suffragettes" on their return to the town or city, and some new members have been made.

During this week Miss Fraser will be on the Ayrshire coast, and I shall be in the Irvine valley in the interior of the same county. There are prospects of a great harvest for us in this district.

The Aberdeen suffragists hold another combined meeting, to deal with procession arrangements, this week. There seems every prospect of this national effort resulting in a great success. TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Powder and Shot.

HOW THE W.S.P.U. LITERATURE HAS SOLD.

No surer proof of the growing interest which is being taken in the subject of Woman's Suffrage can be given than the very rapid increase of sales which have been effected through the Literature Department of the Women's Social and Political Union. During the whole of the year 1906 those sales amounted to some 60l. But this figure for a whole year has been exceeded by the average sales for a single month in 1907.

The department is able to report that in the half year from January 1st to June 30th literature was sold to the value of 400l., representing over 75,000 pamphlets and other penny things and 5,000 books. In addition to this 200,000 free leaflets were distributed.

All this has been done entirely without trenching upon the funds of the Union. The department has paid all its own

expenses, including the rent of the room occupied by it in the Union's Offices in 4, Clements Inn, and still is able to report a balance on the right side as a result of the half year's work. This could not have been done but for the enthusiastic co-operation of large numbers of women who have volunteered to act as sellers and who have been indefatigable in finding purchasers.

ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE, &c., SOLD, JAN. 1st—JUNE 30th.

(Round figures are given, as the exact returns from Branches are not yet to hand).

One and One are Two (Zangwill)	6,000
Annie Kenney Pamphlet	5,000
Call to Women (Mrs. Pethick Lawrence) ..	3,000
Citizenship of Women (Keir Hardie)	3,000
Facts behind the Press (Mrs. Budgett) ..	3,000
Women's Franchise (Mrs. Elmy)	3,000
Women's Vote in Australia (Mrs. Martel) ..	3,000
Talked Out (Zangwill)	2,500
Women's Vote in America (Mrs. Borrmann Wells)	2,000
Women's Suffrage (Johnston)	2,000
Women's Suffrage (Cholmeley)	1,500
Picture Postcards	23,000
Labour Record and Review	6,000
Other Newspapers	1,500
Button Badges	10,000
	<hr/>
	75,500

Miscellaneous Pamphlets, &c.	1,000
Woman: a few Shrieks (Miss Constance Smedley)	1,000
Towards Woman's Liberty (Mrs. Billington-Greig)	1,000
Women and Economics (Mrs. Gillman) ..	900
Subjection of Women (Mill)	500
Awakening of Women (Mrs. Swiney)	200
Influence of Women (Buckle)	200
Reformer's Year Book	250
Miscellaneous.	1,100
	<hr/>
	5,150

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the sales during July have been a record, eclipsing the highest figure reached by any previous month.

Contributions to the £20,000 Fund

From July 29th to Aug. 2nd.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	2263 16 8	Miss Campbell-Lang	0 2 0
Miss Florence Bradford	0 5 0	Miss Marie D. Lewenz	0 10 0
Miss Gentle	0 8 4	Miss Edith Burgis	0 10 0
Anon.	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Pankhurst	0 10 0
West Hartlepool Branch	1 0 0	Sir J. S. Randles	1 0 0
W.S.P.U.	0 5 0	Col. Linley Blathwayt	1 0 0
Miss Hilda Dainty	0 2 6	Miss Janet E. Coates	0 5 0
Miss Bidwell	1 0 0	Miss Mary MacNaughton	0 3 6
Miss Florence Haig	5 12 6	Guarantee Fund	0 14 4
Mrs. McLeod	0 5 0	Darlington Branch W.S.P.U. ..	0 1 6
C. L.	2 0 0	Collections, &c.	8 0 5
Miss M. W. Verrall	0 10 0		
Miss Abraham	1 0 0	Total	£2293 14 3
Bournemouth Suffrage	2 12 0		
Mrs. and the Misses Auld	1 10 0		

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From August 8th to August 15th.

			P. M.
Thur.	Liverpool, "Picton Cloek" Wavertree	Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Hillier, Mrs. Farrer, Miss Marks	8
Fri.	Old Church Road, Stepney	Mrs. Baldock,	8
Sun.	London, Hyde Park	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	3
	London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Baldock	3.30
Tues.	Liverpool, 6, Colquitt Street	Branch Meeting	8
Wed.	Paddington, junction, Elgin Avenue, and Waltherton Road	Open Air Meeting	8
	Putney, Montserrat Road	Mrs. Borrmann Wells	8

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Our Friends in Manchester.

WE have received from Mr. Sam Brooks, who is acting in the capacity of a local representative of the Men's League in Manchester, cuttings of a number of interesting letters which have appeared during the last few weeks in the Manchester press. Mr. Brooks has done excellent service to the League by drawing attention to its existence and its aims; and we cordially commend to our members all over the country this method of propagandist work. The success which has attended the work done by Mr. Brooks in this way is already most gratifying.

We have also to thank Mrs. Darlington for the successful efforts she has made in bringing in new members. During the last few days the central office of the League has received a number of communications from sympathizers in Manchester and the surrounding district, and several men have formally joined the League. We are glad to find that among these new members are several gentlemen prominent in university and other educational circles. There is good reason for hoping that before very long a strong and active branch will be formed in the district—a district famous in the past for its enthusiastic work in the cause of progress.

Mr. Brooks will be glad to hear from any Manchester men who are inclined to help in the work, and in the meantime we shall be glad to register members at the head office. Mr. Brooks's address is 5, Hill Street, Radcliffe, near Manchester.

Bradford Men's League.

WE have great pleasure in printing the following letter received from Mr. Arthur Craven, the secretary of the Bradford Men's League for Women's Suffrage, in response to our request for news of the progress of the movement in the provinces:—

DEAR SIR,—As I understand you desire all possible information on the various aspects of the Women's Suffrage movement, I take the liberty of sending you a few particulars as to the Bradford Men's League for Women's Suffrage. On Feb. 16th I contributed a letter to *The Yorkshire Daily Observer*, in which I suggested the formation of men's organizations to help forward the women's movement. I was quite unaware at the time that the formation of a Men's League in London was evidently in contemplation. However, hearing afterwards of the existence of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, I wrote for particulars, which were courteously supplied. On May 16th a Bradford Men's League for Women's Suffrage was formed, and it was afterwards decided that for the time being there should be no official connexion with the London organization, but that there should be co-operation in any cases mutually decided on.

As a result of a challenge made to the Social Democratic Federation, a debate took place on June 15th between the Bradford Men's League for Women's Suffrage and the Bradford Branch of the S.D.F. on the subject: 'Should the Workers support the present Women's Suffrage Movement?' The meeting was well attended, and an animated debate and discussion took place in which about eighteen persons took part.

Wishing *Women's Franchise* every success,
I am, yours faithfully,

Bradford.

ARTHUR CRAVEN.

We warmly congratulate Mr. Craven on the foundation of the Bradford League. Frankly we regret in theory its decision to remain for the present a separate organization. At the same time we have no doubt that this decision has been arrived at after due consideration of all the conditions, local and otherwise. It is, moreover, of great significance that the Bradford League, as Mr. Craven specially points out, regards it as being part of its policy to take combined action with the central organization in the event of any special emergency.

To all intents and purposes, therefore, we can count upon

the support of three branch societies in three very different districts. This means a great deal. It means in the first place that active efforts are being made in widely removed areas which the Central Society is necessarily unable to canvass effectively. In the second place it means that, instead of having only isolated individuals all looking to Museum Street as their only headquarters, and therefore unable to derive encouragement and support from personal discussion, these members are enabled to meet frequently, and thus to exercise a steady and organized pressure on public opinion in their several neighbourhoods. This is a matter of great importance in the spread of a movement like this, the principal problem of which is to overcome the passive resistance of indifference and ridicule. The solitary sentinel is replaced by a society which by the mutual support of its members exercises a force greater than the aggregate of the forces of its component units.

We append a brief summary of the opening speech delivered by Mr. Craven at the debate between representatives of the Bradford Branch of the Social Democratic Federation and the Bradford Men's League.

Should the Workers Support the Women's Suffrage Movement?

AN extremely interesting debate on the above subject took place in Bradford on June 15th, between representatives of the Bradford Men's League for Women's Suffrage and the Bradford branch of the Social Democratic Federation. The following is a brief *résumé* of the speech in the affirmative delivered by Mr. Arthur Craven.

His arguments were based on the two theses that workers should support the Suffrage movement on the ground of justice, and that the enfranchisement of women will be for the benefit of the nation. Dealing with the first point Mr. Craven said:—

"Men and women alike have to obey the laws, and men and women alike should help to make them. Men and women alike are rational beings, and men and women alike should choose their representatives. Men in the past, in virtue of their superior strength, have secured the reins of government, and custom founded on this injustice has blinded both men and women to the fact that the sexes have an equal moral right to political representation. Therefore, even if it could be proved that the workers as a class would not reap any particular advantage, yet it is their duty to see that political equality is established between the sexes."

Mr. Craven proceeded to deal with the recent history of the movement towards political equality, and very skilfully illustrated his argument by the fact that the abolition of slavery in the colonies was based, and is still justified, mainly on moral grounds. He then dealt with the utilitarian aspect of the case, and pointed out the close analogy which exists between the State and the family.

"In the family the infant must be cared for, its actions must be guided by the mother, and up to a certain stage its life must be dominated by the will of its parents. Eventually, in order to secure full individual development, and so that he may become physically and mentally self-reliant, the child must be thrown on his own resources, and the thinking which was performed by the parent must be undertaken by the child. In the case of organized society the unity of the savage tribe is secured by the control of a chief possessing superior strength of mind and body. As the people advance, however, complete control by an individual is considered neither desirable nor just. . . . In the later stages there can be no real political soundness and no true political advancement without a recognition of the democratic principle. . . . But there cannot be a genuine democracy unless all the people are represented, and all the people cannot be represented if one-half—viz., the women—are excluded. It

therefore follows that the workers who believe in the truth of the democratic principle should support female representation."

Dealing with the comparative claims of women's and adult suffrage from the democratic standpoint, the speaker then showed conclusively that a belief in the importance of adult suffrage does not logically exclude the enfranchisement of women on the existing electoral basis. If we assumed—which is not demonstrated—that the enfranchisement of women on the existing system would mean merely the establishment of a new privilege and an increase of the property vote, still that would be no argument against an act of justice. Take an analogous case. If, for example, schoolmasters as a class were at present excluded, would it be rational or fair to postpone the removal of such an injustice because it did not mean adult suffrage? Schoolmasters might well say, "We have waited long enough. If there are franchise privileges, we are as much entitled to them as any other class." Therefore, continued the speaker, the women likewise should say, "Criminality or insanity may be a sufficient disqualification for the vote, but womanhood—never!"

Let the adult suffragist take to himself the following parable. Once upon a time there lived two brothers whose surname was Suffrage. The Christian name of the one was Adult and that of the other was Women's. They bore a strong family likeness, and should have been good friends, but if they set out together to reach a certain place they could not agree to go on the same road. On one occasion they set out together until they came to a deep stream. On the opposite side was a pleasant-looking field called Universal Suffrage, which they both wished to reach. But the waters of prejudice which flowed between the bank on which they were standing and the bank opposite were muddy and wide.

In the middle of the stream was a stepping stone called "Votes for Women," but Adult Suffrage said he would jump across the water at one bound instead of leaping on to the stepping stone first. Suiting the action to the word, he made the attempt, but found the stream too wide, and was soon floundering in the water. Women's Suffrage was wiser. He made a leap for the stone called "Votes for Women," which he reached in safety, and then with another spring he reached the field.*

Correspondence.

The Average Man.

["An Average Man" has roused many of our friends to a condition of mind verging on indignation. To judge from the number and the tenor of replies we have received it would seem that his letter really does voice the opinion held by many of those whom our friends have endeavoured to convert. Frankly we disagree with "Average Man," and though we recognize that much of what he said was probably intended as a provocative, we fully understand the basis of his "oxymoron" logic, and we thank him for stating his case in so clear and competent a manner. That we are giving a good deal of space to the replies is due not to a desire to "show him under," but to the recognition of the fact that his carefully stated arguments demand careful refutation. The methods adopted to this end by our several correspondents of the present issue (we do not wholly agree with all of them) deserve careful study by all who are engaged in enthusiastic propagandist work. It is the duty of all such to weigh carefully not only the arguments and prejudices of opponents, but also to select and test the very language of their replies. Ill-considered enthusiasm and irrelevant sentiment are not only wasted but positively pernicious. To those

* It must be clearly understood that neither the Editor of *Women's Franchise* nor the Men's League for Women's Suffrage is in any way responsible for the views above expressed in so far as they affect adult suffrage. The Men's League has no concern with the propriety of the present franchise system. It merely asserts that on this or any other basis there is no justification for the maintenance of sex privilege. We are glad to publish Mr. Craven's parable, inasmuch as it provides a cogent reproof to those who, being dissatisfied with our present franchise, illogically decline to aid in the removal of what is even from his own standpoint its most glaring absurdity.—Ed.

who condemn all women as sentimental and illogical, the least divergence from sober truth is the occasion of an "I told you so," and possibly a very David lost to the cause.

We must apologise to others whose letters we are compelled to hold over. We hope to publish their communications next week.]

SIR,—I think we may take it for granted from his letter that "The Average Man" has no opinions, but simply prejudices and indefinite fears about anything like change at all—even a change for good. He says that thousands of men are like him—that they don't care whether a thing is good or not, all they want is to be left alone and to be comfortable.

Well, the great question is, Are they always comfortable? Is everything always all right for them? If it is not, do they not take steps to make things more satisfactory? and I conclude that under existing circumstances the steps they take are to combine, and by their votes choose such men to represent them as will alter what is troubling their general content and comfort. Now what is uncomfortable for the average man is uncomfortable for the average woman, and if the average woman had equal powers to voice the particular grievance, the thing would be altered twice as quickly.

I believe even the average man has a sense of fair play besides common sense. Common sense says "two heads are better than one," and fair play says if two people are suffering equally under any particular grievance they should both have a voice in deciding the best way to alter that grievance.

The average man must bring his common sense to bear upon the subject, and get it out of his head that women are angels or some sort of different creation to himself. The world is made up of average women as well as average men, and the average woman will vote as does the average man—that is, to have things fairly comfortable all round. If they vote more eagerly on those questions that more nearly touch women, surely in that there is nothing to frighten any man, especially as the balance will be kept true by an equal number of men voting on questions that more especially touch men.

I think it is rather absurd of the average man to plead ignorance at this time of day on the subject of how women would vote. He has only to look up the official Parliamentary books of Australia and New Zealand. He will find that equal voting powers have brought about much-needed reforms more quickly, and, for all we hear, the average men and women are just as comfortable, happy, and domesticated as ever. This may go some way to calming his fears, and prevent him, through want of knowledge, recording his vote against those human beings on whom in his early life he is entirely dependent, and on whom in his later life he greatly depends for his happiness and comfort.

I believe that the average man is the man to recognise and admit the "mother spirit" in woman. Let him be convinced that that "mother spirit" will never work against, but ever for, his interest, and knowing this, and remembering it always, he will be more no afraid.

Yours, &c.,

ALICE TOYNE.

2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C., July 26th.

SIR,—The letter of "An Average Man" which you published last week undoubtedly sets forth the views of a large section of the community upon the question of the emancipation of women. I think, however, that the writer overlooks another element in the nature of the average man which makes him a greater obstacle to the cause than even his supposed anxiety as to consequences. I mean that this gentleman, when at last convinced that a reform is due, seldom takes any active part in bringing about its consummation, and it is the dead weight of his indifference that so often retards progress. However, the friends of women cannot bear the average man any real ill-will; he at least does nothing to actively oppose them, and he never approves of the coarseness and vulgarity which characterize some of our opponents. But, on the whole, the average man is kind to women, so that perhaps he may be won over to their cause more readily than to any other; and when this does happen nothing will be able to resist the movement.

HERBERT JACOBS.

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