

# Women's Franchise.

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## Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions. Subscriptions for the weekly numbers to the end of March (3s. 3d.), or less if so desired, should be forwarded to the Publisher. Back numbers can still be obtained.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,  
13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

## Notes.

IT is satisfactory to learn that papers specially devoted to advancing the cause of Woman's Suffrage in particular, and women's interests in general, are increasing in most European countries. *Jus Suffragii*, the organ of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, is well known to most of our readers. In France, the *Journal des Femmes*, edited by Madame Martin, is a veteran of nearly twenty years' standing, and the principal organ of the feminist movement in the country. As a result of the Milan Exhibition it was decided to start an Italian monthly review, to be called *Vita Femminile Italiana*, which would have for aims the improvement of the moral, social, and economic conditions of Italian women, and the advancement of their education; its columns to be open to all who have the welfare of women at heart, irrespective of creed or political party. Among the latest additions to the ranks is *El Feminal*, a Spanish monthly review, published in Barcelona under the capable management of Senora Dona Cormen Karr Lasarte, whose aim is to improve the position of the women of Catalonia.

A MEETING was held in the Women's Co-operative Hall at Woking on October 29th to hear a paper by Mrs. Stopes on the subject 'Why should Women have the Vote?' The women were deeply interested, some few spoke and asked questions, and the only man who was present, while sympathetic, urged the need of Adult Suffrage, which Mrs. Stopes tried to prove lost power, by asking two questions at once. Mrs. Neate, the President and founder of the Society, presided and supported the arguments of the speaker.

THE October number of *The Young Woman* gives an interesting account of the town of East Claridon in Ohio. We are told that, though it "is not a woman's rights stronghold, yet the women have all the places, public jobs, professional offices, and, with two exceptions, are at the head of all the commercial enterprises." The two most important ladies appear to be the clergywoman and the doctor. The former opened convocation herself last summer, after waiting for a male colleague who did not arrive in time. Doctor Mary Goodwin took her degree at the State Medical College and succeeded in her profession, where every man who had previously practised in East Claridon had failed. It does not appear that the women have driven the men from lucrative posts, but that the men of East Claridon are incapable of filling these posts satisfactorily and the women have therefore been obliged to take their places. If this town be not a "woman's rights stronghold," we should like to know what would constitute one.

AN article appeared in one of the London daily papers last week on 'Woman and the Arts of Home.' After telling us that "the recreation of the home is the most pressing and important question of the hour," the writer goes on to say that "to pretend we need the political vote is simple nonsense." Home, she declares, is a woman's destiny, and she does not believe in "a woman, any more than countries, having two destinies."

NOW here is a flagrant example of the hopeless confusion of thought which exists in the minds of many well-meaning people. The recreation of the home is certainly one of the most pressing and important questions of the hour, but it can only be accomplished when the woman is treated as a respected citizen and not as a political outlaw. The writer seems to think that every woman is, or can be, the happy possessor of an "attractive little home." She ignores the fact that five millions of women in England go to their daily work to earn, in most cases, the wherewithal to keep a home at all. Many are supporting invalid or lazy husbands, fathers, and brothers. The average wage of a working woman is below subsistence level, and women are now beginning to see that it is only by the weapon of the vote that the fearful and increasing evils from which they suffer can be remedied. The question of destiny is beside the point. All women have destinies; all women have not homes.

IN the report which has just been supplied to the London County Council by Dr. Kerr, medical officer to the London Education Committee, we find some startling facts about the physique of London schoolgirls. It appears that out of 410 girls in one school, 64 per cent. showed signs of abnormality. The report considers that the enormous preponderance of deformity amongst girls, compared with boys, is in a measure due to the carrying of infants by young growing girls. A girl's life is a harder one than a boy's. When school hours are over she is expected to help her mother in the home, while her brother is enjoying himself in a healthy romp, and she constantly lifts weights which are too heavy for her. From whatever cause the evil comes, its removal is vitally necessary to the welfare of the race. Working women are too ready to look upon their little daughters as their slaves; if the fact were brought home to them that the economic value of a delicate or deformed girl is practically *nil*, many would listen and take heed. At any rate this report removes all doubts regarding the urgent necessity for the medical inspection of school children.

### United Women's Suffrage Demonstration in Manchester.

A DEMONSTRATION in favour of Women's Suffrage was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Friday night, October 25th, at the conclusion of the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, and after the Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which had been held during that day. Miss Margaret Ashton presided. On the platform were Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Mrs. Edwin Gray, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss J. O. Ford, Mrs. Broadley Reid, Mrs. Haslam, Miss Frances Hardcastle, Canon Hicks, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. W. J. Crossley, M.P., Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. R. D. Darbishire, and Mr. Bertrand Russell. The meeting was organized by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Social and Political Union, the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations, the Women's Trade Union Council, and the Manchester, Salford, and District Branch of the National Union of Women Workers.

The *Manchester Guardian* says, in its leading article of October 26th, that "the fine Suffrage meeting in the Free Trade Hall came aptly at the close of the non-political gathering of the Women Workers' Union during the earlier part of the week. A notable feature about the meeting was that it marked, not only the forward impulse of a movement which bids fair to become general, but the union on a common platform of all sections of those who are working for it. There has been a good deal of controversy of late as to methods and even as to "tactics"—that is, as to the best attitude for the Suffrage party to take up in relation to other parties—but there is no controversy as to the programme. Every organized society, extreme and moderate alike—and all shades were represented—though they may differ as to how they shall press their claim, are practically agreed as to what the claim shall be. They simply ask that women shall be allowed to vote on the same terms as men."

The speakers were Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Canon Hicks, of Manchester, Mrs. Despard, and Mrs. Philip Snowden. For an account of their speeches we cannot do better than quote extracts from the excellent report which appeared the following morning in *The Manchester Guardian*—

Mrs. FAWCETT moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting expresses its strong dissatisfaction at the failure of the Government either to introduce a Bill for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as men, or to give any pledge that they will deal with the question, and urges the Government no longer to delay granting to women the protection of the vote, which is as necessary to them as to men, and which, as taxpayers and citizens, they earnestly demand."

#### SPREAD OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Mrs. FAWCETT said this had been the greatest year the Women's Suffrage movement had known. It marked an epoch—the arrival of Women's Suffrage as an accomplished fact in Europe. In Finland women were voting for the first time under the reformed Constitution within a week of the day when Sir Francis Powell said, in the discussion on Mr. Dickinson's Bill, that no nation in Europe had ventured on this extraordinary position. A few weeks after the women of Norway gained the Suffrage. They had not yet voted under it, but it had been made part and parcel of the law of the land. From other countries they heard of good prospects of success... Where did we stand in England? Not so well. Nevertheless, even in Parliament, they had had in a sense a record session. Something had happened in Parliament which had, she believed, never happened in all the six hundred years of British Parliamentary history. A Bill had been mentioned in the King's Speech, and had afterwards become an Act relating to women, and actually having for its sole purpose the extension of the civil liberties of women.

#### "A MAN SPEAKING TO MEN."

Mr. DICKINSON, M.P., seconded the resolution. He proposed, he said, to deal with the subject as a man speaking to men. In the city of Manchester much had been done for the furtherance of freedom of speech, freedom of trade, freedom of mankind from the shackles of slavery; and they might well claim that the same support should legitimately be given to a cause which meant the freedom of woman, so far, at any rate, as her political position in this country was concerned. Manchester ought to be particularly interested in this question; it owed its great position to the cotton trade, and the cotton trade depended upon women. Fifty per cent. more women than men were employed in the textile trades, and there were more women than men in the cotton trade unions... It was said that women did not want the vote. If that was true the question fell, and ought to fall. But he did not believe that women did not want the vote. (Cheers.) This very meeting proved the contrary so far as Manchester was concerned. This was no sporadic movement, nor temporary aberration of intellect. It was part of a world-wide movement, making progress not only in Europe, but in America and our own Empire. (Hear, hear.) Wherever they looked, even in Russia, they would find a strong progressive agitation going on by women claiming the suffrage, and men were gradually beginning to agree to grant them that right. And what was the reason for it? Not only that the agitation was carried on by women themselves, but because women's enfranchisement was the logical outcome of the modern principles of national government.

#### EXTREME PRESSURE NEEDED.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE supported the resolution. She asked Liberal statesmen to be logical. If they were not prepared to grant the demand for Women's Suffrage, then let them come forward and say that those who had no representation should not pay taxes. Speaking in defence of the tactics adopted by the organization to which she belongs, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said a great many people were now saying: "We quite believe in Women's Suffrage, but we feel that the cause is being put back by these extremists." But the methods of the extremists had done one thing at least. Two or three years ago the guns of the opponents of Women's Suffrage were directed against the main proposition that women should be included in the constitution of the country. By their methods these extremists had drawn the fire upon themselves. When the smoke of the battle cleared away they would see that a great victory had been won, because a great many other battalions were out making good use of their opportunity... It was not a mere political reform they were asking, but a moral and spiritual reform bound up with the finest issues of our civilization, and affecting not only half the human race of to-day, but the children and the generations yet to come.

#### WOMEN AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Canon HICKS, who supported the resolution, said he did not think a measure of women's enfranchisement was so far off as some imagined. It was called for as a measure of justice to women, and was needed in the interests of the children and of the working women and girls of the country. Women when enfranchised would join in the movement for those social reforms which were essential to the well-being and prosperity of the country.

Mrs. DESPARD said that women wanted the vote in order to help on the real work of the twentieth century, the reconstruction of society. She urged that, whilst leaving each free to adopt its own methods, all the various women's suffrage organizations should federate to accomplish their common object.

Mrs. PHILIP SNOWDEN said that she differed from a former speaker who said that if women did not want the vote the subject should be dropped. On the contrary, the strongest reason for giving the vote to women was the fact that many of them were apathetic and indifferent about it. Women ought to be compelled to have everything necessary for making them good citizens. The vote was necessary, and therefore women ought to be compelled to have the vote even against their own will.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. W. J. CROSSLEY, M.P., moved, and the Hon. BERTRAND RUSSELL seconded a vote of thanks to the speakers.

### A Woman Still.

[A young lady's brother, on seeing an array of home-made jam, was heard to remark "Not bad for a Suffragette." Hence the following doggerel.]

A GRADUATE fair is she,  
For at college she took her degree.  
Not bad for a Suffragette!  
With brain and heart—please note,  
Yet she is denied a vote.  
Too bad for a Suffragette!  
She pays rates, obeys the laws.  
Is this justice?—here I pause—  
Unfair to a Suffragette!  
She can mend, and she can sew,  
She can swim, and she can row.  
Not bad for a Suffragette!  
She can jam and pickles make,  
She can brown and white bread bake.  
Not bad for a Suffragette!  
She can put links in a shirt,  
Render First-Aid, if you're hurt.  
Not bad for a Suffragette!  
She can keep a house in trim,  
Air and sunlight to the brim.  
Not bad for a Suffragette!  
On her word you can depend,  
Loyal woman, trusty friend,  
Altho' a Suffragette! M. W.

#### GUARANTEE FUND TO 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

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#### Correspondence.

[The Proprietors of "WOMEN'S FRANCHISE" do not necessarily identify themselves in any way with the opinions expressed by their Correspondents.]

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

SIR,—The criticism of Mr. Dickinson's Bill put forward by the Executive of the National Union repeats an old misvaluation of women's work. The Executive thinks the vote should not be given to married women independently of "any responsibility for the household"—not, observe, merely for the house, but for the household. The working wife, who directs the great bulk of the consumption of the nation, who does commonly the whole of the domestic and personal service of the family and rears the children—she has no "responsibility for the household." If a housewife's position does not give responsibility for the household, one asks whether there is anything in the world that does. And the answer is that responsibility in the mind of the Executive quite plainly means the possession of money. Because money does not pass in exchange for the woman's services, her work is regarded as of less economic and political value than the work of the wage-earning man, or even than the income of the rich woman who is able to possess a house. This curious view of the importance of money and the unimportance of work is, of course, very bad political economy, and it is strange, indeed, to find it in the official statement of a Women's Suffrage society. They understand these things better in Norway.

The Executive recommend that if married women are given the vote it should be in respect of ownership or tenancy, sole or joint, and they think this would cause wives to be admitted to joint ownership or tenancy of the family dwelling. There are several objections to this. It is hardly desirable that married working women, not being wage-earners, should take a responsibility for the rent and rates which they have no means

of discharging. That would be a bogus "responsibility." And constitutionally there is the serious difficulty that the enfranchisement would depend first on the husband's consent—for he must be willing that his wife should share his qualification—and secondly on the landlord's, for he must be willing to accept the wife as joint tenant with the husband. The agent of the political party which expects most from the workman's vote would, no doubt, do his best to get electors to make their wives joint tenants and voters, and there might be a good many applications to landlords from workmen who were keen politicians. Suppose, then, that such a question as the taxation of land values were before the country: landlords would easily see their interest in excluding voters who were likely to be of the opposite party, and would be stimulated to that course by party agents. No doubt husbands would, in many cases, like very well to have the decision whether or not their wives should be voters, and landlords would also be happy to keep the keys of the franchise. But would Parliament care to distribute control over the constitution of the electorate in this way?

Mr. Dickinson's proposal to give the wife the vote in virtue of her work for the family, and her position as consumer's representative—for this is what it comes to—ought to be warmly and gratefully supported by all women who care to be put on an equality with men. The economic relation of husband and wife may not be satisfactory. It may be destined to change in the future; but at present the very life of the people depends on it, and could not go on for a day without it. Nobody who wishes government truly to represent the social structure can overlook the wife's claim because of it, or place her in an inferior position to her husband.

It is very much to be regretted that zeal for one particular form of the franchise should attempt to shut out the light which such a Bill as Mr. Dickinson's throws on women's claims to representation. It must surely be generally acknowledged by now that the attempt to force through, or slip through, a small Bill by reason of its smallness cannot succeed. It is not necessary that we should all nail our colours to one Bill—above all, not to a Bill which would enfranchise women "on the same terms as men," much as women might be admitted to a choir "on the same terms as men," by letting them sing bass parts. What is necessary is that we should convert workmen: that is the motto for every political movement, as every election agent knows. And when that conversion has its effect on the Government, the Government will propose whatever form of the franchise it thinks best and most acceptable to the electors—that is, to the workmen. It is just conceivable that some mood of the electors will make a Government propose, say, the enfranchisement of women ratepayers. But it seems far more likely that workmen, when once they think seriously of the part to be played by the women's vote, will prefer to enfranchise a body of women which would include their own wives, who take a vital part in the great industrial movements, and are closely attached to their cause.

Is it not time, too, that we should agree to cease the parrot cry of "Traitor!" against any one who dares to speak of adult suffrage? Adult suffrage has no chance, says E. D. in your issue of the 3rd. "Men do not want it." That might have been said of every great and successful movement before those came who made men want it. Leadership in a democracy (or even in a half-democracy) is with the men of ideas—democratic ideas; and it is sad to see such a good idea as womanhood (or adult) suffrage neglected by our women leaders from want of courage. Women should leave out no women from their demand for citizenship. The excluding can quite safely be left to men.

ROSALIND NASH.

#### Resolution at Suffrage Meetings.

SIR,—May I suggest through your columns that at the close of every Suffrage meeting, however small, a resolution should be put, and carried whenever practicable—to be sent to the Prime Minister and local M.P. at least? Everything has its weight in this world, and the pressure of many resolutions on the powers that be must tend to help.

Yours faithfully,

S. E. TURQUAND.

## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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

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

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

**Treasurer:** MISS BERTHA MASON.  
**Parliamentary and Organising Secretary:** MISS EDITH PALLISER.  
**Telephone:** 1060 VICTORIA.

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

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

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907.

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

MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P.  
MISS EDITH DIMOCK  
MISS I. O. FORD  
MISS MARTINDALE, M.B., B.S.

MRS. PECHERY PHIPSON, M.D.  
MRS. BROADLEY REID  
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL  
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN

LADY STRACHEY  
And the Hon. Officers,  
ex officio.

### Current Topics.

The Municipal Elections are over, and we note with satisfaction that a good number of women exercised their privilege under the Women's Qualification Act for the first time and were candidates for seats on Town and Borough Councils. Considering that the Act was only passed at the end of August, and that the ladies therefore have had but two months in which to prepare their campaign, the results may be considered entirely satisfactory. Out of the eighteen who offered themselves for election, six have been returned. Two of them, Miss Sutton, at Reading, and Mrs. Woodward, at Bewdley, have had a walk over; Miss Merivale at Oxford, and Miss Morgan at Brecon, have headed the poll; and Mrs. (Dr.) E. Garrett Anderson at Aldeburgh, and Miss Dove at High Wycombe have been returned by good majorities.

We notice with great regret that Miss Ashton at Manchester, a member of the National Union Executive Committee, and Mrs. Richardson at Hull, have not succeeded in their candidature this time. We hope they may not be deterred from making a second attempt when the next opportunity occurs.

#### WEST HULL BY-ELECTION.

Active steps are being taken to carry on a campaign of propaganda. Halls have been engaged for the 9th and the 20th and open-air meetings have been arranged for the week. The following speakers will address meetings: Miss Ashton (Manchester), Mrs. Allan Bright (Liverpool), Mrs. Cooper (Nelson), Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Sterling and Mrs. Stanbury (London), Mrs. Longman and Miss Murdoch (Hull).

Committee-rooms have been opened at Coburg House, Anlaby Road, a central position in the constituency, of which Mrs. H. W. Kirk, Hon. Secretary of the Hull Women's Suffrage Society, will have charge, assisted by Miss Edith Palliser, Organizing and Parliamentary Secretary of the National Union. Meetings will be held in the committee rooms, literature distributed, and all inquiries answered.

#### WEST HULL BY-ELECTION.—AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

Barely a week has elapsed since the Council of the National Union at its annual meeting decided that "The Union must take an active part in every by-election," and already steps have been taken to carry out the instructions. The Parliamentary vacancy at Hull has given the opportunity, and no time has been lost in opening a committee room in the town. Miss Palliser, the Organizing Secretary of the Union, in co-operation with the active Hull Society, is taking the necessary steps "to educate the constituency in the question of Women's Suffrage." Meetings are being arranged, and a vigorous educational campaign has been entered upon.

For this work funds are urgently needed. By-elections cannot be fought and propaganda work carried on unless the necessary sinews of war are forthcoming.

I appeal to the members of the National Union to contribute to the Hull by-election fund which is now open, and in this practical way support their own by-election policy.

Donations should be sent to the Treasurer, National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies Office, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

### Branch Societies.

**BIRMINGHAM AND MIDLAND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—A debate was held on October 28th with the Young British Liberals Association at the Reform Club, Birmingham.

Mrs. Osler, in proposing the motion in favour of granting the parliamentary vote to women, emphasised the fact that women based their claims on the principles of democracy—principles which no one who claimed to be a Liberal could deny.

The opposers, Mr. Alderson and Mr. Hudson brought up the old arguments of the sanctity of the home, the absence of demand, &c., and took as their authority Miss Marie Corelli.

Their objections were answered by Miss Isabel Marris, who seconded Mrs. Osler.

After a short debate, in which there was a great absence of negative speakers, Mrs. Osler summed up. In her closing remarks she paid a tribute to the devotion and courage of the women who had gone to prison for the cause, and to the true chivalry of those Members of Parliament who had worked for Women's Suffrage for so many years.

The motion was carried by three votes.

**CAMBRIDGE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—The Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Women's Suffrage Association is to be held on November 7th in the Victoria Assembly Room, at 3 P.M. Mrs. Edwin Gray, the President of the National Union of Women Workers, which has just been holding one of its "Parliaments" in Manchester, is coming up to address the meeting. So also is Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, member of the Men's League, and writer of the admirable pamphlet, 'Women's Suffrage: the Demand and its Meaning.'

It is a noteworthy and encouraging fact at Cambridge, that recently, at a large meeting held in the Guildhall by a branch of the Liberal Women's Social Council, Women's Suffrage was much to the fore. Dr. Whitehead, the Chairman, made it the burden of his opening address, without rousing so much as a dissentient murmur from the mixed audience of between 800 and 900 persons, and Mr. Simon, M.P. for S.W. Essex, though not an avowed supporter of the cause, felt called upon to utter some telling words in its favour, commenting on the unwisdom of those men who shut their eyes and ears to the significance of the women's movement.

Mr. Buckmaster, the Liberal member for the borough, is pledged to Women's Suffrage, and has several times warmly advocated it at public meetings. M. WARD, Hon. Sec.

**CHELTEMHAM WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—The first of a series of social meetings for members and sympathisers was held at the Model Dairy, Promenade, Cheltenham, on the 26th of October at 4.30. Although the attendance was not very large, great interest was shown, and two new members joined the Society.

The proceedings were quite informal. Mrs. Frances Swiney, President of the Society, opened with a few remarks explaining the object of these special meetings as that of bringing members into touch with the progress of the movement all over the

world. She also begged for support of the new paper, *Women's Franchise*, which was a most valuable contribution to the cause of women.

During the meeting two solos were sung by Miss Elise Jarvis, and a recitation was given by Miss Ella Woodall.

Mrs. Florence Earengy read a short paper on the subject: "Shall we Refuse to Pay Income Tax?" in which the value of passive resistance as a means of propaganda was dwelt upon, and women householders were urged to adopt this method of protest against the injustice of taxation without representation. Lady Steele and Mrs. Montefiore were instanced as pioneers of this movement. A brief discussion followed, and the feeling of the meeting was strongly sympathetic.

**GLASGOW WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—There was a good attendance at the annual meeting of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, held on October 25th, in the Christian Institute, Glasgow.

Colonel Denny, the hon. president, sent an apology, and in his absence the chair was taken by Mr. Andrew Ballantyne, chairman of the executive. Mrs. James T. Hunter, the secretary, submitted the annual report, which stated that the influence and the work of the Association were steadily growing. Regret was expressed at the loss sustained by the deaths of Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Arthur, two of the vice-presidents. As to organisation, lack of funds alone hindered the extension of their work. The financial report showed an income, including balance, of 128*l.*, and an expenditure of 118*l.* The report was adopted.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, remarked that during the year they had lost, roughly, eighty members through one cause or another, and they had gained practically 200, leaving a membership of about 600. That was so far satisfactory, although one would have expected, in view of the position which the Women Suffrage movement had attained during the past two years, that there would have been a very much greater increase in the membership. He thought they ought to congratulate their secretary on being the first lady member of a ward committee in Glasgow or elsewhere, which was rendered possible by the Bill recently passed. She was the first woman appointed, and was now on the first rung of the ladder for a bailiesship. (Laughter.) He thought the time was coming when they would have to do a little more than merely agitate. They were told the greatest force against women getting the franchise was the women themselves. That was his own opinion. They were handicapped in the sending of men to Parliament, but he could not for the life of him see why women worked for men who would not pledge themselves to support Women's Suffrage. (Applause.) His suggestion would be the adoption by women of the only method that was not criminal, and that was that they should withhold their Imperial taxes until they had some say in administering the law. That was the only legitimate method of breaking the law without becoming a criminal. (Applause.)

Mr. James Orr seconded, and the Report was adopted. Miss Waddell moved, and Miss Dalziel seconded, the re-election of Colonel Denny and the other office-bearers, including the chairman of the executive. Miss Burnet moved, and Miss J. C. Hamilton seconded, the election of Mrs. David Greig as chairman. A discussion followed on the question as to whether a lady or gentleman should fill the chair, but ultimately, by eighteen votes to ten, Mr. Ballantyne was re-elected.

**WHITBY AND DISTRICT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.**—The members of this Society met on Thursday, October 10th, in the Lecture Hall, Silver Street, for their Annual Meeting. After tea had been served, the reports of the Secretary (Miss F. N. Pringle), and Treasurer (Mrs. E. Warters) were read, the latter showing a small balance in hand. The following officers and committee were elected or re-elected:—President, Mrs. Channing Heron, Esk Hall; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. T. Sewell; Mrs. Bell, Iburndale; Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. E. Warters; Hon. Secretary, Miss F. N. Pringle; Hon. Assistant-Secretary, Miss Williams; Committee, Mrs. Cawthorne, Mrs. Tattersfield, Mrs. G. Thompson, and Misses Beadnell, Bowman, A. M. Watson, and Wormald, with power to add to their number. Miss

Wiseman gave an earnest address in illustration of the power of the vote, as instanced in the control of the liquor traffic. The Secretary announced that a meeting was being arranged for, on or about November 20th. Miss F. Sterling had promised to be one of the speakers. The Secretary's report contained a paragraph expressing appreciation of the generous treatment of the Society by *The Whitby Gazette* in the matter of reports and the like.

A debate on "Women's Suffrage" was held under the auspices of the Leytonstone Literary and Debating Society on October 8th. There were some fifty members and friends present. Mr. A. D. Wire moved the following resolution: "That the right to vote should be extended to women on the same terms as it now is or may be granted to men." A good discussion ensued, and the voting resulted in seventeen for and eleven against.

### National Union of Women Workers' Conference in Manchester.

THE Conference of the National Union of Women Workers took place in Manchester the week before last, and was attended by the following delegates from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Bompas, Mrs. Allan Bright, Miss Cooper, Miss Dimock, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss F. Harcastle, M.A., Mrs. Holmes and Miss Soulsby. The importance of the Conference from the point of view of our movement may be estimated by the following extract from a leading article in *The Manchester Guardian* of October 26th:—

"The women workers as such have nothing to do with the suffrage; some of them may not even be in favour of it. Yet nothing was more remarkable than the way in which every subject discussed seemed somehow to impinge on this fundamental issue. Whether it is work in the professions, or on public bodies, or in co-operative societies, or charitable work, or work in the mills, it all comes back sooner or later to questions of legislation, and that for women, having distinctive experience and distinctive aims, means in fact the question of their own vote. So obvious was this that sometimes there was no attempt to disguise it, and we strongly suspect that if the whole of the great body of 700 representative women, many of them of the highest distinction and service, could have been polled, the vast majority of them would have been found to be ardent suffragists."

This statement was most emphatically borne out by the enthusiasm displayed at the evening meeting of Wednesday, October 23rd, when papers were read 'On the Relation of Men's and Women's Labour,' by Miss Margaret Ashton, and 'On the Wage-earning of Married Women,' by Dr. Mary Murdoch, of Hull. To quote the *Manchester Guardian* again: "Miss Margaret Ashton, who was very warmly received, read a paper which might serve as the text for a whole year's debates, so full was it of challenge and conviction. The great difference between men's and women's wages, even for the same work, was attributed in chief to the general low status of women, and she and most of the other speakers urged this in one form or another. . . . A second point that only one or two speakers omitted to make—and there were as many speakers as even Mrs. Creighton could pack into the time—was that there must be no more legislation concerning women's labour until women have the vote. In many ways and with much fervour the justice and expediency of this was urged, and every time it raised a storm of applause."

The following were the three points suggested for discussion in Miss Ashton's paper:—

First, Should the basis of pay be in future the work done, regardless of the sex of the worker; should the worker be allowed to prosper according to ability or application; or should they still continue to give a preference to the male worker for the same work?

Second, Was the working woman still to be wife, mother, and housekeeper, in addition to the wage-earner; or was the man who now suffered such slavery in the home to be compelled adequately to support the woman he had placed in that position and to make her partner in his earnings?

Thirdly, Should they allow the work of the home to be still the unpaid work of women, or were they to admit that the labourer was worthy of her hire, and that adequate wages were as necessary to women as to men; that "living in" had the same lowering effect on women's pay as on men's, and that "keep" was reckoned unduly high in all such payments?

In discussing the problem of the economic position of married women, Dr. Mary Murdoch suggested four remedies for the present unsatisfactory conditions:—

- (1) The right to vote in Parliamentary elections.
- (2) The promotion of trade unionism among women.
- (3) Socialism.
- (4) Co-operation—the wide co-operation which meant co-operative kitchens, co-operative laundries, and co-operative baths.

Mrs. Cooper, of Nelson, who said that she herself had been a wage-earner for years in a Lancashire mill, pointed out that there was great danger in a woman thinking she was of no value economically, that her husband earned the living and must be fed while she went hungry. "Don't be carried away by sickly sentiment," urged this speaker. "No one has a right to legislate for us until we can say in a constitutional way what we want."

### Women Graduates' Appeal in Edinburgh.

It will be remembered that in June, 1906, an action was brought by five women graduates of Edinburgh against the courts and officials of the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, with the object of having it declared that women graduates are entitled to vote at the election of a Member of Parliament for the Scottish Universities. Lord Salvesen gave judgment against the women graduates, who appealed. The appeal came before the Extra Division of the Court of Session on Tuesday, October 22nd, and the hearing of counsel was concluded the following day, but judgment was reserved.

Three judges were on the Bench—Lords McLaren, Pearson, and Ardwall. As Lord McLaren is stepson of the late Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, who was President of the Edinburgh Society for Women's Suffrage, he is doubtless well acquainted with the arguments for and against the granting of the franchise to women in general. He and the other judges seemed to follow the pleading with keen interest, and they made frequent comments on the arguments advanced.

The Solicitor-General (Mr. Ure, K.C.), Mr. Kennedy, K.C., and Mr. Munro were counsel for the pursuers; and the Dean of Faculty (Mr. Campbell, K.C.) and Mr. Macmillan appeared for the defence. The feature of the argument was the discussion of the competency of the action. The plea of incompetency had been dropped in the Outer House, but Lord McLaren pointed out that even if the defenders did not wish to press this plea, they as judges were bound to consider its validity. The proceedings were much more lively than when the case was before the Court last year, owing to the numerous questions and criticisms of the judges, who challenged many of the arguments.

Mr. Munro spoke for more than two hours on Tuesday morning, recapitulating the grounds for the claim advanced. Women graduates are members of the General Council, and enjoy all the privileges of membership except the Parliamentary vote, which has been withheld. The statute provides that voters must be "persons of full age, not subject to any legal incapacity," and also that "no person subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to vote at any Parliamentary election, or exercise any other privilege as a member of the General Council." It is claimed that women are "persons" just as much as men are, and that there can be no question of legal incapacity, since the University franchise, as something entirely new, is unaffected by any decision regarding the property franchise, or by "common law," the product of centuries of use and wont.

When the case was heard last year, Lord Salvesen treated as absurd the claim that voting papers should have been issued to women graduates by the Registrar, if the votes when given were to be rejected. At the second hearing of the case, on the contrary, in connexion with the question of competency, the judges allowed this claim to be argued at some length, Lord Ardwall remarking that "the Registrar's action in not sending

papers really made him, in the matter of election, equivalent to the Assessor, the Sheriff, and the Election Court all in one. So far as the argument had gone it looked very much as if the Registrar was bound to send voting papers to every person on the register, leaving it to be judged whether or not they were entitled to vote. The ladies were entitled to raise that question in the only way in which they could raise it competently, by getting a voting paper."

Counsel contended that the proper course for the Registrar to take would have been to issue the voting papers, and if either of the candidates or their agents objected to the votes of women graduates being received, the matter should have been referred to the Vice-Chancellor, with whom rests the decision as to the admissibility of the votes.

Mr. Macmillan, for the defence, quoted largely from the well-known cases of Chorlton v. Lings and Brown v. Ingram, where the demand of women householders to be registered as voters was refused. He cited also two cases where peers had vainly claimed the right to exercise the franchise, but Lord McLaren pointed out that the reason for the exclusion of peers was that they already "represented themselves," or were represented, in the House of Lords, while for the exclusion of women no such reason existed. It was also pointed out, in course of the argument, that the Lords were excluded from voting or "interfering in Parliamentary elections" by a resolution of the House of Commons. Mr. Macmillan spoke of the granting of the franchise to women graduates causing a constitutional revolution, and was asked by the Bench if he really thought such a revolution would be very formidable; and on his expressing an opinion that for women to vote would be a breach of decorum, it was pointed out to him that there could be no indecorum in filling up a paper and posting it in a letter-box, which is all that is required in the case of University votes.

The Solicitor-General, for the appellants, emphasized the points that it was a new franchise, and that in the particular clause granting the franchise to the Scottish universities the word "person" was used, whereas in the same Act with regard to all other franchises the word "man" was employed.

The Dean of Faculty, senior counsel for the defence, did not show in his pleading that air of easy assurance which characterized him at the first hearing of the case. He seemed perturbed by the comments of the judges, and spoke for an hour to uphold that the action was competent, which was one of the pursuers' pleas!

The hearing was concluded about noon on the Wednesday, and judgment will be given in the course of a few days.

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. November Meetings.

			P.M.
7th	Woburn Sands	Miss Sterling	8
		Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell	
8th	Mildmay Deaconesses	Miss Bompas	
	Dorchester (S. Oxon) Institute	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	3.30
	Southampton	Mrs. Philip Snowden	8
	Chapel Allerton, Drawing-Room	Miss I. O. Ford	3.30
	Meeting	Miss Lucy Stables	
	South Kensington Drawing-Room	Miss Cockle	—
	Meeting		
9th	Marylebone, Drawing-Room	Lady Strachey	
	Meeting		
10th	Portsmouth Working Men's Conference	Mrs. Stanbury	8
11th	Oxted, Drawing-Room Meeting		
12th	Benson (S. Oxon.)	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	3.30
	Headingley, near Leeds, Drawing-Room Meeting, Grove Lodge	Miss I. O. Ford	3.30
		Miss Lucy Stables	
13th	Holborn, Drawing-Room Meeting	Miss Bompas	
14th	Marylebone Drawing-Room Meeting	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	
15th	Invitation Meeting, 25, Warwick Gardens, Kensington	Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, M.A.	8.30
18th	North St. Pancras	Drawing-Room Meeting	—
19th	Garsington (S. Oxon.)	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	7
	Southampton	Mrs. Philip Snowden	8
	Whitby	Miss F. Sterling	8
20th	Cowley (S. Oxon.)	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	7

\* \* All communications intended for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' columns should be addressed to the Secretary, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., and should reach the office not later than first post Saturday each week.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Women's Social and Political Union.

OFFICES: 18, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

MRS. COATES HANSEN  
MISS HODGSON  
MISS IRENE MILLER  
MISS FITZHERBERT

Hon. Organising Secretary: MRS. BILLINGTON-GREGG.

MRS. DRYSDALE  
MISS ARADAM  
MRS. WINTON-EVANS  
MRS. DICE

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.S.C.

MRS. SANDERSON  
MRS. BELL  
MRS. HOLMES  
MISS MANSSELL

THE opening of the new office has marked another step in our progress towards re-establishing ourselves as a force in the Suffragist world. An account of the very successful social afternoon will be found on another page. All the furniture in the office has been given by generous friends; and as we think it would be a pity to make any exception to this rule, we appeal once more for cupboards or folding chairs or their money equivalent.

No doubt our members will be curious to know what we intend to do at the coming by-election. We should have liked to have descended on Hull and accomplished **Hull By-Election.** something stirring; but our hands are tied, and with great regret we have to say that we can do nothing. We have workers eager for the fray. We should have pursued our usual independent policy; but, to put the matter simply, we have no funds. Less than a month ago our coffers were empty, and to raise money on a sound basis requires more time. We have willing workers and a great harvest; but the workers are kept comparatively idle for the want of tools, and energy which should be put into fighting for the vote is spent in getting money which should be flowing in upon us. Hull, therefore, is a lost opportunity for us.

It must be clearly borne in mind that before we can start upon a great national campaign our necessary and inevitable expenses in connexion with the office must be guaranteed, and then a national campaign fund raised. The expenses are kept at a minimum, thanks to the fact that all our work is done voluntarily, with the exception of a trained clerk.

Many of our sympathisers could not be with us on Friday, but we shall hope to see them on the very first Thursday they are able to come. Every Thursday afternoon after 3 P.M. will be given up to a **Social Afternoons.** social meeting. In this way all our members will have an opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of their officials and committee members, and will be able to gain first-hand information of the movement, to hear our future plans and to bring forward their own suggestions. They are also specially asked to bring both women and men friends.

We offer a hearty welcome to the first new branch which has been formed since the Conference. It is at Chelsea, and any one who has friends in that neighbourhood would help by sending their names and addresses to the branch secretary, Miss Cicely Hamilton, 28, Glebe Place, Chelsea, who is anxious to begin active propaganda work in the district.

More volunteers are required for the necessary but tiring work of house-to-house canvassing. By this means we reach women who would otherwise hardly hear of the agitation, and would certainly never think it worth while to take it seriously. **Canvassers.** They are especially required this week to secure a good attendance at our big meetings in Hackney, Hampstead, Battersea, and Lewisham.

### The Idle Smart Girl.

It was at Exeter Hall. The speeches were over, and the music pealed out triumphantly. The Curmudgeon rose and began to struggle into his coat. "Votes!" he said, scornfully. "Would you trust a creature with a vote who dressed like that?" He jerked his thumb towards a girl who sat near, an alluring vision of silk, lace transparencies, many chains, and a cascade of huge feathers. Presumably a woman was hidden somewhere underneath. "Owns an ostrich farm, perhaps," I suggested, apologetically. "All feathers and beads," he continued, irritably, "like an Indian squaw." "Indian chiefs," I ventured, soothingly, "wear more feathers and beads than their wives." He stared. "Compare a poor flat nose with what ought to be a civilized Englishwoman?" he asked, indignantly. "No," I replied, seizing my opportunity, "that's why I protest against the poor Englishwoman being denied privileges accorded to the uncivilized flat nose." The Curmudgeon appeared not to hear. "Just look," he continued, "now do look at her cranial capacity." I called to mind the microcephalic men I had occasionally seen wending their way from the public-house to the polling booth. "There are other women," I suggested, mildly, looking towards the platform, "women, you know, with foreheads." "Yes, yes," he agreed, eagerly; "there are, *Gott sei dank*, but," with gathering ferocity, "that . . . that popinjay with a feathered back is the typical 'Tigress' of the newspapers." I generously ignored the mixed metaphor. "Tigerette, then," I corrected, as the feathered one smoothed her hair softly with an ungloved ringless hand. "Oh, she'll develope," he said, grimly, and disappeared into the crowd. I was content to let him have the last word, for, as I went home, I thought out a defence of my little feathered friend, which I designed should meet his eye. The Curmudgeon is not altogether without saving grace. He reads *Women's Franchise!*

These married "Tigresses," I thought to myself, who devour the unwary rich man, and these unmarried "Tigerettes" who entrap him by every degrading art—are they what they are entirely by their own fault? Is it not true that great monopolies, such as wealth, titles, and political power, are practically in the hands of men? Is it not further true that marriage has been the only legitimate method by which women could enjoy even a shadowy share of these? Has not this largely diverted marriage from its high destiny by often making of it a feverish, competitive commercial transaction of artificial value as an indispensable factor in social importance?

Has not this, again, forced an artificial value on all that is supposed to lead to marriage, on all that dazzles and enchains the senses, and appeals to what is weakest in a man? Let the glittering subtleties that reveal to hide and hide to reveal and constitute the wealth of every third shop in Regent Street bear their witness.

Are these arts learned before marriage likely to be forgotten after, when further ends to be compassed invite the same means in other and less safe directions?

Would not something approaching equalization of heritage between sons and daughters, including the inheritance of titles by only or elder daughters who have no brothers, tend to stamp out that poisonous commercialism which must persist as a dangerous possibility in *mariages à la mode* as long as there exists a vast disparity of worldly goods between the contracting parties?

Would not such equalization give to inclination its fairest chance, and so restore to marriage its most natural safeguard?

Has not the monopoly of Political Power also led to grave evils? Has not the refusal to admit women to their own share of political power by the honest front door of Direct Representation left them as an alternative the equivocal back door of Influence? Good women, with pardonable pride, do not relish such back-door entrances. Does it not, then, come to this, that where legislation has been moulded by women at all it has been through that process of unchartered representation called Influence, impossible to identify or trace, but of which we know that it is more readily adopted by bad women than good. The blushes of history seem to admit something of the sort.

Is it not a significant fact that you may look in vain among the Tigresses and Tigerettes for women who have had a Public School or University education, or who have any healthy, absorbing work, profession, or intellectual aim?

As it would seem that a well-occupied brain is the most valuable ally of morality, would it not be better to educate (if possible, professionally) the Idle Smart Girl, instead of taking the retrograde step of restriction and surveillance suggested by some people? Of what real value is caged morality? The moment comes when the girl is uncaged. What then? The real evil is that the Idle Smart Set Girl without adequate education or steady occupation has claimed the liberty of the modern educated professional woman. The only solution is to educate and employ the Tigerette. Professional occupation for girls needs to be made fashionable. I would raise a monument of gold to the first duchess who had the courage and the initiative to make a diplomat or a barrister of her daughter.

It seems to be evident that Society in general would gain enormously in elevation of thought and aim, and wholesome vigour of useful life if it were as much a matter of course for its daughters to pass through the curriculum of public school and university life as it is for its sons to do so; if it were as *outré* for Lady Clara Vere de Vere to be without her Academic Degree, as it is for her brother; if the professions still closed to women, such as diplomacy, law, advocacy, and others were thrown open to merit irrespective of sex, so that a woman's intelligence, ambition, and energy might have a more worthy and modest outlet than that of financial operator on the great human Stock Exchange.

ALICE ABADAM.

### A Generous Offer.

#### WHAT RESPONSE?

A MEMBER of the Union who has already subscribed to our funds writes to the Hon. Secretary, "I consider it truly noble and disinterested and *very rare* for a treasurer of an important Society like ours to be unable to beg for money, but it should not consequently mean that members do not give. No good and lasting work can be achieved without money to push it forward, and it should be coming in by leaps and bounds. I am willing to give 5*l.* this month if at least ten other members agree to do likewise. I am doing so for a perfectly selfish reason. Our valued officials are already working themselves to death, and if they are crippled in their work by want of sufficient funds, the movement suffers in consequence."

In response to this appeal there should be no difficulty in our obtaining 100 sums of 5*l.* within the time specified. An enthusiastic response to this would lead to similar offers by other members of 100*l.*, or perhaps 1,000*l.*, and thus a single 5*l.* note may lead to the addition of hundreds of pounds to be disposed of in active propaganda.

Just as we go to press the first of the ten 5*l.* is promised.  
E. H. M.

### Notice.

THE first meeting of the National Executive Committee will be on Saturday, and Mrs. Billington-Greig, our Hon. Organizing Secretary, will be in London to-day, and will stay for ten days. Any members wishing to consult her can do so by calling at the office any morning after 11 o'clock.

### Opening of the New Office.

THE members of the W.S.P.U. met together in their new home on Friday last, November 1st, on the occasion of the opening of the offices, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, with a deep sense of thankfulness that the weeks of anxiety and difficulty they had lately had to face were over, and for one afternoon, at least, they could rest on their oars. It is astonishing how much has been done in so short a time. Six weeks ago, for the sake of their principles, they stood un-organised, homeless, penniless!

On November 1st they found themselves in possession of charming offices, in one of the best positions in London—re-organised, with offices, committee, and sub-committees already at work. The chair was taken by Mrs. Despard, who touched briefly upon the events of the last few weeks and went on to impress upon her hearers that in a democratic movement such as ours each member must have her niche and use such powers as she might possess, whether great or small, and take her share in the responsibility for the success of the movement.

The offices were then formally declared open by Mrs. Fels, amidst much applause, and a vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Herringham, whose generosity had enabled such excellent offices to be taken. Mrs. Philip Snowden, who, although she had not come prepared to speak, very kindly accepted an invitation to do so, spoke on the woman's movement from a wider point of view than the suffrage, and, no doubt encouraged by the obvious interest and sympathy with which her remarks were received by many present, went on to remind her hearers, in an earnest and womanly speech, that we must go deep down to the root of things and search for the cause of the trouble which lay in the relations between men and women—until women were free in this respect—free to choose marriage without regard to economic pressure—free to choose motherhood—until this freedom was theirs the present degraded position of women must continue.

Mrs. Irene Miller brought the speeches to a close with an earnest appeal for financial help, pointing out that a properly equipped office was a *sine qua non* if any organized work was to be accomplished, and that all kinds of such work also needed money. Many promises of help were sent in, and an announcement made that the Hackney Branch had guaranteed the sum of £53 from its members, and that a first instalment of £30 would be sent at once.

The proceedings terminated with prolonged applause, and members were heard on all sides congratulating themselves and each other upon having safely weathered the storm and found a haven from which they could once more formulate their plans and devote all their energies with renewed vigour to the task of securing Freedom for Women. C. H.

### Literature.

THE Literature Committee has now added 'Woman Franchise,' by Arnold Harris Mathew (1*s.*)—a splendid defence of women's struggle for political freedom; 'The Rights of Women,' by Ostragorski (2*s.* 6*d.*)—a valuable handbook on the rights of women in various countries of Europe and in the United States, and a penny pamphlet entitled 'Political Rights of Women,' by Condorcet (translated by Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery). Mrs. Swiney's 'Awakening of Women' (1*s.*) is being reprinted and will be ready shortly; and Mrs. Carmichael Stopes's book 'British Freewomen,' which has been revised completely up to the present year, will be ready during November. The monthly international paper, *Jus Suffragii* (price 3*d.*), is on sale at the office, as also the international badge of the same name (bronze, 6*d.* each). All orders should be sent to Mrs. B. Drysdale, Hon. Secretary Literature Committee.

NOTE.—Owing to want of space the Branch Notes have to be held over.—Ed.

### Scottish Notes.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION campaign has been fairly successful. Twenty-one favourable replies have been received from Glasgow candidates, and action has been taken in their favour, a special appeal to the women electors having been issued, asking them not to vote for the opposing candidates, who have in some cases been "heckled" in true Scotch fashion.

The Western Branch give its support to Mrs. Gemmil the only woman candidate near Glasgow. Help has also been given by Edinburgh members to Lady Steel, and the Dundee Branch has supported the candidature of three women for the Parish Council, one of whom, Miss Scotland, is a member of the Branch. In every case this local activity has been utilised to push forward the demand for the Parliamentary vote.

In addition to heckling at municipal candidates' meetings, the Dundee branch crossed the Tay to question Mr. Asquith at Tayport, during last week. Miss Clunas and the two Misses Wilkie, after heckling the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved an amendment to the vote of confidence proposed.

The unfortunate cleavage is now complete in Scotland, and it is well that the matter is at last settled. At the special Conference of the branches, held on Saturday, November 2nd, in Glasgow, the existence of the two societies was fully recognised, and the branches present decided to put themselves at once into communication with the General Secretary, Mrs. How Martyn, as branches of the self-governing and original W.S.P.U.

Two branches refused to attend the Conference; one branch has never considered the cleavage through the action of its officers, and the minority in the other was prevented from attendance by expense. We are certain of six of the ten branches, almost certain of seven, and will probably secure eight, and the nucleus of a ninth. By Christmas we should have a dozen Scottish branches holding up the banner of our rights.

The question of appointing a new organiser was deferred for a short time, but an honorary treasurer to replace Mrs. Pearce was elected. This new Scottish official is Mrs. Moffatt, one of our North-Country prisoners, and a very capable and enthusiastic suffragist, who will yet be known as a speaker for the cause.

The Conference recognised the necessity of having an office as Scottish headquarters and a fund was immediately opened to which a number of subscriptions, ranging from 10*s.* to £5 per year, were immediately guaranteed. This is but the beginning—before the close of the year we intend to have enough money guaranteed to this special fund to enable us to act. If we are successful in our quest of premises, we hope to make the Scottish headquarters self-supporting. The intention is to try to obtain a building which will serve at once as meeting-room for branch or Council meetings and for social gatherings, shop for sales of literature, and rest-room or club. To supply all these needs we shall need two, or at most, three, apartments. A screen can cut off the shop-front from the office proper, and the room used for club purposes during the day will serve for meetings at night. In every city there is a demand for a resting, or calling place for women, and by meeting this need we could both make an income and propagate our principles and aims. In addition to members paying a yearly or monthly subscription, single visits could be made by any woman upon payment of a very small entrance fee. Mrs. Moffatt, 15, University Avenue, Glasgow, will welcome promises or cheques, and I need not add that I will do so also.

Several of our speakers are becoming known in their own districts, and some of them further afield, Miss Munro and Miss Wilkie are perhaps the best known among the young members, but others are following in their steps. Literary societies, co-operative guilds, young Liberals, and I.L.P. branches, all ask for their services. The winter is to be full of activity in response to these requests.

We have a following among the Glasgow University women students, and some staunch supporters in Edinburgh, now comes a spontaneous request for a visit and lecture from the girls of St. Andrews University. Soon we shall have the four Scottish centres of learning sharing the full brunt of the struggle for political equality. TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

### Central Branch.

WE wish to call attention to the fact that on and after Thursday, November 7th, all our Branch Meetings will be held at the new offices at 18, Buckingham Street, Strand. We owe a great debt to the kindness of Drs. Lewin and Thorneit who have allowed us to meet in their house for the last six weeks.

We intend to precede the 8 o'clock meetings on Thursdays by open-air work on the Embankment; and all who can help by speaking or just by being present, are asked to meet at the offices at 6.45 p.m. prompt.

It is also intended to hold on alternate weeks a social meeting; and in this way we hope to gain fresh friends. It is very important that we should increase our membership roll in order to do good work. We need volunteers for speaking and canvassing, and for the social activities too.

Members are specially desired to note that the Branch will not meet on Thursday, 14th inst., as there are so many other special meetings during that week.

ALISON NEILANS, Hon. Sec.

### A Way of Raising Money for the W.S.P.U.

A LADY writes to us that during the winter months she will lend her bungalow on Shoreham Beach, near Brighton, for a minimum sum of 10*s.* a week, or week-end. The money will be given to the W.S.P.U., half to Central work, and half to the local Branch. The bungalow has six bedrooms, two coal-stoves, and every necessary accommodation. Those who need change and sea-air, may thus obtain these advantages, and at the same time assist a cause dear to them. Apply to Mrs. How Martyn, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand.

### PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From November 7th to 15th.		P.M.
Thurs.	Social Meeting, 18, Buckingham Street	Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Despard 3-6
	Central Branch, 18, Buckingham Street	Members and their friends 8
	High Cross Institute, Tottenham	Miss Cox Mrs. How Martyn 8.15
	Art School, Verner Road, Sydenham Station	Miss Abadam Mrs. Dico Mrs. Duval Mr. Burton 8 11 A.M.
Fri.	Hackney, 24, Lower Clapton Road	8
Sat.	National Executive Committee Monthly Meeting, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand	11 A.M.
	Drawing Room Meeting, Mrs. Kettle's Clapham School, High Street, Clapham	How we got the Vote in New Zealand P.M. 4
	Conference of London Branches, 18, Buckingham Street	4
Sun.	Clapham Common	Miss Murby and others 3
	Battersea Park	3.30
Mon.	Letchworth Co-operative Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig 8
	"Votes for Women" Debate, Public Library, Bromley Cardiff	8
Tues.	Battersea Lower Town Hall	Mrs. Despard Mrs. Winton Evans Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Despard Mrs. Winton Evans Miss FitzHerbert 8
Wed.	Hampstead Town Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Nevinson Mr. John Russell, M.A. 8
Thurs.	Lewisham Parish Church Hall, Ladywell Road	Mrs. Snowden Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Nevinson Mrs. Despard 8
Fri.	Hackney	Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Snowden Mrs. Winton Evans Mrs. Despard Mr. Hart Davies, M.P. J. M. Mitchell, Esq. 8

Tickets for the large Demonstrations can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand.  
\*.\* All communications intended for the Women's Social and Political Union columns should be addressed to The Editor, W.S.P.U., 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

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

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

Telephone: 6953 CENTRAL.

### Notes and Comments.

WE have received a number of inquiries from members and friends who did not see the original announcements of the prices of tickets for the Queen's Hall meeting on Tuesday, December 17th. We therefore repeat those announcements:—

Sofa Stalls, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. (numbered and reserved).

Grand Circle, 2s. 6d. and 1s. (numbered and reserved).

Orchestra, 1s. (numbered and reserved).

Area (behind the Sofa Stalls), 6d.

The honorary secretaries will be glad to send out tickets on sale or return. It is very important that all members should do their best to make this meeting a great success. The meeting is open to men and women, and it is hoped that a large number of men will be present.

In the absence of a reply from one of those who were invited to speak, the printing of leaflets has been delayed. It is hoped, however, that they will be ready by the end of the present week. The honorary secretaries are doing their best to dispatch tickets which are ordered, but their hands are very full, and applicants are asked to forbear if their tickets arrive somewhat later than they might expect. Every effort is being made to avoid the expense of paid clerical assistance.

A very important address was delivered last week by Mrs. Philip Snowden at the Queen Square Club on the 'Inner Meaning of the Women's Movement.' The address, which lasted for some three-quarters of an hour, was listened to with great attention, and was described by Lord Russell, a member of the Men's League, as "earnest and convincing." It was followed by an animated discussion, in which several other members of our League took part, including Mr. Joseph Clayton, Dr. Clark, Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Herbert Jacobs, chairman of the executive.

We are frequently asked for information relative to the kinds of members who have joined the League since its formation last March. We have, therefore, arranged with the secretaries for the preparation of a comparative table, showing from what classes of society the members are chiefly drawn. This analysis will appear in these columns either next week or the week after. It will deal as exhaustively as possible with the first 300 members.

### The "Right Sort" of Woman.

THOSE of us who are engaged in active propagandist work on behalf of the enfranchisement of women, continually find that we are fighting phantoms. We pay our foes the respect of assuming that their weapons and their defensive armour are real, solid metal, and find that our force is wasted on unsubstantial outlines of unreality. We deal blows which, by all the laws of the joust, should be acknowledged as crushing, and again and again the shadowy phantasms pour around us.

An example of this is the old cry, "You are seeking to destroy true womanliness, and aid in the evolution of a monstrous creature compact of all the vices of men and women." Having no such intention, we mildly ask what particular effect we are going to produce, in what way or sense we are destroying womanliness by attempting to secure for it political recognition as possessed of intelligence and public spirit.

We ask these questions, and, as the reporter says, we pause for a reply. As a rule we pause in vain. "True womanliness," like "liberty," is a hard term to define. Those bold spirits who are valiant enough to leap into the fray generally wind up by showing that they mean by womanliness either the capacity

to cook and sew for twelve hours in every day, or the determination to abstain from thinking, or the willingness to obey masculine orders, or a deep-seated awe and fear of men. Expressed in these terms "womanliness" is a synonym for incapacity plus subservience. And the odd thing is that those whose arguments—save the mark!—are logically reduced to this, generally repudiate them vigorously, and indulge in noble sentiments of chivalrous respect to cover their retreat. They have condescended to argument, been deposited in the mire of uncomfortable definition, and scramble to shore with the aid of platitudes. The womanly woman is glorified—and still undefined.

From this unreal warfare we turn with some relief to a foeman whose statements are frank and categorical—all the more so, no doubt, because they are not made specifically in answer to the shocking arguments of a Woman's Suffragist.

What is the right sort of woman? Read the wise words of a writer in the current number of *The Royal Magazine*. The article is headed 'The Woman Beautiful,' and is, apparently, not intended primarily as an advertisement.

"The woman who does not know how to look pretty in the evening is to be pitied. She loses the greater share of the admiration which should be hers in life, and she also loses the satisfaction of knowing that she is at her best.

"To look pretty and to know that you are looking pretty; to look your best and to know that you are looking your best; to be admired, courted, petted, and flattered—these are the things which make life worth living to any woman.

"And a woman never outgrows the age when she likes to be admired. If she be of the right sort, she is as fond of adulation at sixty as she was at twenty.

"It is within only two or three years—and, perhaps, one might say within a single year—that the home woman, the domestic woman, and the woman of a family have been initiated into the mystery. Now it is an open secret to every woman who wants to learn it."

The author, who writes under a feminine name, though it may be a *nom de plume*, makes no reference to the Suffrage question; and, therefore, it would be wrong to assume that we are reading the words of an opponent. The point is that here we have a full and complete description of one aspect of the "right sort" of women, and the question arises, "Will the possession of the Parliamentary vote tend to destroy the womanliness thus clearly described?" We reply: "Probably, to some extent, it will."

Now we should not like in any way to suggest that a desire to present a pleasant appearance is reprehensible in man or in woman. We agree that a reasonable degree of care with regard to personal accoutrement is one of the marks of the truly comprehensive mind. To call attention to oneself by weird clothes, unusual length of hair, deliberate untidiness, and so on, is *pro tanto*, and apart from other considerations (hygienic, &c.), unworthy of an intelligent being, and, in excess, constitutes an impertinence toward the community. It is only the weak man or woman who relies on such methods of advertisement. No man or woman is too busy to take care that his appearance does not offend the society in which he lives.

None the less, there is a limit to the time which the more serious avocations of life can be made to leave for the toilet, and we imagine that the processes which are so carefully set forth in the article in question would demand rather more time than could be spared by the kind of woman who may be expected in the future to exercise the Parliamentary franchise.

Apart from this issue—on which men must necessarily maintain an open mind—there are very definite reasons for which we venture to protest against this definition of the "right sort of woman." "The woman," we are told, "who does not know how to look pretty in the evening is to be pitied." Truly physical ugliness is regrettable, but after all it is, except in extreme cases, largely a question of taste, and in all ordinary cases it has nothing to do with intellectual or moral inferiority. But the writer in *The Royal Magazine* would have us believe that every right-minded ugly woman will devote hours of time to effecting a disguise which will conceal her natural defects; and if she does not know how to do it, she is to be pitied. Is there no other occupation which is worthy of her? Might she not take a little interest in her country's welfare? If she is not "nice" enough for the theatre-box or the ball-room, could she not spend her evenings in social work—"slumming," if you will, or even in improving her mind rather than the contour of her chin? Might she not use these hours which she is directed to spend with the beauty doctor in making herself a useful citizen, able to contribute something to the welfare of her town, her country, her race?

No!—"To look pretty and to know that you are looking pretty... to be admired, courted, petted, and flattered—these are the things which make life worth living to any woman." Nothing could be clearer. The writer believes that no woman desires to be useful; women want flattery and attention, not respect. "If she be of the right sort, she is as fond of adulation at sixty as she was at twenty." Adulation, not respect! and an adulation which would be turned to well-merited pity if she failed to conceal with paint and powder the signs of advancing years. "Will the acquisition of the Parliamentary vote tend to destroy this womanliness?" We devoutly hope it will!

For what is at the back of all this? In the first place we affirm that in respect of the great mass of women this picture is an outrageous and an insulting caricature, and we trust that every right-minded woman will repudiate it as such. It is, perhaps, a daring thing to accuse the editor of *The Royal Magazine*, the servant of a firm which has shown remarkable facility in gratifying the public taste, of not knowing his *clientèle*. But we firmly believe that very few women, however immersed in the vortex of "high society," will not, at least, recall a moment in their lives when they would have regarded such an article as an insult to their womanhood.

Are there any women to whom such a description truly applies? Doubtless there are some; otherwise the editor of *The Royal Magazine* would have declined the article which he has seen fit to publish. Can we suggest a reason why any women take such a view of their highest duty? Certainly we can. Such an attitude is due ultimately to long years of dependence on men, who for selfish reasons forced women to rely for courteous treatment and respect upon their physical charms. Youth and beauty alone—and they only temporarily—could win from dominant man that measure of protection and good treatment which made life worth living to women who were debarred from all freedom of thought and action.

We believe that the recognition of women as citizens equally with men is the last stage in the abolition of that irrational sex-dominance, which has been undermined by the spread of education, and the opening of professional and other careers to women. We believe, and we rejoice in the belief, that this recognition, which we owe to all those women who are not of this "right sort," will gradually diminish the number of those who are of "the right sort." And we further believe that the nation will be the richer intellectually and morally for the change. True, there will, perhaps, be a few more women of advanced years who will be content with the "grave aspect" which is significant of ripe experience and hard work in the service of humanity; the names of some beauty doctors may from time to time appear in the lists of bankrupts. These are possibilities which we view without dismay.

We are told that "many women don't want votes." That is true, and probably those women who are "of the right sort" are among them. But is this any reason for refusing votes to

all women? Surely not. Rather would we say that the women who do not want votes are so far traitors in the camp of social purity and the progress of the race, that they frankly express their desire to take no share in the struggle between truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, life and death. None but a drone would refuse to try to fit himself or herself to take part in such a struggle; none but a coward would shirk the duty which lies on every being gifted with intelligence.

We still wait for a satisfactory definition of the "womanly" woman, whom we are so likely to spoil by giving her the vote.  
J. M. MITCHELL.

### Correspondence.

[*The Men's League is essentially a non-party organization, in which all shades of political opinion are represented. For this reason we feel bound to state that the League is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents who may seem to associate its policy with an attack upon any one of the existing political parties.*]

DEAR SIR,—I do not know whether Provost Macbeth, who availed himself of the opportunity of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's address at Dunfermline to question him concerning Women's Franchise, is a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. In any case we owe him warm thanks for his action, which, according to the report in the *Tribune*, October 23rd, drew forth comparatively encouraging expressions of opinion from the Premier. If all the members of the Men's League will help us by following his example at the political meetings during the recess, even Members of Parliament will begin to realize that it is a living question.

Yours faithfully,

A. E. HARRINGTON.

3, Holly Terrace, West Hill, Highgate, N.

[The idea is one which must commend itself to all serious Suffragists.—ED.]

DEAR SIR,—The Prime Minister's recent meeting in Dunfermline has cleared the air in regard to the Government's attitude towards votes for women. A few women desired to ask a question of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, but the chairman, Provost Macbeth, at first was disinclined to allow them this right. But when he found they were of the fighting strain of Scottish lassies, although not bearded like Shakespeare's witches, he thought: "Why should I play the Roman fool, and die?" So he told the suffragists, as they were "of Dunfermline," they could fire away! This convulsed the great audience with laughter. It is said the Scots cannot see a joke; but here they did more, they saw a joke where there was none, and that is the greatest joke of all.

It is well the suffragists did not come from another part of Scotland, for Macbeth would have fought. The women wanted to know what they could do to further their cause. The Prime Minister could not promise them legislation. In effect, he said: "Employ mild tactics and don't pester me." With an immense majority he still keeps half the race disfranchised, letting "I dare not wait upon I would, like the poor cat 'i' the adage." He will find that, until women get the Parliamentary vote, "Macbeth shall sleep no more."

There is a handful of women who aspire to no political freedom, who see the sufferings of their oppressed sisters, the need of laws made with the aid of woman's heart and head, yet will not lift a hand to obtain the vote. The vote will rescue women and children from the sweater's den, will give the women better wages, shorter hours, greater equality with men before the law, better opportunities in the professions. Then you few rich women, why do you withhold your money and your support from a good and just cause, playing with the sorrows of Satan, when the sorrows of women demand your kindly help? If we look down the vista of the past we see a few brave women making heroic struggles for their liberty, but now there is a great awakening within the four corners of the United Kingdom, and "Votes for Women" must and will take precedence of all other questions.  
E. DUVAL.

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