

Women's Franchise.

No. 3.

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Contents.

	PAGE
PHYSICAL STRENGTH	33
JOHN BROWN AND COMMON SENSE	33
'ROBIN ADAIR'	33
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES—(Quarterly Council Meeting; Llandudno Branch; Mark Twain on Women's Suffrage; Central Society) ..	34—35
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION—(The Movement Week by Week; London and Provincial Branches; A New Venture; Scottish Notes; Meeting at Streatham; Treasurer's Note; Forthcoming Events) ..	36—38
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE	39—40
MEETING AT HAMPSTEAD	41—42

Physical Strength.

READING *Women's Franchise* of July 11th it became evident that the statement that women are physically inferior to men needs some explanation.

One of the most remarkable features of the physical inferiority of women is that it is so universal that many women, blinded by familiarity, actually fail to recognize it, just as one frequently fails to hear the ticking of a clock. Perhaps the simplest way to convince them is to ask this question, If the average man had to pass through the experience of the average married woman for two years would he consider himself in health? In my opinion he would imagine himself a chronic invalid.

The confusion really arises through woman's capacity to work. Women have the capacity to continue working while in a state of health which would completely incapacitate the average man. But the ability to work is not the test of physical superiority or inferiority.

This physical inferiority of women is part of the price she has had to pay for her subjection to man. That this is so is shown by the fact that, great as is the variety in the animal kingdom, it is only among human beings that we find a relatively weak female economically dependent on a male. It is true that some females are fed by the males, but only for a short time while the care of the young absorbs all the mother's attention. At other times the female, like the male, roams abroad in search of her own food, and is as strong and capable as the male—indeed a lioness or a tigress is generally more to be feared than a lion or a tiger. This physical inferiority is one of the many evils that will be slowly eliminated when woman establishes her position as man's social co-equal.

This will be recognized when we consider the circumstances which have led up to woman's present position. What has been the man's ideal woman in the past? Has he considered that robust physical health is indispensable for motherhood?

Keats's picture of woman as "a milk-white lamb bleating for man's protection" sums up in brief the tragedy of womanhood and man's false ideal which has been foolishly worshipped. For generations the charming, feeble, neurotic, languishing young lady has been selected for replenishing the race.

But much as man liked the milk-white lamb, he wanted her to do his work, he made her do his work, with the result that only those survived who had great powers of endurance, and were capable of continuing to work in a state of semi-health.

It rests for the women of the future to educate man to be less sentimental, to teach him that pity for weakness should not be allowed to run into love, to worship health rather than disease, and so to bring into existence a race of women who shall be the physical equals of men.

ETHEL WALKER.

John Brown and Common Sense.

WE have sung 'Rise up Women!' to the tune of 'John Brown,' and most of us know that John Brown gave up his life in a great fight for freedom, for the freedom of the slave. We who are taking a part in the other great fight for freedom might gain much by studying his experience. He did nothing rashly, he made an accurate forecast of future events, and prepared himself for the inevitable. The man of action promptly became a student, and we find that: "He read alike of the guerilla warfare of Spain and the Caucasus, and could discuss aptly the movements of the Haytian freedom as well as the marching manœuvres of the European armies. John Brown equipped his brain as well as his conscience." He visited every battlefield of note in Europe, made plans of the fortifications to which he could gain access. In short he made an elaborate study of what he foresaw would be his needs. As a result, when he set out to "destroy the money value of slave property" his attack on Harper's Ferry reduced the value of Virginian slave property by ten million dollars.

We have started on a fight, a greater fight than John Brown attempted. His aim was to secure freedom for a few million slaves, to abolish a custom of recent growth. We have set ourselves the task of freeing half the human race, of abolishing the firmly established customs of ages. But few of us see what we have to go through, what is to be accomplished. Even in this preliminary skirmish for the franchise, we are encountering obstacles discreditable alike to men and women. What shall we encounter then in the larger fight? What shall we endure before that time when "Free and equal men and women greet domestic peace."

While carrying on this preliminary work for the vote we must not lose sight of the larger issue and, still more important, we want to be arming for the struggle to come. The vote is a tool, a two-edged tool. It is the sword with which we can carve out our freedom. It is a weapon of unknown power. It is the weapon with which the great fight is to be fought. We must study its use, we must go over the great battlefields of the past, we must follow the methods of the great political generals.

Air: 'ROBIN ADAIR.'

What 's this dark world to me ?	Have I not wrought and wrought
Labour and care.	With all my heart ?
Why has life come to be	Have I not bravely sought
Pain and despair ?	To do my part ?
I who 'mid toil give birth	When I was left in need,
Unto the sons of earth,	With little babes to feed,
What makes my labour worth	Did not my fingers bleed]
Half of man's share ?	Plying my art ?

Lo! there within me lies]
Half of God's will :
From my long sleep I rise
Now to fulfil :
Wisdom and power men lack,
Nothing can hold me back ;
I learnt on Slavery's rack
Endurance still.

KATHLEEN E. ROY ROTHWELL.

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.

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.

Hon. Secretaries: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. MISS FRANCES STERLING.

Parliamentary and Organising Secretary: MISS EDITH PALLISER.

Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Telephone: 1900 VICTORIA.

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

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

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON
THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR
MISS FLORENCE BARGAINIE
MRS. ALLAN BRIGIT

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

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

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Quarterly Council Meeting.

THE Quarterly Council Meeting of the Union was held on Tuesday, July 9th, in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, Cambridge. A large number of delegates were present from the following branches:—Barnsley, Birkenhead, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bradford, Bristol, Bucks, Cambridge, Cheltenham, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Huddersfield, Hull, Leamington, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Llandudno, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oxford, Warrington, Whitby, York, and the agenda placed before them for consideration was of an unusually interesting character.

MORNING SITTING.

The chair was occupied by Mrs. Fawcett, who, in her opening address, commented upon the fact that Norway had so soon followed the example of Finland in granting the Parliamentary Suffrage to women. Amongst other satisfactory features mentioned were the return of Mr. Curran for Jarrow, the formation of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and the usefulness of the experience of election work gained in the late contest at Wimbledon.

The invitation of Miss Ashton, on behalf of the North of England branch, to the Council to meet in Manchester at the time of the meeting of the National Union of Women Workers in October next, was accepted.

An amendment to Standing Orders of the Council, viz., "That the proceedings of the Council shall not be open to reporters; an official report of the proceedings shall be made and shall be forwarded at once to the Press and subsequently to the secretaries of each Society," was carried unanimously.

Miss Mason (treasurer) gave an account of the Wimbledon by-election as follows: "It is a very interesting story. Owing to the resignation of the sitting Conservative member in April last, a by-election became necessary. Mr. Henry Chaplin was chosen as candidate. On the Liberals deciding not to run a candidate, a board appeared over the Conservative rooms, 'To let.' The Executive Committee of the Union met on May 1st, and the whole situation was carefully discussed. We came to the conclusion that, however difficult the conditions, however unfavourable the constituency—and indeed it was all this—a firm opponent of Women's Suffrage must not be allowed to be returned to Parliament unopposed. If nothing else were done, he should fight for his seat. If no other candidate favourable to Women's Suffrage were forthcoming, the moment had arrived for the National Union to place a candidate in the field. The next step was to find the candidate. Mr. Bertrand Russell, one of your own Committee, consented to contest the seat on behalf of the National Union. The fact that he was ready to champion our cause put heart into the Committee and into the workers. The time was very short; there was not a fortnight before the polling day. Arrangements were made with all speed, an appeal for funds issued on the spur of the moment, and an election agent found. Mr. Russell's committee rooms were opened two days later.

"It is only those who worked through this Wimbledon election who can in the least understand the difficulties which had to be surmounted. I will put before you a picture. A straggling county constituency fifteen miles long, 23,664 electors, 5,000 of whom were out-voters. The removals had to be traced, meetings had to be arranged, and all done in eight days, excluding Sundays, with practically no previous organization, with no official party or local official support. By picturing this, you will get some faint conception of the situation, and also of the almost insurmountable difficulties to be faced. The report which appeared, that 1,000 women had arrived in the field, only increased the difficulties; it was, of course, understood that no further help was required, whereas our efforts were most seriously handicapped by the lack of workers.

"The ignorance in regard to the question of Women's Suffrage was simply appalling; the bulk of the electors knew little or nothing about it, while those who had given some consideration to the subject were, at the beginning of the campaign at all events, mostly antagonistic. Many men who felt theoretically that they might be in favour of unmarried women being enfranchised, were terrified at the thought of their wives having a vote. In spite of all these difficulties, we fought that fight to a finish. Many who thought in the first instance it was simply a huge joke, came to the conclusion that we were in dead earnest. The courage and self-sacrifice and spirit of the candidate and his wife—(applause)—and of the noble band of workers never failed. When once the machinery got into motion work went on apace.

"The Suffrage workers were reinforced by workers from other Societies, from the Women's Liberal Federation, the Artists' League, &c. The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations sent their organizer. There was much to cheer and encourage. Our own workers came from almost every part of the country—Edinburgh, Newcastle, Bristol, Hull, Manchester, &c. The canvassing was done almost entirely by women, for while we must acknowledge the help given by many individual men, we had mainly to rely on our own efforts. Amongst other pleasing features was the fact that two aged ladies over eighty were to be found working in the election, and they spurred others on to greater efforts. A band of workers was out as early as 5 o'clock in the morning to catch the men going by the workmen's trains. Literature was distributed in this way and information given. Meetings were held indoors and out of doors all over the constituency. Members of Parliament came to help in the speaking, and there was no lack of help in this direction. A visible change came over the scene, and many people who came to wonder stayed to listen. Jokes and horse-play, which were a feature of the campaign at the beginning, ceased absolutely, a respectful hearing was given to the speakers, especially to those who dealt with the question of Women's Suffrage.

"One of the most encouraging features of this election was the extraordinary response to the appeal for funds. Within ten days of the appeal which went to the country, 1,400l. was in the hands of your treasurer. Not only did money literally flow in, it was accompanied by letters of appreciation and admiration for the step taken.

Mark Twain on Women's Suffrage.

THERE seems to be a conspiracy of silence in the London daily press on the subject of Women's Suffrage. The recent victory in Norway was noted in a three-line telegram in *The Times* and some other papers, but all particulars over and above the bare fact have to be gleaned by those who are fighting the battle for the Suffrage in England from private letters and foreign newspapers. Again, we are informed from private sources that during his visit to England Mr. Deakin, the Prime Minister of Australia, seldom spoke in public without bearing testimony to the good results of Women's Suffrage in the Commonwealth; but these passages in his speeches seem to have entirely escaped the attention of the reporters.

Another distinguished visitor has just left us—Mark Twain. All the papers have vied with one another in the cordiality of their welcome, and in this they duly reflected the feeling of the public. All details, public and private, of his career have been underlined, from the colour of his clothes to his honourable conduct in regard to certain financial obligations. But one thing about him which interests a steadily and rapidly increasing number of men and women has never been mentioned, namely, that he is a warm supporter of Women's Suffrage.

In 'More Tramps Abroad,' published in 1895, he records his visit to New Zealand at the time of an election, in which both men and women were voting, and he says, "A feature of the election was the orderliness and sobriety of the people. Women were in no way molested. At home a standing argument against Woman Suffrage has always been that women could not go to the polls without being insulted. The arguments against Woman Suffrage have always taken the form of prophecy. The prophets have been prophesying ever since the Woman's Rights movement began in 1848, and in forty-seven years they have never scored a hit.

"Men ought to begin to feel a sort of respect for their mothers, and wives, and sisters by this time. The women deserve a change of attitude like that, for they have wrought well. In forty-seven years they have swept an imposingly large number of unfair laws from the statute books of America. In this brief time these serfs have set themselves free—essentially. Men could not have done as much for themselves in that time without bloodshed—at least, they never have, and that is an argument that they didn't know how. The women have accomplished a peaceful revolution and a very beneficent one, and yet that has not convinced the average man that they are intelligent and have courage, and energy, and perseverance, and fortitude... In the New Zealand law occurs this: 'The word person wherever it occurs throughout the Act includes woman.' That is promotion, you see. By that enlargement of the word, the matron with garnered wisdom and experience of fifty years becomes at one jump the political equal of her callow kid of twenty-one."

Miss Harris (Warwick and Leamington) hoped we might have the opportunity of repeating the experiment.

Mrs. Fawcett proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Russell from the Council Meeting for the great self-sacrifice which he showed in coming forward as our candidate on that occasion. This was carried by acclamation, all present rising from their seats.

Mr. Russell thanked the meeting very warmly for the vote of thanks. He was glad indeed to have done anything to earn it, and hoped the same policy would be pursued in the future.

Miss Sterling briefly reported upon other work of the Executive Committee. The Artists' League had been formed, over 70 members of which had voluntarily offered to help in propaganda. Many valuable posters had been sent by the League to Wimbledon, and other assistance was promised.

The Council adjourned from 1 o'clock till 2.15.

(To be concluded.)

LLANDUDNO BRANCH.

By the invitation of the committee of the above branch a gathering of members and friends took place on the 5th instant at Llwyn Onn, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, the veteran Irish workers for Women's Suffrage. Miss Walton Evans presided. Mr. Haslam dealt in a vigorous and interesting way with the usual objections to Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Haslam gave an interesting account of the Irish society of which she is the secretary, and showed the advantage of having combined women's local government work with the suffrage work. She described some curious anomalies in the working of the lodger vote, and showed the necessity of being very wide-awake to secure registration. The fact that Mrs. Haslam is one of those who signed John Stuart Mill's petition to Parliament for Women's Suffrage in 1866, adds to her most interesting personality.

There is no room in our dailies for the views of our distinguished visitor on one of the most important topics of the day; but columns are occupied by the strange news that we have had a cold, wet summer, that Harrow has won the cricket match, or that Leander was beaten at Henley by the Belgians.

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

CENTRAL SOCIETY.

On July 25th, Lady Gibb, Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon, is giving a Women's Suffrage evening garden party, for which 1,000 invitations have been issued. Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Philip Snowden, and others are expected to speak.

An open-air meeting will be held by the North Kensington Local Committee of the Central Society on Friday, July 26th, at 8.15 P.M., at the corner of Archer Street and Westbourne Grove. Speakers: Mr. H. Y. Stanger, K.C., M.P., Mrs. Sennett, Miss Edith Palliser, Mr. John E. Raphael.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Social and Political Union.

Organizers: MRS. MARTEL. MISS A. KENNEY. MISS M. E. GAWTHORPE. MRS. BALDOCK. MRS. DRUMMOND. MISS A. PANKHURST.

The Movement Week by Week.

COLNE VALLEY ELECTION.

THE Colne Valley campaign is most promising. While our meetings are in progress other politicians cannot get an audience, because both men and women refuse to be drawn away from our platform. The Liberals declare that it is not fair that they should be prevented from getting a hearing.

The Morning Post says:—"The Suffragists are practised speakers, and have the knack of attracting and holding crowds."

The North of England newspapers are giving a considerable amount of attention to our doings in the constituency, and all the press correspondents admit the popularity of our cause.

The constituency is a large and straggling one, a great part of it consisting of uninhabited moorland.

Most of the organizers are taking part in the election, and several members of the Union are spending their holidays there.

Meetings for women are held daily, and the local women are overjoyed that the W.S.P.U. is fighting in their interest.

The courtesy and sympathy displayed by the working men is remarkable, and there is good reason to hope that the Government nominee will be defeated.

WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

It is now practically certain that this measure will be carried by the House of Lords. What its fate may be in the House of Commons it is impossible to say at present, though it is probable that the Prime Minister will try to find time to carry it through all its stages in the Commons in order not to offend too greatly the Liberal women.

Women Suffragists, in addition to being glad of the addition which this Bill makes to the civic rights of women, have reason to rejoice that where it is carried, nothing other than the Parliamentary franchise itself, will remain to be offered to them as a compromise. The fact that the House of Lords has accepted the principle of the Bill means a great tactical advantage to us, because it destroys one of the excuses made by the Liberal Party for not introducing a Women's Suffrage Bill. Liberals have often told us that for the Government to introduce a Women's Suffrage Bill would be a waste of time, because the House of Lords would certainly reject the measure. Henceforward we shall be able to reply to this that facts go to show that the House of Lords would take more kindly to Women's Suffrage than to most of the matters which find a place on the programme of the present Government.

THE PROSPECT OF ELECTORAL REFORM.

The three-cornered elections which have taken place recently have brought into prominence the question of the second ballot. The Prime Minister, replying to a question by Mr. Dunn, M.P., as to whether he would consider the advisability of legislation, said that this matter "will no doubt receive due consideration when the time arrives for dealing with the matters affecting our electoral system (and there are many) which stand in need of change." This reply is a warning—if one were needed—that we must make increasing effort to obtain the removal of sex disability, so that, before the whole constitution is thrown into the melting pot, the political position of women may be absolutely secure. It will be interesting to see the Prime Minister's reply to Mr. Snowden's question as to his intentions concerning Women's Suffrage.

THE PLEDGES OF PRIVATE MEMBERS.

Those who believe that to secure the presence in the House of Commons of private members who are pledged in favour of our cause will suffice to bring about the enfranchisement of women will surely feel their confidence shaken when they reflect upon the fact that 95 Liberal members who had given unconditional pledges to vote for the abolition of the sugar duty, went into the division lobby against the proposal for the reduction of that duty by one half. If pledges made to electors are so readily broken at the command of the party leaders, it is surely quite obvious that pledges made to women will be far more readily broken.

OPINION IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

Miss Jessie Spink, who is spending her holiday near Taunton, in Somerset, reports that the people in that district are most friendly to our movement, and to its advocates. A village postman, a recipient of our leaflets, exclaimed: "If you are one of those good women you must let me shake hands with you."

As the holiday season advances most of our members and friends will be going into country districts, and we shall be delighted to furnish them with leaflets and other literature if they will be so good as to distribute it in the districts which they visit. In this way we shall be able to sow seed in parts of the country hitherto unvisited. When we consider that a general election is possible before another year is over it is easy to see how very important it is that we should avail ourselves of all opportunities of spreading a knowledge of our movement everywhere.

Much good can be done at seaside towns. There are gathered together people from all parts of the country who may be drawn into the movement, and who, when they return to their homes, will be able to play the part of missionaries. In addition to the visitors there are the residents, who, being in many cases people of leisure, can, if they will, do much for the movement. My visit to Bournemouth last week confirmed me in my belief that the people living comfortable, prosperous lives in such places can be roused to interest themselves in a movement which will do so much to improve the condition of women less fortunate.

"SKIRMISHING SCOUTS."

The London members who have bicycles are forming themselves into a cycle brigade for the purpose of carrying on propaganda in country districts.

"Methods of real military warfare are to be adopted by the Suffragettes. From to-day onwards the 'Skirmishing Scouts' of the main army will be a force to be reckoned with. Into remote villages and hamlets will now be carried the 'Votes for Women' movement. . . . Each week country places in which, probably, nothing has been previously heard of the votes for women agitation will be visited. The large red banner emblazoned with the familiar Suffragette war cry will be unfurled and the little band will arouse the rustic inhabitants by the clanging of specially procured handbells and the tooting of the more sonorous cycling horn. At the village green speakers will deliver addresses."—*Daily News*.

London cyclists who are willing to help in this work will please write to Mrs. Drummond at 4, Clements Inn.

CANVASS OF WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS.

The campaign in Paddington is still proceeding. A very important part of the work is the canvass of women householders. The canvassers are very well received by the women whom they visit. The plan of canvassing women householders might with great advantage be adopted by all our branches. If we could show that the majority of women householders will demand the vote we should have a very strong argument. C. H. P.

London Branches.

THE suggestion of a gathering of members of the W.S.P.U. for a day in the country on July 27th has met with general favour, and it seems likely that Mrs. Despard, who has so kindly offered her garden at Oxshott for the occasion, will welcome a large number of guests. Those who can spare the whole day will go down by the 10.17 from Waterloo, which stops at Vauxhall and Clapham Junction, and the rest of the party by either the 1.37 or 2.15. Cheap day return tickets at 1s. 7d. can be obtained by asking for them at any of the booking offices.

Open-air meetings seem to be the order of the day just now, and good reports of the same are received from "Battersea," "Lewisham," "Hammersmith," and "Harrow Road." The last is in connexion with the special work now going on of canvassing women municipal voters in Mr. Chiozza Money's constituencies. Helpers have responded well to the call, but more are needed. Mrs. Arnelife Sennett's speech at the last meeting was listened to with close attention by men and women, and, judging by the applause at the close, was much appreciated.

A garden party on July 10th at the house of Mrs. Martin, Park Road, Wallington, has resulted in the formation of the Wallington branch, and it is hoped that after the summer holidays its membership will rapidly increase and become active in propaganda work of all kinds.

"Hampstead" reports the "record Suffrage meeting for the Northern suburb" on July 9th. Those who feared it might prove too late in the season for an indoor meeting must have been agreeably surprised to see the large hall packed, some even having to stand, and apparently quite content to do so, the whole evening. A report of the speeches will be found in another column.

The Tottenham branch meetings have hitherto taken place at the houses of various members in turn; but last Thursday an open meeting was held in the High Cross Institute, and the following resolution carried unanimously: "That this meeting is of opinion that women as well as men should have a voice in the making of the laws they are expected to obey." The promoters of the meeting were so encouraged by its success that they will arrange for a similar meeting to be held fortnightly, beginning the first week in September. In the meantime it is hoped some garden meetings may be held.

"Battersea" reports that during the absence of the hon. secretary for a few weeks her place will be taken by Mrs. Duval, 37, Park Road, Wandsworth Common. Branch meetings in the Public Library, Lavender Hill, will, during the summer, alternate with meetings in the Falcon Road on Friday evenings.

A visitor to Canning Town tells of how her feeling of depression, as she passed through miles and miles of dreary buildings, and noted the dull, care-worn faces of those hurrying through the streets, looking too pre-occupied with the worries and torments of life's struggle for existence to stop a moment and consider whether a remedy might not be found for their troubles, was turned to one of hope when, arriving at her destination, the gates of a large mat factory, she found both the girl and women workers ready to postpone rest and food and listen to the new doctrine of equal rights for men and women, and to show by their intelligent and sympathetic remarks that they were ready for the good seed. The same speaker reports that it was delightful at the branch meeting in the evening to see the care-worn faces lighted up with smiles and enthusiasm, and that the hearty singing of the suffrage songs and general intelligence and interest shown by the audience in the speaker's remarks sent her back to her home in a far more hopeful frame of mind than she had journeyed down earlier in the day. C. H.

A New Venture.

A LIBRARY relative to the women's movement is to be formed for the use of W.S.P.U. members and friends, and we appeal to all interested to give us support in money, books, and suggestions. We should like Susan B. Anthony's life to be the first volume in the library. Will any one present this?

All communications to be addressed to the librarians at the office, 4, Clements Inn.

Provincial Branches.

THE branches at Preston and Rochdale are sending reinforcements to the Colne Valley by-election, and next week Liverpool is also dispatching members. Miss Patricia Woodlock, of Liverpool, gave an account of her 'Experiences at Holloway' to an audience of "Clarionettes." Her eloquence and humour gained three new members for the branch.

The public meeting at Letchworth addressed by Miss Pankhurst was most successful, 10 new members joined the branch.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller took the chair for Miss Irene Miller at an open-air meeting at Brighton. Though the audience was inclined to be noisy, the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Sheffield branch held a successful open-air meeting addressed by local women. It is proposed "to go forward with this style of propaganda and visit all the various parts of the city in due course."

The Bradford branch passed a resolution urging the desirability of persuading men to form Men's Leagues in various centres, because by means of their votes they can exercise a direct influence on the Government in a way which is not open to women.

Mrs. Sproson is holding large open-air meetings in South Staffordshire.

CARDIFF BRANCH.

A public meeting, organized by our Cardiff branch, was held on the 8th inst., when addresses were delivered by the Rev. Gertrude von Petzold, M.A., the minister of Leicester Unitarian Church, and Miss Barratt, B.Sc., of Penarth. The chair was occupied by Councillor Dr. Smith, Cardiff, and there was a good attendance of members and friends.

Miss Petzold surveyed the movement, as evidenced in the lives of its pioneers, from the times of the abbesses in the Feudal Period, who possessed certain political and proprietary rights which have since lost their meaning in the affairs of the nation, to the Reform Bill of Mr. Gladstone and the present day.

Miss Barratt sketched the principles and aims of the Women's Social and Political Union, and as one of the leaders of the movement in the locality her address was listened to with evident pleasure.

Dr. Smith deserves our thanks for his consistent support of our cause in this district. His assistance has been invaluable. E. H. M.

Scottish Notes.

THE Edinburgh campaign has been successful in spite of bad weather. Six out-door meetings have been held, and a number of new members made. Dr. Caddell, the president of the Leith branch, presided at a large in-door meeting in the Church Hall, Haymarket. A meeting has also been held to arrange for the canvassing of women for the Suffrage procession.

The Dunfermline secretary reports two successful meetings. Miss Wilkie, of Dundee, spoke at the Kirkgate, and held a large crowd by her well-reasoned plea for women's liberty.

Miss Cunningham presided at the meeting held in the Y.M.C.A. Rooms to discuss the arrangements for the procession. After Mrs. Bell's eloquent appeal a large contingent of women volunteered to take part, and it was decided to begin canvassing and collecting funds for banners, &c., at once.

In Aberdeen the united printers' societies have presented to the master printers an ultimatum which entirely shuts out women from certain departments, and debarbs any more women from entering the trade. Unless the employers consent to these conditions the men have decided to go on strike. The ruthless shutting out of the competing women is apparently the only course which suggests itself to the men concerned. If they were to take a stand for the equal payment of the women who work alongside them they would obtain the help and sympathy of women and of the public. Yet they exclude women from the practical training of apprenticeship by their trade union rules, thus making it impossible for them to obtain equal payment from the employers. Unfair competition is the natural result.

It is produced by the working printers' selfish desire to preserve a masculine monopoly in the trade. Equal wages for equal work, and equal opportunity of training for all, offer the only hope of permanent solution. The Aberdeen branch of the W.S.P.U. intends to take action. The women in the printing trade require their help. They are between the devil and the deep sea—on one side the employers deny them standard wages; and on the other the men workers first exclude them from training and then desire to entirely close the trade against them.

I have held four successful meetings in Forfarshire, and a branch is to be formed in Forfar. The campaign was actually run at a profit! In Ayrshire four branches will be formed when I return within the next few weeks. The district is also to receive a visit from Mrs. Sanderson in August. It is one of the most promising districts in Scotland, and we must have it honeycombed with branches of our Union as soon as possible. T. B.-G.

Meeting at Streatham.

Mrs. Despard, Dr. Christine Murrell, and Herbert Jacobs, Esq., Chairman of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, were the speakers at a meeting at Streatham for both sexes.

Mr. Herbert Jacobs emphasized the fact that though there are three Women's Suffrage Societies, their aim is precisely identical, viz., they all agree in demanding that the Franchise should be granted to women on the same terms as it is now, or shall be, granted to men; and that the method of attaining this end is the only point on which these societies somewhat differ. Speaking of the Suffragettes' recent "gentle rioting," Mr. Jacobs stated, that history proves that men's riots were invariably attended with destruction of property, personal violence, and often with loss of human life. Then, as now, said Mr. Jacobs, the authorities declared that such people were unfit to be voters; but the fact remained, that before long the reforms, for which these men had so violently agitated, were granted. Mr. Jacobs remarked that he regretted the "by-election" policy, though he had an "open mind" on the subject, and could quite understand there may be a necessity for this line of action, to teach M.P.s that they cannot be allowed to continue breaking their pledges in the way they have persistently broken them in the past. Referring to the assertion of some M.P.s that a Bill enfranchising women would have been passed this session if there had been no demonstration outside the House, Mr. Jacobs was understood to say that he was reluctantly compelled to admit that he did not believe this statement!

Mrs. Despard reminded her hearers that women accused of crime are arrested by men, tried by a jury of men, sentenced by a man, and punished by laws entirely made by men. Referring to the recent agitation, called "The Cry of the Children," Mrs. Despard stated that the people convened to consider this subject did not apparently consist of philanthropic women-workers among the poor, but of two titled women, the remainder being men. Mrs. Despard spoke from her personal knowledge of women's meagre wages for the same labour for which a "living wage" is paid to men, and, also, of the vast difference in men's and women's salaries for the same amount of work and responsibility in the highest form of employment, i.e., education. From a domestic point of view, Mrs. Despard said, much is desired to improve the life of the average wife, mother, and daughter. For instance, many wives are still merely paid an allowance at the rate of a servant's wages, and are kept in ignorance of their husbands' financial position. The education of daughters, too, was frequently still sacrificed to the son's.

Dr. Christine Murrell narrated an amusing anecdote illustrative of laws made by men for men. In one of our colonies a woman was arrested for drunkenness, but pleaded that in their law the word "person" only applied to men. This was found to be so, the culprit consequently escaped punishment, and the wording of the law was changed forthwith.

Dr. Clara Filter, the well-known Streatham doctor, was among those present; and also Mrs. Raphael, without whose valuable aid the meeting could not have been arranged.

A. E. W.

Treasurer's Note.

The Treasurer wishes to express her very great appreciation of the numerous letters that have reached her during the week in response to her request that every member and friend of the Union will become a voluntary advertiser and agent for the circulation of the post card scheme, which is to bring to the funds of the Union 10,000l. from 10,000 donors. She has received, as well as many encouraging letters and promises, 100l. this week in cash, and over 50l. of this amount has been sent by women-artists as percentage on commissions or returns from sale of pictures. In such contributions as these there is something so much more than the mere pounds sterling: there is that great virtue and strength of enthusiasm and devotion that is the real wealth of our Union.

The Treasurer will be most happy to send post cards to any one who will circulate them. There are thousands of men and women willing to give or collect 1l. a year, which can be paid quarterly, half-yearly, or annually. Funds are urgently needed for the ever-extending National Campaign. By-election follows by-election. Our workers are grouped in strategic points of one constituency after another; the work of rousing both men and women is effectively and splendidly carried out, and the result is that the Government candidate is defeated or the majority greatly reduced.

All this cannot be done without expenditure, as every political organization knows. The Union is beginning to take rank amongst political organizations which have been years in the field of active political campaign. Its efficiency and reputation is very dear to us all, and our devotion to the Union will spur each one of us and all of us on to broaden the basis of support, while we lose no opportunity of turning to practical account the interest and sympathy of every man and woman who can be won for our side.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From July 17th to July 25th.

			P.M.
Wed.	Fulham, 88, Shorrol's Road	Miss Coombs	8
	Harrow Road, Prince of Wales Hotel, open-air Meeting	Dr. Jones	8.15
Thurs.	Walthamstow, 8, Amberley Road	Branch Meeting	
	Lintwaite	Mrs. Martel	7
Fri.	Staithewaite	Mrs. Pankhurst	7
	Marsden	Miss A. Pankhurst	7
Fri.	Stepney, Allchurch Road.	Mrs. Baldock	8
	Battersea, Public Library, Lavender Hill	Branch Meeting	8.30
Sun.	Darlington	Branch Meeting	7.30
	London, Hyde Park	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	3
Mon.	London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Baldock	3.30
	London, Finsbury Park	Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett	
Mon.	Bristol, Rochdale, Town Hall Sq.	Miss Irene Miller	3.30
	Preston, Addison Road	Mrs. Pankhurst	8
Mon.	London, "At Home," 4, Clements Inn	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4-6
	London, Evening Meeting, 4, Clements Inn	Miss C. Pankhurst	8
Tues.	Wolverhampton, Market Place	Mrs. Baldock	8
	Brighton, Garden Party	Mrs. Sproson	7.30
Wed.	Northern Heights	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	
	Redhill	Mrs. Martel	8
Thurs.	Preston, St. Peter Street	Branch Meeting	7.30
	Walthamstow, Queen's Schools	Mrs. Martel	8

COLNE VALLEY BY-ELECTION.—Meetings every day in different parts of the constituency. Speakers, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and others.

For further information apply to the hon. secretary, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, Telephone Address:—WOSPOLU, LONDON. Telephone:—5550 HOLBORN.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

THE first meeting for men only, under the auspices of the Men's League, was held on Thursday, July 11th, in the Town Hall, Kensington. The chair was taken by Dr. Stanton Coit, who was supported on the platform by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, Dr. C. W. Saleeby, Messrs. R. F. Cholmeley, H. W. Nevinson, Cobden-Sanderson, Herbert Jacobs (Chairman of the Executive Committee), and J. Malcolm Mitchell (one of the hon. secretaries). The meeting was largely experimental, and owing partly to the lateness of the season and partly to the prices charged for the tickets, the attendance was not large. About 150 men, however, listened with the greatest attention to the speeches, and several new members were enrolled.

Dr. Stanton Coit, in his opening remarks, briefly surveyed the history of the Women's Suffrage movement. He referred to the enthusiasm of its leaders in the eighties and the lethargy which succeeded. Owing, however, to the splendid enthusiasm of the Women's Social and Political Union, the last two years had witnessed a great and widespread revival (applause), and there were not wanting women who sincerely believed that the goal was in sight. He felt, however, that there would still be needed the generous expenditure of money, energy, and genius, as had been the case with all great reforms. Not only women, but also men must be converted. Hence the existence of the Men's League. There was a great mass of inert prejudice which would be galvanized into active hostility by any immediate prospect of reform; this was especially the case among the artisan class, according to his own experience. Proceeding to consider the nature of the parliamentary vote, he reminded his hearers that, though many were inclined to question its intrinsic practical value, the possession of the vote was indissolubly connected with wider aspects of personality in relation to moral and social issues. The enfranchisement of women must be regarded on the one side as only symbolic of a radical change in the attitude of men to women. Those who claim to have a real interest in the moral well-being of society, as also those who are concerned to check and reverse the process of physical degeneracy, should ask themselves how far the real and alleged deficiencies of women are due to the psychological and physical effects of inferiority of status. If both the sexes are to cooperate in the great task of producing new generations of a kind fit to bear the burdens of the future, it is necessary that there should be no check upon the free development of all their powers. Let women have the discipline of practice. Under present conditions economic disturbances bore most heavily on the women of the working classes, and hence indirectly upon their young or unborn children, the very section of society on whom the future of the race immediately depends. (Cheers.) In the interests of future generations women should, therefore, not be deprived of such power as is given by the possession of the parliamentary franchise. (Applause.)

The Rev. R. J. Campbell (a member of the League), after remarking on the courage of the promoters of the meeting in daring to hold such a meeting for men in July, and charging for admission at such a time, laid emphasis on the fact that the Women's Franchise question is at last a burning question at all by-elections. He dissociated himself from those who criticized adversely the methods of the W.S.P.U., adding that, though he was not prepared to agree with its leaders, they no doubt knew their own business best, and that as a matter of history all great reforms had been attained by similar and even more violent methods. It was a singular fact that under a Liberal régime a daughter of Richard Cobden should have been imprisoned for breaking the law for the sake of a fundamental principle of Liberalism.

The Franchise question was not merely one of sentiment. To-day women were to a great extent economically independent owing to economic conditions. "The economic side of the question is the dynamic." Submission was bad for women, as may be gathered from novels of the first half of the nineteenth century, which portray the early Victorian heroine as emotional, clinging, negative. The seclusion of women in a never-ending round of narrow domesticity was thoroughly pernicious; a wider outlook was necessary. Moreover, as a fact women were now very different; they had made careers for themselves, and were qualified educationally to take high positions in the learned professions. Many of them were even refusing matrimony, but this, he felt sure, was only a natural temporary phenomenon.

What then was the position politically? It was intolerable that questions in which the two sexes were equally involved should be settled by one sex alone. This absurdity was particularly remarkable in regard of legislation affecting industry, divorce, and children. The result was that industrial laws and divorce laws pressed hardly on women. As regards the latter, Mr. Campbell said that as a Free Churchman, and therefore unhampered by the limitations which necessarily hindered free expression of opinion on the part of the clergy of the State Church, he could not approve of the inequality of present conditions. He earnestly believed that in the interests of women and of society as a whole the divorce laws should be made equal for men and women. Furthermore he deplored the fact that in the present state of English law the mother had no share in the control of her children, and no redress against her husband if he proves himself a thoroughly bad father. This inequality bore very hardly on the good woman, who felt her responsibilities to society as regards the upbringing of her children.

Referring to the methods employed by the various suffrage societies Mr. Campbell urged the importance of a common policy; he pointed out that the enfranchisement of women on the same terms on which it is granted to men logically precedes the consideration of a change in the existing electoral basis. The wife ought to be considered a joint householder with her husband. At elections only those candidates should be supported who are wholly favourable to Women's Suffrage. At the same time, though he disliked extremist methods, he was enough of a free lance himself to realize that the methods of the W.S.P.U. were perhaps necessary. Still he felt that "John Bull's weak point was his pocket." There were a very large number of women who paid income tax, and surely that was contrary to the sacred principle that taxation without representation was tyranny. Women should refuse to pay income tax, and if a large number of them did that it would do far more for the cause, he thought, than all the demonstrations ever held outside the House of Commons.

There was nothing revolutionary about Women's Suffrage, for New Zealand had it, Australia had it, and several other countries had it. And the effect it had in these countries was that the character of the people's representatives was more closely scrutinized, and the unclean man had to go out. He believed that the moral status of the House of Commons would be raised considerably if women were enfranchised, and he looked forward in the near future to the introduction of a measure on broad and sound principles. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. R. F. Cholmeley proposed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting the Parliamentary Franchise should be granted to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men."

He regretted the somewhat small attendance. They had, he remarked, counted upon a wet evening and a full hall, but the only fine evening for weeks had somewhat damped their ardour. (Laughter.) He said he would divide his remarks under three heads after the time-worn method: (1) Why women need the

vote. (2) Why they ought to have it. (3) What they are likely to do with it when they get it. Some people said they were very comfortable without it, but the argument was valueless. He had been told by a lady recently that she personally would never demand the vote, for oh! what a lot women owed to men! That he said, amid laughter and cheers, was the greatest compliment ever paid to his sex.

One of the gravest scandals of modern times was the bribery and corruption at a recent election in Worcester. The town had been disfranchised, and having to pay the expenses of the inquiry, had actually levied contributions on those who had the municipal franchise (including women) for the misdeeds of the parliamentary voters (excluding women). He regarded this as a scandalous injustice. (Loud applause.)

Some women even said: "What value is the vote even when we have got it?" Men might in many circumstances say the same, declared the speaker; but if a man did something with his vote only once in a lifetime it would be worth having. Women had not even that one chance at present. He retold the old story of the coachman who, having heard his mistress discussing politics, slyly remarked, "Ah, mum, you ain't got the vote, and I 'ave." No matter how intelligent, how gifted a lady might be, she had less power politically than her coachman!

He went on to show what splendid service women had rendered to their country on boards of guardians, in women's co-operative societies, and as factory inspectors, and in spite of all this useful experience they had, politically, no respect paid to their opinions, and no respect would be paid them until they had the parliamentary vote. Mere opinions will never influence an election—one must have the vote to back them up.

Many people agreed with the principle in the abstract, but said it was "politically inexpedient." "We must convince men that it is not merely necessary for women, but that it is really expedient also." Other people, again, were not quite satisfied about the intelligence of all the women in the country. "Do those people," asked Mr. Cholmeley, "dare to suggest that all the male voters are intelligent?" "The position of the vote does not turn upon education or intelligence." It was chiefly prejudice they had to fight against. He had been reading recently Macaulay's essay on the disabilities of the Jews, and he found there the same arguments exactly as had been brought forward against women. Supposing all the red haired men were denied the vote! Surely that would be about as logical!

One man said "Politics will corrupt women"; another "Women will corrupt politics." Such arguments were mere anachronisms, dating from a period when a man's ideal was confined to war and women. Again it was said that the polling booth was unfit for women; as though, forsooth, it were the scene of desperate scrimmages. Much of this objection had vanished with the introduction of the ballot. If no harm was produced by women voting in municipal elections it was against common sense to suppose that harm would follow from their having the parliamentary franchise. As to women's corrupting politics, Mr. Cholmeley said that, as things now stand, they certainly do. Such organizations as the Primrose League, which sought to influence politics by means of feminine persuasion were infinitely pernicious. (Cheers and laughter.) It would be much less harmful for women to vote than, having no vote, to canvass the votes of men. Finally, if women do no harm in the home why should they do harm in politics?

Mr. Herbert Jacobs (Chairman of the Executive Committee), in seconding the resolution, discussed the policies of the three chief societies, and maintained that, whatever view were taken of the tactics of the W.S.P.U., it was absurd that it should involve opposition to the movement as a whole. Inasmuch, however, as some people had taken exception to these tactics to such an extent as to refuse to join the Men's League, he felt it necessary to explain the reasons for the Westminster demonstrations and the by-election policy of the W.S.P.U. His exposition evoked strong expressions of approval from the audience, who received with great enthusiasm a tribute to the work of Mrs. Despard. The W.S.P.U. policy was historically justified, and while such a policy was impossible according to the constitution of the Men's League, there could be no doubt that it was rational

and straightforward in view of the fact that nothing has been done for women's suffrage by a house containing 420 professed supporters. (Prolonged applause.)

The meeting was then thrown open for discussion; but there was no opposition. Mr. Nevinson called upon men to protect women from the treatment that had been meted out to them when they endeavoured at public meetings to obtain a hearing for their just demands.

The resolution was carried with only one dissident, and the Rev. R. J. Campbell, replying to a vote of thanks, proposed by Dr. Coit and seconded by Dr. Saleeby, wound up the meeting by expressing the hope that the various societies would before long assemble in conference to discuss the possibility of concerted action on a common policy.

The League is greatly indebted to Dr. Stanton Coit and Mr. Alderman Sanders, who carried out all the arrangements with great success.

We are glad to be able to announce that the Brighton Branch of the Men's League was successfully inaugurated on Monday, the 8th inst. The members at present number ten, but there is good reason to hope that by the aid of regular open-air meetings and enthusiastic work this number will be largely increased.

We note with great pleasure that Lord Russell, a member of the Men's League, spoke ably and earnestly in the House of Lords in support of the Bill to enable women to sit on county and borough councils.

We subjoin a copy of the Petition organized by the

Women's Franchise Declaration Committee.

Will those of our readers who may like to sign it, apply to us for a form, which, when filled in, should be posted to Miss CLEMENTINA BLACK, 1, Worsley Road, Hampstead, N.W.

Doubts having been recently cast upon the wish of women for the Suffrage, it has seemed advisable to publish a plain declaration signed by women engaged in work of various kinds that they do wish to be allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections.

No girl under eighteen must sign.

Every person signing is requested to add her occupation university degree, if any, or other qualification.

DECLARATION.

I am desirous that women should vote in Parliamentary elections on the same terms as men.

	NAME.	ADDRESS.	OCCUPATION.
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			

Meeting at Hampstead.

A LARGE and enthusiastic meeting took place in the Hampstead Town Hall on Tuesday, July 9th, under the auspices of the Hampstead Branch of the Women's Social and Political Union. The speakers were Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, in the chair, Mrs. Martel, Rev. Percy Dearmer, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and John Russell, Esq.

Mrs. Nevinson said that there was a great deal of prejudice in Hampstead against the Women's Social and Political Union. "How can you go on the platform with such women?" she was constantly asked. Well! their cause was one of righteousness and justice and liberty and freedom, and she was proud to be with them.

The movement began in much poverty and much contempt. It was only in the spring of last year that Miss Annie Kenney came to London with two pounds in her pocket to rouse London. She succeeded. Sympathies of men and women have gone out to these ladies who began in great poverty with enthusiasm and earnestness, and great sincerity as their capital. They frightened Parliament. It was a most extraordinary thing that afternoon on February 13th to see 600 odd men sit behind mounted police against a handful of women and girls. Imprisonment, insults, and abuse such as one can hardly speak of were their portion. They are treated by Liberal stewards so shamefully that I will not speak of it.

Men have been with us all through, and they themselves have done a good deal of fighting for the same object, or their fathers did for them. They all admire pluck and bravery. The women in Hampstead and the suburbs are the difficult people to manage. Many of them are too comfortable, too happy, and do not understand the terrible daily need that the vote and citizenship are to working women who toil and work all their lives.

Many of us have cursed the day we were born women, particularly when we were little children, and found whatever we wanted to do we could not do because we were girls.

We find that women have lost power. We read of Boadicea in our own country who sat in the House of Lords, so to say, and not only sat but spoke there; and of the Abbess Hilda called to the special convocation of bishops and priests. Ancient Germans, we are told, never did anything in war or peace without first consulting their women.

We have only had the Married Woman's Property Act passed with great opposition and difficulty only a half century ago. Think how fair the law of ancient Babylon was to women. They had many privileges for which we are striving now. Ancient Egypt was a paradise of all others. Medicine, priesthood, &c., were open to women. In the Egyptian poor law the care of the aged parents was put on the women. Now here it is on the sons, but the women often do it; though they are not liable.

All through history women have been bullied and worried, but kept. Now there are hundreds of thousands of women who earn their own living, owe nothing to any man, are free and independent, as clerks, teachers, &c. They have to pay taxes, are made bankrupt if their business fails, are imprisoned if they steal, and hanged if they murder, suffer every penalty for wrongdoing, yet have not the vote. The number of these women increases daily. I should like to send to all members of Parliament who promised votes to women and did not keep their word, a text from Jeremiah which runs as follows: "Ye have dealt falsely, ye have lightly held the heart of my people, crying peace, peace, but there is no peace." It is really a revolution, not a revolt.

Mrs. Martel said it gave her much pleasure to move this resolution to remove the sex disability by calling on the Government to enfranchise women this session. Politicians say we are not right in asking to have it this session. We should give Parliament time. Well, they have all the time there is, and they will have all the time there will be; but we cannot wait any longer. We have waited just long enough, and to wait any longer will be to do ourselves an injustice. We ask for this vote for women on the same lines, the same terms as men have it or may have it. We are often asked "Don't we want it for every woman?" We can only ask the question back, "Has every

man got it?" If every man has it, then we shall want it for every woman. We want not to go ahead of the men—that would be fatal—but we want to come in line with them, just side by side, so that we can march on together to progress.

I have just come from two by-elections, and am going to another. We have won the two, and we have won them in spite of the press. I should like to tell you a little bit, as I have been asked by some here to relate a few little incidents that impressed me most in the campaign.

The eve before the elections *The South Shields Gazette* had an article in the paper to the effect that because Mr. Hunnoble had arrived on the scene the Women Suffragists were no longer the stars in Jarrow, and had flown to Colne Valley, had packed their tents and silently flown away, which was a proof that we were not there really to fight for votes for women, but for notoriety and for public gains. It was quite proof that we were not sincere in what we were asking for.

At a meeting of 5,000 people who had pledged themselves to vote for the Liberal candidate because they thought he was going to improve the Education Bill, I read out this paragraph. "Shame!" they cried. You would have known then that the Englishman's heart is in the right place, and that he does know how to play cricket. He is going to play cricket when he has the opportunity to hear truth. Of course he has been misled. The papers have maligned us, misrepresented us, when they have not boycotted us.

Now are you women going to support a press, support a Government, that will allow a paragraph like this to come out about us? You have heard us, never interrupted us. At a meeting of over 7,000 there was never one interruption. Are you going to allow a man who supports this press, who writes for this press, to be your representative in the House of Commons? If he will allow this to come out before he is elected, will he keep his pledges to you when he gets into the House of Commons? No! Well, there is one way in which you can speak not only to the press, but to Westminster. Send your message back in such a way that it cannot be mistaken. Record your vote against the Government nominee, simply because he is the Government nominee. Record your vote against him, and every vote that goes against him will be a vote for women; and I appeal to them in the name of the starving women, of the 5,313,000 women who leave their homes to get enough bread to keep body and soul together; in the name of that other great army of women who cannot endure the pangs of starving slowly, who sell their souls that they may have a little bit of the pleasures of life; in the name of the starving children—children without homes, without care, the children, the fatherless children, the worse than fatherless children, the abandoned children. I spoke to them in the name of these, and I said every vote that you give to the Government to keep it strong will be a vote to keep this kind of thing going. Are you prepared to have it on your conscience that you have aided and abetted this kind of thing; or are you going to be men, true-born Englishmen who love fair play, justice, truth, liberty, and freedom? Are you going to demand it for women?

In this free England of ours I have seen fifteen people living in one room, and not all members of one family. There are 5,313,000 women who go out of their homes on a starvation wage. And now that she is in the industrial fight we say the home is just as much man's sphere as woman's sphere; and what do men work for if it is not for the home? What do men work for if it is not to make a home? What do men work for? And does being in the office or the home or the workshop prevent a man from going to the polling booth and recording his vote for the man he believes in? Will it prevent the women?

I heard two Liberal speeches. One was about this great Government that believed in the voice of the people. The voice of the people! Well, I did not interrupt. I kept perfectly quiet, but I had a great struggle to keep quiet. Then he said we believed in Free Trade, and he spoke of Richard Cobden—what Richard Cobden had done in this great country; and I remembered what that same Government had done to Richard Cobden's daughter; and again I kept silent, but it was welling

up. He then spoke about the House of Lords, and when I remembered which was our House of Lords, again I held myself very tightly. I asked a policeman, "Could I speak at the opposite corner?" "No! not there, but behind the audience." I counted fifty-seven at this meeting. When I spoke we got over five hundred people. I said, "I will tell you something about the House of Lords. I will tell you something about Richard Cobden and Free Trade. I will tell you, too, what this country has done for Richard Cobden's daughter." I only got that far and they all came to me. We held our audience for over an hour, and sold nearly a pound's worth of literature.

I will tell you something they failed to tell you. Where the law presses on the women, and where the mother is not the legal parent of her child, and where the industrial laws press on women, because women have no voice in the making of the laws. Contrast the place of the women of England with those of Australia, and the countries where women have the vote, and it is always to the credit of the countries where women are enfranchised. When we went away the people said, "You must come again; you will have a bigger audience next time." At one place the first meeting consisted of only 120; next time over 2,000 were at the same place.

I maintain that these by-elections are our gold mines. We have the opportunity of getting the ear of the public—men and women. They never had so many women attending a candidate's meeting until in these later by-elections where we have been. The candidates tell you they used to begin their meetings—"Gentlemen." Now they have to say "Ladies and gentlemen." Ladies predominate.

Well, we had a great procession of women on the polling day which had a most telling effect. The paper said a few bedraggled women and several children. Well, the band of women forming the procession was nearly a mile long. Does that look like a few bedraggled women and several children?

I wrote to the editor the morning of the election telling him I had read this speech to the audience of over five thousand people, and said, "If you had heard that cry of 'Shame!' throughout that audience you would never make a misstatement like that again in your paper. There is a saying in Australia, 'An untruth, like a boomerang, comes back to the sender.' Your candidate will not be returned at the top of the poll. I have heard the voice of the people." Well on that day over fifty people told me about this. They were going to vote for the Liberal, but having heard and seen what forces we had to fight against, they would vote for the women. Then I thanked the editor most kindly and from the bottom of my heart for having written the untruth, and like the boomerang it had gone back to the sender. This is what we have to fight, but there is one almighty power, Truth, and they cannot stay it very much longer, because we have been in Hexham at the by-election, in Rutland, and in Jarrow, and we have begun work in Colne Valley; we have been to Stepney and to Hornsey, and Hornsey was so near our headquarters that there was not a man who would face the "Suffragette." They were too strong in London. Everywhere we have gone we have told of the position of woman and of this Government. I am an out-and-out Liberal. I believe in the principles of Liberalism, but I do not believe in a party that puts the person before the principle. I was taught by my father, an old Radical, that the principles of Liberalism were greater than life itself, and would live on and on. It will go down to posterity, the great Liberal party that can get a majority in the House of Commons and give women representation for their taxation. I am sorry to say—well, I am glad to say, in a way—that the Government have done absolutely nothing except to put women further in the background. There was a National Liberal Federation in Portsmouth on the 8th of last month. Women were excluded from the executive, though they have been there before this time; but they were shut off. Does that mean that the Government was going to give representation with taxation?

They have told you about the House of Lords standing in the way of all reforms, and they hand over the Women's Bill to that House of Lords, that it also might be destroyed; but the Lords did not destroy it, and so they were nonplussed. They thought that the Lords would throw it out, and then they would

say, "You see it is no earthly use working for votes for women; come and help us, and then we shall be able to carry your measure." We did not hear a word about that. We, too, are true Liberals, and wish to save our party. We must do to them what we do to the naughty little child. When the child knows what is right and won't do it, you reason with it first, you talk, you order—still it disobeys; then you have to do something that would make the child see rightly. If you love it you correct it; if you don't love it you allow the child to run on to its ruin. But we feel we are doing perfectly right, and we hope all the Liberal women here will see eye to eye with us. We are doing right—trying to save our party by giving it a little punishment, by stopping every candidate going back to that Ministry adding to its strength until they have put their pledge into practice. There are 420 out of 670 pledged to support Women's Suffrage who do not intend to carry out that pledge; so come and give us your vote.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman says he wants every man and every woman to have the vote. Why does he not give it to every man and every woman? He wants to give us more than we are asking for. Let him say that he is sincere. They are not. Those of you who have heard of the Anti-Suffrage Society, or any other society that is going to band itself together to work our ruin, just take this unctious to your souls, that the Women's Social and Political Union is so based by its workers, their hearts and souls are in the work, they believe in what they are speaking for, they are facing a vital question, and they will not be put down by any power, by whatever name they like to call themselves. (Applause.) Don't forget that, though the press has banded itself together to boycott us, it cannot boycott our tongues, it cannot boycott the railway companies, and so we can go from one end of England to the other, and use the only weapons left to us.

We hear that women's brains are so much inferior to men's. Look at the muddles men have made. We think our brains are just as clear and far-seeing as theirs. We think we could manage to select the men who could make the laws. We have managed in Australia. We have brought in reforms there that we had fought for for years and years, and never got until we had the vote. Then we found men saying at once, "What will please the women?" At once we had social, domestic, and industrial reforms.

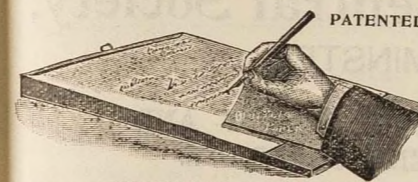
In England you have a law that will protect a girl's property until she is twenty-one, but at sixteen she is old enough to part with her soul, as the poet has it "the priceless jewel of the soul." You want the women there that we may protect our girls and make them proper mothers. We cannot have good mothers without good girls, and if you have a law that allows any man to degrade our girls they will not be the right kind of mothers for the right kind of man.

Working on an average wage of 7s. 6d. a week, what can woman's moral character be like? She has not enough to keep her honestly, for you are starving her and expecting her to be the mother of a healthy race. You cannot have it both ways. Join the Men's League; fight for the women who helped you in your trouble. They helped in the time of the old Chartists. Now the women have their great fight. Are the men going out to help us in the right spirit? Are they going to play cricket as it should be played? Are they going to see fair play for all? This voice of the people that we have been talking of—this great almighty voice that we have been educating—is going on, and it is forming and flowing towards Westminster, then forcing the doors there, they will have to burst open, and women must be free. The voice of the people will demand it. We are going to educate that voice; we are going to try and win another by-election, and yet another; and ask you men to speak to your friends—you who love fair play. Remember how your industrial position has improved since you have had a say in the government. For the sake of those helpless little ones, who will rise up not to call you blessed, but the contrary—for their sake, for your mothers, your wives, and your daughters, do the right thing in this subject.

** The conclusion of this report will appear in our next issue, and will include the speeches delivered by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mr. John Russell.

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