

Women's Franchise.

No. 15.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1907.

PRICE
ONE PENNY.

Contents.

	PAGE
TO OUR READERS	161
THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS	161
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	162
CORRESPONDENCE	163
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES (Current Topics; Branch Societies; Mr. Dickinson's New Bill; The Great Demonstration in Edinburgh; Programme of Forthcoming Events)	164-166
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION (Conference; A Home Truth; Scottish Notes; Legal Privileges of Married Women; The Women's Strike; A Week in Scotland; Meeting at Holloway Hall; Programme of Forthcoming Events)	167-169
MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE (Notes and Comments; Correspondence; Branches; An Average Man)	170-171

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

GERMANY.—The most interesting events of this last month were the two congresses at Frankfort, where, on September 25th and 26th, the German Women's Suffrage Association held its second annual meeting, followed on the 27th-30th by the gatherings of the Progressive Women's Associations. I hope to deal with these more fully on some future occasion. In a former number I mentioned the general protest of women against the laws of association, which excluded them from political meetings, and forbade them to found political associations. Even before these protest meetings were held, news came of a new association law which will be presented to the Reichstag by the Minister of the Interior. Though in many respects very arbitrary, and dealing, as has been remarked, with Germans as a nation of "subjects" rather than "citizens," it is at least an advance, in so far that no special mention is made of "women," and they will, if this is passed in its present form, enjoy as much or as little liberty as men. And since there is always a limit to the amount of interference these will brook, the cause of women is in a better way when once the arbitrary difference in the treatment of the sexes ceases to exist. How absurdly the old rules worked may be gauged from a story told at the recent conference of a friendly chairman, who suspended a meeting in order to allow a lady to speak, and when she had finished, declared the meeting once more open.

NORWAY.—A very interesting pronouncement was recently made in the Storting by Prof. Stang, of the Faculty of Law. In the course of his speech he said: "A long series of struggles has brought us to the point when the most diverse views and opinions find their expression in municipal and political life. How could we then justify the exclusion from this right of half humanity? Have not women views and opinions of their own to represent? Can a man be so prejudiced on behalf of his sex as not to notice when conversing with a woman—whether on subjects of great or little importance—how quick is her grasp, how bold her intuition, how secure her conclusions about matters which are hard to decide by theory."

In the Professor's view the intuition and instinctive judgment of women are valuable assets, which are needed in every State. "Not only would no harm result, but there would be actual gain, if we could utilize the strong, warm, and pure feelings of women in our public life. . . . If at any time in the world's history, this influence is required in an age like ours, when laws no longer appear as cold, logical, soulless formulas, but are brought into close relationship with our private homes, in which they are to bring light and warmth. The abolition of war is a demand met with everywhere to-day. How much better would the prospects be of all such peaceful endeavours if there were some women to be found in every Parliament in Europe. It is impossible to guess beforehand what effect women's influence will have on affairs in general. That is why the women themselves must come forward and do what men cannot accomplish in their stead. Her peculiar point of view must be represented by woman herself. It does not suffice that it should be expressed by men in assemblies of men in a weak and adulterated version. As yet men lack the faith that women will bring their fight to a successful issue, and win the vote on all domains. I, for my part, look forward joyfully to that time, and I rejoice that by my vote I have helped to confer the suffrage on the women of our land."

A. ZIMMERN.

Notice to Contributors and Subscribers.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions. Subscriptions for the weekly numbers to the end of 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.

To Our Readers.

THE kind letters received, with offers of help and suggestions for the future, have been so numerous that we are obliged to ask the senders to accept our thanks through these columns. As we intend to act on some of the suggestions at once, we will here enumerate those in which readers may co-operate. It has been rightly pointed out that we ought, considering our circulation, to obtain more advertisements. Unfortunately, even for good mediums—except in the case of long-established journals—advertisements have to be sought for, which means time and, therefore, expense; but we are seriously considering the employment of some lady interested in the cause as canvasser. Another valuable suggestion we have received is that we should ask our readers to be responsible for seeing that a copy of the journal is placed in a prominent position in their district—such as the Free Public Library, the chief club, &c. With regard to this we are glad to say that many are already carrying out the idea; but of course the matter is capable of great extension. Another suggestion of which we mean to avail ourselves is, that we should have leaflets printed, that readers may obtain free of charge to place in their correspondence, &c. There, for this week, we must stop, and await the offers to help in carrying out the above-named suggestions which past experience teaches us we may expect.

Reviews of Books.

WOMAN: HER POSITION AND INFLUENCE IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME AND AMONG THE EARLY CHRISTIANS. By James Donaldson, M.A. LL.D. (Longmans. 5s. net.)

In order to obtain a correct idea of the conditions which have led to the present position of women in Europe, it is necessary to study women's relations towards the social and political life of the great civilizations of antiquity. Dr. Donaldson's book on the women of Greece and Rome is therefore of the greatest value, and should be read carefully by all who take an active part, or are even merely interested, in the modern movement for the freedom of women.

The chapters devoted to the women of Greece are full of variety and interest. The Homeric woman stands before us, a gracious, dignified figure, dim in the shadows of a remote past, but full of imperishable charm. After a long period, when records are scanty and information unreliable, we come to the women of the two prominent Greek States of Sparta and Athens, and we find how widely the lives of their daughters differed. The Spartans were a race of soldiers, all other work was considered menial, and was performed by slaves. The chief duty of the women to the State was to bear fine children, and this duty was understood in a wide and enlightened sense. If the men were to be healthy, strong, brave, and free, the mothers must be so too. No delicate woman therefore was allowed to marry, and all newborn children were examined by a Government Committee; if they were found to be unhealthy or deformed they were put to death. These measures, taken solely to ensure a race strong enough to overcome all enemies, would not commend themselves to modern ideas, but they had the desired effect of supplying the State with the strongest men and women the world has ever seen. From early days the Spartan girls devoted much time to physical training; they were accomplished athletes, and they took part in the public racing and wrestling contests. The relation of the sexes towards each other was perfectly simple and natural; when it came to the turn of the men to display their agility and strength the girls sat round and greeted their successes with enthusiastic approval, and their failures with shouts of derision. The Spartan women were also highly educated, and their influence over and pride in their menfolk were great. "You of Lacedæmon," said a strange lady to Gorgo, wife of Leonidas, "are the only women in the world who rule the men." "We," she replied, "are the only women who bring forth men."

The citizen women of Athens compare unfavourably in every direction with their sisters of the neighbouring State. With no political standing, no education or interests beyond her home and her religion, it is not surprising that no Athenian woman ever distinguished herself in any branch of science, literature, or art. She led a life of almost Oriental seclusion in her private apartments, and she was never allowed to appear at banquets. She could marry no one but a citizen, and her duty was "to remain inside the house and be obedient to her husband." Hers was the daily round, the common task; she made her husband's and children's clothes, and attended to the housekeeping; thus she "reputably rusted to the grave."

The second part of this interesting volume deals with the women of ancient Rome, and here Dr. Donaldson dispels many illusions. We have been taught to think of the Roman matron as a majestic figure, honoured, dignified, and free. True, she sat in the principal hall of her husband's house, where she received her guests, and she was accustomed to enter and leave her home without let or hindrance, but she was entirely under her husband's control, and he could divorce her at pleasure. Roman men seem to have taken advantage of the unjust laws by which women were at their mercy. One husband beat his wife to death because he caught her breaking the law which forbade women to taste wine; another put his wife away because she appeared in the streets without a veil; a third, because he saw her speaking to a freed woman in public. At length the Roman matrons decided that there was such a thing as a limit to human endurance, and in the year 331 B.C. they took dire and awful

vengeance. In that year many men of the city died in an unaccountable way, and a slave betrayed the fact that 170 Roman matrons, many of them members of patrician families, regularly occupied their time in making poisons wherewith to kill their menfolk. Innumerable individual instances occurred, where men were poisoned by their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, in revenge for lives of intolerable misery and subjection.

In 215 B.C. an unpopular law was threatened which further restricted the Roman women's liberties. Dr. Donaldson's account of the methods they adopted to prevent its passing might have been taken from a twentieth-century English newspaper.

"They left housekeeping to take care of itself and issued forth into the streets and public places to waylay every man that had a vote. They did not wait till they became acquainted with the men. They assailed strangers as well as friends. They also held meetings among themselves and had secret deliberations. Each day their numbers swelled. Roman citizenesses from distant towns and villages flocked in to help their sisters of the city. No stone was left unturned. They went to the nobles, they interviewed patrons and consuls. At length the day drew near when the vote was to be taken in the public assembly. A great meeting was held on the previous evening. One of the consuls, the obstinate, red-haired Cato, delivered a savage speech against the matrons. Others joined in his resistance.... The women were determined. They rose early; they gathered in vast crowds; they surrounded the houses of the obstinate tribunes and.... the tribunes gave way!"

Cato's speech in the Senate on this historic occasion might have been taken from a Women's Suffrage debate in the present House of Commons.

"If men had retained their rights and dignity within the family the women would never have broken out publicly in this manner. If women had only a proper sense of shame, they would know it was not becoming in them to take any interest in the passing or annulling of laws. But now we allow them to take part in politics. If they succeed, who knows where they will end? As soon as they begin to be equal with us, they will have the advantage over us."

The old familiar phrases. How well we know them!

All supporters of Women's Franchise will thank the Principal of the University of St. Andrews for a most useful and a deeply interesting book.

EVELINE B. MITFORD.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE. By A. H. Mathew. (T. C. & E. C. Jack).

WE would recommend the publishers of this most useful compilation to issue without delay a very much cheaper edition. We have not had the pleasure of reading other books in this series, but with regard to this we feel that it is a direct appeal to a sixpenny public. In case this should be misunderstood, we hasten to explain that it is written in a colloquial style, and that, while showing a comprehensive grasp of the subject, the same is set forth in a manner less likely to capture the cultured than the uncultured reader.

In the somewhat cursory chapter 'Historical Reference' which opens the book, we read that in Egypt women "appear to have lived on an equal footing and in perfect agreement with men; and a man was generally described as being the son, not of such and such a father but of a certain mother." This opens up a wide field of interesting research, as does also the passage devoted to the position of women with the Greeks and Romans, a question thoroughly investigated in Dr. Donaldson's 'Woman: her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome, and among the Early Christians.' As indicating the degree to which the old-time rights of women in England had been established, it is noted that "the great Chartered Companies of India and of North America preserved the ancient customs long after 1739, admitting the right of women to vote in their elections."

Mr. Mathew speaks of the Press having grudgingly been forced to devote considerable space to the Suffrage question. This is but half stating the case. Press venality has seldom been more noticeable than in this connexion. Quiet steady

educational work has been ignored, public protest and demonstrations misrepresented to add luridness to "copy," differences of opinion accentuated by amazing persistency. Might not the statement that the Nonconformist pulpit would seem to be a profession peculiarly suited to Protestant ladies, have been emphasized by a reference to the now so customary services for men only?—and why Nonconformist specially?

There is much interesting matter in 'Women's Work and Wages.' The items referring to different Suffrage societies needs bringing up to date; to mention names is invidious unless great care be taken; and the three lines devoted to the Men's League for Women's Suffrage are totally inadequate.

We note also that in speaking of women as composers no reference is made to one of the most important of recent operatic productions, 'Der Wald,' by Ethel Smyth.

WOMAN IN TRANSITION. By A. M. B. Meakin. (Methuen & Co.)

"Transition and change are synonymous terms. In these days it matters not in which direction we look, social changes meet the eye at every turn, and the greatest change of all is that which is slowly, surely, and steadily taking place in woman. The woman movement is one of the greatest problems of our age, and those who travel with their eyes open know that it may be studied in every nook and corner of the globe. This movement has sometimes been mistaken for a revolt; but it is no more a revolt than is the change which a caterpillar goes through before it can become a butterfly. The expert can tell, with one look at a caterpillar, what kind of butterfly it is going to turn into; but woman is not a caterpillar, and the cleverest of experts are disagreed as to her destiny. Few writers have approached this problem with unbiassed minds and complete freedom from prejudice, and it is too closely entwined with the happiness, or unhappiness, of every human being for any to approach it with indifference."

With these lines Mrs. Budgett Meakin opens a study which, investigated throughout from a comparative point of view, deals with a multitude of subjects, ranging from the absurdity of "At Homes" to the views of Seneca on male and female mental equality, from the position of women in building trades to the Judaizing of the Catholic Church as affecting women, and embraces discussion of such topics as the alleged boredom of married couples and its cure, an indictment of needlework, the camaraderie between Russian girls and men, and certain aspects of the servant question.

The position of women in nearly every European country is discussed, and here the author, a fellow of the Anthropological Institute, in addition to her own travel experience, is able to utilize the observations of women friends in nearly every quarter of the globe, whose help she acknowledges. One writing from the Farøe Islands sends interesting particulars about the wives of Danish fishermen there.

Among many interesting chapters, 'Thoughts on Motherhood,' 'The Soul of the Outcast,' 'The Woman who is an Old Maid,' 'The Eventuality of Widowhood,' one—'Woman and Christianity'—seems to us the most striking, though perhaps a little biassed. In it the author protests against the inactivity of "the Churches" on behalf of woman, citing (largely from Lange's 'La Femme de Demain') passages declaring the degradation imposed by Protestantism in taking away from woman religious independence, and proclaiming her to be under a hereditary curse, "as a result of which she must for ever, in accordance with the Divine will, remain in a kind of slavery to man." "Luther in delivering her from her convent prison imposed incarceration upon all womanhood. Already on the Continent Catholic dignitaries are demanding the franchise for women, and Catholic barristers are fighting for her civil and religious rights"—and not alone on the Continent. Leaders of religious thought in this country have also pronounced in favour of Woman Suffrage.

They have decided that they must not "leave her to be the meek victim of Socialism." One chapter is devoted to the promise of emancipation held out to women of every class by Anarchism and Socialism, others deal with the position of the working woman, the middle-class girl, and the woman who is an old maid, while in the final chapter universal co-education is commended as the door through which the full equality of the

sexes and all that that equality means for the improvement of the race will be reached.

It is difficult to suggest any way in which the book could be made more comprehensive. From that most useful feature, the bibliography of some 140 vols., which includes works by English, French, German, and Spanish authors, we miss the names of Anthony and Stopes, and we note several small misprints—Stanton Coit, for instance, appears as Cort, and lying in as "lying-in" (p. 312). We tender hearty congratulations to the author of a book without which no woman's bookshelf will be complete, and suggest, moreover, that each one should see to it that at least one man of her acquaintance reads it. In addition to the collation of some of the finest thought of other writers on the subject, there is much original matter.

Correspondence.

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

MR. DICKINSON'S NEW BILL.

SIR,—I should not be doing my duty by Mr. Dickinson and the members who have endorsed his amended Enfranchisement Bill if I did not, as an individual, express my cordial approval of Clause number 3, as included in it. It is quite conceivable that neither the Government nor the majority of the House of Commons may assent to that clause; but if they object, there is nothing to prevent their striking it out in Committee, and passing the Bill without it; so that Mr. Dickinson need not trouble himself about that contingency. The question of "tactics," therefore, is practically irrelevant. On the other hand, there is a vital principle at stake in the matter. It is time that whatever chivalrous manhood resides in the nation should raise its emphatic protest against the detestable doctrine that when women marry they renounce their political rights, and become the irresponsible chattels of their husbands—a doctrine which lies at the root of more than half of the degrading disabilities under which they suffer at the present day. It is not true that the qualifications which entitle the husband to vote belong to him exclusively. That is a purely legal fiction, devised to buttress up the present iniquitous system. Nine times out of ten the wife is a *bona fide* partner in the qualifying property, &c.; and is as much entitled to the vote arising out of it as her husband; and I am amazed that any intelligent person, of either sex, should fail to see it. If that be not the case, what a scandalous falsehood is conveyed in the solemn declaration, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow"! For forty years, or so, I was the titular proprietor of a business of which my wife was the sole managing partner; yet I had the vote out of it, and she had not. At present we are joint lodgers under conditions quite sufficient to qualify us both as electors; yet the same degrading disqualification is imposed upon her. I should be a very poor creature indeed if I did not protest against so flagrant an injustice. I devoutly trust that Mr. Dickinson will stand to his guns, and do all that in him lies to wipe out this foulest of all the blots which deface our electoral system.

Yours, &c.,
THOMAS J. HASLAM.

Dublin, Sept. 21st, 1907.

Chorley Wood, Herts, September 28th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM,—There is a canvas going on in this neighbourhood by women for women, asking us to sign a petition in favour of Tariff Reform. Is it less unwomanly to sign our names to this petition than to mark a cross against a candidate for Parliament?—and if we are deemed incompetent to do the latter I should be glad to learn by what logic we are deemed sufficiently intelligent to grasp the meaning of such a great Imperial change as Tariff Reform.

I am yours truly,
MAUD ARNCLIFFE-SENNETT.

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 BARDCASTLE, M.A. MISS FRANCES STERLING.

Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.

Parliamentary and Organising Secretary: MISS EDITH PALLISER.

Telephone: 1960 VICTORIA.

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

The Union will send 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.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

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

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

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

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

We draw the attention of our members to the statement *re* the New Bill signed by the Chairman of Committee, Mr. W. S. B. McLaren. It sets forth in concise language the opinion and attitude of the National Union towards the new measure, as expressed through its Executive Committee, and is, therefore, worthy of careful consideration.

Last Saturday was the day of the great Women's Suffrage Demonstration in Edinburgh. A request, signed by many distinguished Scotswomen, was sent to the Prime Minister, who was addressing a meeting in that city on the same day, asking him to receive a deputation from them. Owing to other engagements, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman asked to be excused from meeting the deputation, and concluded his letter by saying: "Besides, I do not see that any good would arise from a deputation, as I am well aware of your desires, and I have frequently expressed my own views on the subject."

In addition to Miss M. Ashton's candidature for a seat on the Manchester City Council, Mrs. Redford, a Poor Law guardian and member of the Manchester Distress Committee, is offering herself for election. Miss Reddish, of Bolton, also a Poor Law guardian, is seeking election to the Town Council of that town; and at Croydon Miss Crickmay, who is already a co-opted member of the Education Committee of the Town Council, is standing as a candidate for municipal honours.

Branch Societies.

CENTRAL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY: NORTH KENSINGTON NEWS.—The first of the three meetings which complete our open-air campaign for this year was held at the corner of Archer Street and Westbourne Grove on Monday, September 30th. A chapter of accidents threatened to upset our arrangements. We deeply regret that Mr. Malcolm Mitchell was unable to speak owing to pressure of business connected with the Queen's Hall meeting of the Men's League. Affairs were further complicated by the fact that, one side of the road being under repair, we were unable to give our speakers the added dignity of a van from which to speak. However, we made the best of things, which were not so bad after all, seeing that the indispensable adjunct of a meeting—an audience—had already gathered.

Miss Sterling mounted the forms which we hastily removed from the van, and kept the crowd deeply interested in the question of Women's Suffrage until Mr. O'Dell arrived on the scene. The audience paid Miss Sterling the sincerest compliment in their power, listening quietly and with keen attention to her remarks, and paying no heed to a slight attempt at interruption.

Mr. O'Dell followed Miss Sterling, and emphasized the fact that to vote was a duty as well as a right—a duty he would like to see given to women, though they might not all think they wanted it. We then invited questions, but few were asked.

The second meeting was held on Thursday, October 3rd,

outside the Lancaster Road Baths. It was the first meeting we have held here, and drew a more strictly working-class audience than we got at Archer Street. The corner is an excellent one, because no less than five roads converge towards it. The usual plan of sending helpers with handbills along each of the roads was followed. The women, when spoken to, seemed pleased to be told of the meeting, and later we saw a number of them in the crowd. Many working men from the Fawcett Liberal Club attended, and whatever their opinions may have been, they certainly listened very attentively. Miss Sterling took the chair. Mr. A. Adams, who spoke for us at the Wimbledon election, Miss Palliser, and Mr. Whybrow were the other speakers.

Miss Lowndes, of the Artists' League, arrived during Miss Palliser's speech with the poster, "Won't you let me help you, John?" of Wimbledon fame. We held up the poster in the van, and Miss Palliser demonstrated it to the audience. The poster seemed to break the ice for crowd and speakers—the people all moved up round us to see better—and once they had laughed heartily, an attentive audience changed into a friendly one. We thank Miss Lowndes and the artists very sincerely for their help, and believe that there is a future for pictorial illustrations of the present anomalies of the franchise. Questions followed the speeches, especially the adult suffrage question. "Are you advocating adult suffrage?" said the man in the crowd. "If by that you mean, are we women, who have no votes, busy trying to get more votes for men who already have many votes," replied the chairman, "the answer is, No!" ALEXANDRA WRIGHT.

HULL WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—The Session for 1907-8 was opened by a conversation in the Oddfellows' Hall. The arrangements were carried out with great *éclat*, and the large gathering had a capital programme arranged for their enjoyment. In the unavoidable absence of the President, Miss Murdoch, the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. H. W. Kirk and Mrs. Longman received the guests.

The forthcoming programme for the winter included prospective visits from Mrs. Snowden, Miss E. Roper, Miss Murdoch, Miss M. Corbett, Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Edwin Grey, and Miss Martindale.

An enjoyable programme of music and recitations had been prepared under the guidance of Miss Eleanor Coward, to whose exertions the success of this part of the evening's pleasure must be cheerfully accorded.

IPSWICH AND COUNTY WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—The first members' meeting of this Society was held last Wednesday evening in St. Lawrence Hall. Miss Kennett, M.A., the President of the Society, was in the chair. She remarked that as the audience consisted of sympathizers there was no need for arguments or stale platitudes. On the main object they were all agreed; there might be differences of opinion as to the means to be adopted in attaining the object, and some latitude must be allowed as to methods of working. Whilst anxious to preserve catholicity in the movement, the President was desirous that educational rather than militant means should be adopted.

The Secretary (Miss C. E. Andrews) reported as to the progress of the Society during the short time since its formation. There were at present 60 members and a strong working Committee. The Vice-Presidents include Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. The autumn campaign includes a meeting for municipal

women voters, to be followed by a general public meeting later in the session. Short speeches were given by Mrs. Griffiths, Mrs. Hossack, and Miss Andrews, and an animated discussion ensued, in which Mrs. Vulliamy, Miss Roe, Miss Harrison, and Miss Flear took part. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Rowley Elliston for taking the chair at the last public meeting, and to other gentlemen who had rendered assistance. The rules of the Society, drawn up by the Committee, were endorsed by the members.

LEEDS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—The Committee of the Women's Suffrage Society met at Queen's Square on October 1st, under the presidency of Miss Lucy Stables. In addition to other business, arrangements were made for propaganda work during the winter months. In order to get in touch with women of all classes, it was decided to hold both drawing-room and cottage meetings in different parts of the suburbs, and to endeavour to secure the presence of as many women householders as possible on these occasions. Miss I. O. Ford and Mrs. Gray Heald spoke of the success attending their efforts in this direction in past years.

The Hon. Secretary was empowered to make arrangements with Mr. Brierley (bookseller), Bond Street, Leeds, for the sale at his establishment of Suffrage publications, pamphlets suitable for debates, and the *Women's Franchise* paper.

Satisfaction was expressed at the number of women, well known in professional, social, and philanthropic circles in Leeds, who had recently joined the society, including some who had, until lately, been opposed to the enfranchisement of women.

ILFORD W. L. A. AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

MISS EDITH PALLISER addressed by invitation a meeting of the Ilford Women's Liberal Association on Friday, October 4th, Mrs. Grimwood, acting President, presiding. There was a good attendance, and Miss Palliser's excellent speech was listened to with close attention and interest.

* * * Owing to pressure on our space the account of the Reading Society is held over till next week.

Mr. Dickinson's New Bill.

THE National Union has never been responsible for the drafting of the various Women's Suffrage Bills which have been introduced into the House of Commons, but has given its support to them all. The object of the Union is to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for Women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. Its position therefore has been clear and consistent. It seeks to remove the disability of sex, and concurrently any disability arising from marriage; but it has never concerned itself with the question of what should be the basis of the franchise, nor whether the existing franchise was the best one or should be altered. So far as it has advised Members of Parliament, it has urged that the Bill should be limited to the removal of the disabilities of sex and marriage, believing that until Parliament adopted that principle, it was unwise to seek any further extension of the law, or to create any new franchise for the benefit of women. It was therefore entirely satisfied with the Bill which Mr. Dickinson introduced at the beginning of last session, and which would have been read a second time by an immense majority if the Speaker had allowed the closure of the debate. It was evident that all parties were willing to vote for this Bill, leaving its details to be discussed in Committee, and that the whole strength of the supporters of Women's Suffrage would have been shown in its support.

Towards the close of the session, however, Mr. Dickinson introduced a new Bill of a very different character, apparently in the belief that, from a tactical point of view, such a measure would have a better chance in the present Parliament. It seems desirable that the scope of this Bill should be carefully examined.

The Bill contains three operative clauses with a proviso to the first clause. The first clause, up to the proviso, removes the disability of sex, and the second clause removes the disability

of marriage. These are entirely satisfactory, and are in substance the same as Mr. Dickinson's original Bill. The proviso to the first clause, however, enacts that no woman shall have more than one vote, even though she may be registered in more than one constituency; in other words, that while men continue to have the plural vote, women shall not have it. That plural voting is certain to be abolished very soon may be taken for granted, and it may also be open to many objections. But to provide that women shall not have it while men still possess it is clearly to depart from the principle of an equal franchise for both men and women; and to that extent the Bill falls short of the object of the Union. It is a matter for regret that such a distinction should be made, because it destroys the principle and makes the proposed law inconsistent. In practical effect it may make little difference, because plural voting for men may be abolished by this Parliament, but to introduce a disability in a Bill for removing disabilities is a very doubtful piece of tactics.

The third clause is, however, the one which will excite most controversy, for it creates a new franchise solely for the benefit of married women, which it does not extend to married men. It provides that a married woman living with her husband shall be registered as a voter and joint occupier in respect of *his* qualification as owner, tenant, or lodger of his dwelling-house or lodgings, as the case may be. To prevent any doubts we give the exact clause:—

"3. For the purposes of this Act, a married woman who is living with her husband in a dwelling-house or lodgings for which the husband is entitled to be registered and to vote shall be deemed to be a joint inhabitant occupier as owner, tenant, or lodger of such dwelling-house or lodgings, and nothing contained in sections three and four of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, or section six sub-section (3) of the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, shall be construed so as to prevent both husband and wife from being registered and voting as joint occupiers of such dwelling-house or lodgings."

The effect of this is that the mere fact of marriage becomes a qualification for a woman for the franchise, provided the husband is already a voter in respect of a house or lodging; but if he is only a freeholder it will not operate. The clause does not provide a similar franchise for a husband who lives in his wife's house, and thus it creates a new franchise for women which men will not possess. This is a totally different proposal from the present law of joint occupancy. At present two men, who live in and are joint tenants of a house of the annual value of 20*l.*, may each have a vote in respect of it, and under the second clause of Mr. Dickinson's present Bill, a husband and wife would be entitled to become joint tenants of such a house. A joint tenancy is, of course, quite distinct from merely living together in a house. It means that both are responsible as owners or tenants, and both have a pecuniary interest in the house. But Mr. Dickinson does not require this. He proposes that for the wife merely to live in her husband's house or lodging shall confer a vote on her; in other words, that marriage shall be the qualification, and not any rights as owner or tenant, as is the case with the man. We do not believe that such a franchise will meet with any great amount of approval. If Mr. Dickinson wishes to enfranchise the mass of married women, he should propose to reduce the rental needed for joint occupancy from 20*l.* to any figure, however low, and he could then make it clear by specific words that a husband and wife can be registered as joint owners, tenants, or lodgers where they actually are such. Such a measure would leave the law equal for men and women, and it would lead to the great majority of married women becoming legally part owners or tenants of their houses. This would cause an improvement in their status, and would give them rights in their homes which they do not now possess. It would also be an extension of the franchise on recognized lines, to which probably little objection would be taken, because the 20*l.* limit for joint occupancy is an arbitrary limit which cannot be defended. But to create a totally new franchise for women, independent of all responsibility for the household, and dependent solely on being married to men who possess some of the qualifications for the franchise and not others, is a course which cannot be logically

defended, and which will certainly cause a secession from the ranks of supporters in the House of Commons.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Dickinson will not reintroduce this Bill next session, but that if he feels it necessary to provide means for the enfranchisement of the wives of working men, he will do so in the way indicated above, by making *bona fide* joint tenancy possible irrespective of the value of the house. Such a measure would probably appeal to a democratic House of Commons, and though it would alter to some extent the basis of the franchise, and would require much care in drafting and in the choice of the title of the Bill, it would leave the law equal between men and women, and it could therefore be defended consistently by the National Union.

While the Union will welcome any extension of the franchise to women, however few or however many, it attaches great importance to maintaining the principle of equality, and believes that only a Bill based on this principle can ultimately be carried through Parliament.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the National Union,
W. S. B. MCLAREN, *Chairman*.

The Great Suffrage Demonstration in Edinburgh on Saturday, October 5th.

SCOTLAND has been in past years, and is still very notably the open battleground of many conflicting creeds, faiths, and opinions, and Edinburgh, the ancient capital, has taken her own share in pageant and procession, royal, democratic, or revolutionary; but probably her green hill, grey dreaming palace, stately streets, and great battlements and tower never looked down upon a demonstration quite so unique, one more impressive to the thoughtful eye, or in its own distinctive way more eloquent than that of the women's procession of women suffragists which took place on Saturday afternoon, October 5th, 1907.

The arrangements for this great demonstration, first proposed by the Women's Social and Political Union, were undertaken by a committee of their members, along with those of the Edinburgh National Women's Suffrage Society, and they had worked for its success with an admirable enthusiasm, unity, and practical wisdom, and with a result for all their generous labour which justified it and must have been their high reward.

The rallying point of the procession was the King's Park, under the shadow of Arthur's Seat by St. Margaret's Loch, and here in the delicate, soft sunshine of an autumn afternoon were gathered hundreds of women in carriages and on foot. Not from Edinburgh alone, but from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Dunfermline they came.

Long before the hour fixed for starting, the slope of the hill was covered by a silent, attentive, and perhaps rather puzzled crowd, watching the proceedings below. At half-past three o'clock the procession was formed, and, headed by mounted police, followed by the gracious and dignified President of our Society, Miss S. E. S. Mair, in whose carriage also drove Lady Frances Balfour, Miss Mair, and Col. Mair. It numbered between two and three thousand women, and in the very homeliness and simplicity of its appearance lay its strength and dignity. It was as plainly in earnest as any of the great popular heroic demonstrations of history. The crowd of Saturday that lined the streets of Edinburgh to watch it pass, a crowd estimated at nearly a million—for if women came in hundreds to join the procession, men and women flocked in thousands to look on—showed that it felt and understood, however dimly, something of this earnest spirit.

It was a quiet, watchful, undemonstrative crowd, after the characteristic Edinburgh manner. Here and there a woman waved her handkerchief from some balcony or window, recognizing a friend in the procession; now and then a man saluted it by raising his hat. There were cynical, amused, perplexed, or friendly smiles on the faces of the lookers-on. But beyond the usual witticisms flung at it by the man in the street, such as, "Go home and mind the baby," "Better darn your stockings," "You'll get six months for this," there was no obvious antagonism.

On the other hand, the conventional idea of the noisy, rowdy

woman suffragist, as depicted by the press and in cartoons, must have received a rude shock. There was absolutely nothing in this quiet, orderly regiment of earnest women—workers in every department of life, householders and breadwinners, young and old, all united in a common loyalty to their cause—to suggest the virago of popular imagination. And so, by ancient palace and abbey, up the broad winding road, and through stately streets, the procession of women, guarded by police, went on its quiet way. Amongst their numbers walked several men—notably one well-known clergyman—who were chivalrous and true enough to show their sympathy with its cause.

At the doors of the Synod Hall, where the meeting was to be held, it halted. An immense audience, which filled every seat, and overflowed into the hall below, speedily assembled. Miss Mair took the chair at the first meeting. Lady Steel presided over the other, held in the Pillar Hall. Miss Mair, upon rising to speak, was greeted with enthusiastic applause. In a few heartfelt words, before introducing the speakers, she expressed the extreme regret felt by all at the enforced absence of the greatly esteemed secretary, Miss Methven, who, on account of illness, was not able to be present that day.

The speakers following upon the Chairman's address were Mrs. Despard, Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Billington-Grieg, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Lees. The eloquence and enthusiasm of the ladies is always fresh and entirely stimulating, and on this occasion, they spoke with delightful power and distinction. Their arguments on the question of Women's Suffrage were the simple and unanswerable ones of reason, expediency, and justice.

The following resolution, moved by Mrs. Despard, seconded by Miss C. Pankhurst, LL.B., was carried unanimously and enthusiastically amid cheers:—"That this meeting calls upon the Government to bring in next session a measure to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to women, and thereby remove an injustice which has for so many years disgraced the nation's history." Mrs. Billington-Grieg moved:—"That this meeting resolves to translate its enthusiasm into definite action, and not to cease working till the bar of sex disqualification is removed, and the citizenship of women becomes an established fact." Mrs. Philip Snowden seconded, and the resolution was unanimously adopted amid great enthusiasm.

A collection taken at the close of the meeting, to defray expenses, amounted to 19l. 5s.

A religious meeting was held on Sunday afternoon in the Queen's Hall, particularly emphasizing the essentially spiritual side of the enfranchisement of women, and clergymen of different denominations in the city took part in it. A. H. BEGBIE.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

October Meetings.

			P.M.
12th	Reigate Branch, Open-air Meeting at Redhill		7
13th	Southwark, Browning Hall P.S.A.	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell	3
15th	Wandsworth Local Committee, "At Home," Wandsworth Town Hall. Music	Hon. Mrs. B. Russell Miss Sterling	7.45
16th	Meeting at "Highfields," Penn Road, Wolverhampton Ipswich	Mrs. T. Graham in chair Mrs. Osler Miss Palliser Mrs. Martel	8
18th	Huddersfield Reigate Branch, "At Home"	Miss Kate Kiltum Miss Sterling Mr. Mitchell	8-10.30
19th	Reigate Branch, Open-air Meeting at Redhill		7
24th	Central Society, "At Home" to Members and Friends, 25, Victoria Street		4-6.30
27th	St. Saviour's Men's Sunday Class, Birmingham	Miss E. Gardner	10
28th	Debate at the Reform Club, Birmingham	Proposers: Mrs. Osler Miss I. Marris	

Friday, October 25th ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, Midland Hotel, Manchester 10.30
DEMONSTRATION in Free Trade Hall, Manchester. 7.30

** 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.

Conference.

THE Conference bids fair to be a great success. Last year twenty out of the thirty-two branches then in existence sent delegates. Thirty-one branches have already expressed their intention to be represented, although, unfortunately, some branches who desire to send delegates are too poor to bear the necessary expense. We are still awaiting the decision of nineteen of the branches, and hope they do not intend to neglect this opportunity of meeting and discussing with their fellow workers from all parts of the country. Such intercourse produces enthusiasm and fresh energy for the work, and is one of the best results of a Conference. Delegates' tickets can be obtained up till Friday.

The business will begin promptly at 10 o'clock on Saturday morning. The nearest station to Caxton Hall is St. James's Park on the District Railway, and the Hall is between five and ten minutes' walk from the Houses of Parliament. Arrangements will be made for obtaining light refreshments at a small cost within the building. It is important that delegates and visitors should remember to bring their tickets.

Though the Conference itself will only be open to members, yet all sympathizers and friends will be heartily welcomed at the evening meeting. Entrance will be by ticket, which can be obtained on application to the Hon. Sec., 1, Marden Road, South Tottenham.

A Home Truth.

MR. M'PHERSON, Labour Member for Preston, referring to Mr. Keir Hardie's reported criticisms of British rule in India, said: "Whatever has happened, I want to say that the Labour movement is a movement essentially above any party, creed, nation, or colour."

When the Labour movement can truthfully add the word "sex" to this list, the gamut of its virtues will be complete. Until that time the attitude of men who gush over with sympathy for the male Russian political outcast and for the male Hindu victim of British autocracy, while ignoring or making light of the wrongs suffered by the political outcasts in their own country, is one which must strike women as being both hypocritical and unfair. Mr. Keir Hardie himself believes in liberty for all, men and women, black, white, and yellow. He has proved his faith by his works, but his followers lag very far behind him. If the Labour men want us to believe in their honest desire to establish the reign of liberty in the world, let them first look at home: let them put their own house in order, and so, having removed the beam from their own eyes, will they be better able to behold the mote in their brother's eye.

Scottish Notes.

THE great week is closed. The large demonstrations which led up to the final pageant in Edinburgh are all over, and the pageant itself has passed along Princes Street, and faded from the thousand eyes which watched it on its way. The Scottish women have taken a step forward towards liberty, and the Scottish public has realized a new fact. Those who laboured and toiled to bring about this result are rejoicing in the reward of their efforts, and, weary with overmuch exertion though they may be, are full of hope in the future that lies before. A glimpse of the possibilities of this future has been given to them and to the public in the response which has been made to their call by the women of Scotland.

A detailed account of the procession and the two monster meetings will be given by others in this issue. I merely desire to add my mite of praise to the chorus which rose around me

during the great day. I want to give voice to it, for many of those who spoke cannot give voice to the feelings of gratitude with which they regard the self-sacrificing work of our women, especially of those who toiled in Edinburgh. The Committee of the Edinburgh W.S.P.U. deserves first mention, because it was from the desire of this body to forward the cause that the whole effort sprang. Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Bell (who has slaved as the secretary of the procession committee), Mrs. Sanderson (who has given a month of most unflinching energy and devotion to the work), Miss Jacobs (whom we have to thank for the beautiful banner which led the procession), Miss Jack, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. MacLeod Easson, and others of their fellow members of the W.S.P.U., have done yeoman service. Three and four meetings have been held day after day in different parts of Edinburgh and district, and canvassing has been steadily continued for a full month. In addition to this, all the weight of the general arrangements fell upon the joint committee specially formed from the W.S.P.U. and the Edinburgh Suffrage Society, and no words of praise can be too strong an acknowledgment of the success achieved. Our friends of the Suffrage Society must also have put forward their best efforts, for they had gathered their members and friends from far and near to proclaim their demand for citizen rights. We regret as keenly as they do the absence from the ranks on Saturday of Miss Methven, whom illness prevented from leaving her home.

The meetings in Aberdeen, Dundee, and Dunfermline were full of promise. A great advance has been made during the summer in all of these towns, especially in the latter two. The regular out-door meetings have worked wonders. They have turned indifference into interest, curiosity into respect, and ignorance into understanding. I desire to call the attention of the Glasgow and Aberdeen branches to this fact. There is no excuse in the claim that the branches in these towns are destitute of speakers, for so were Dunfermline and Dundee until they made them. We have more than 200 members in Glasgow, and I shall never believe that there are not at least a dozen women who could speak effectively among that number. Who is willing to try? A speakers' class for the three Glasgow branches is needed. We must make an effort to start it this month. Names of those who will attend can be sent in at once.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman refused to receive the deputation of Scottish women who desire the immediate enfranchisement of their sex. His reason for this unstatesmanlike and discourteous action is given in the following paragraph:—

"I do not see that any good would arise from a deputation, as I am well aware of your desires, and I have frequently expressed my own views on the subject."

The reply from the representative of the signatories of the request for the deputation ran as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your favour of yesterday's date, and regret that you cannot make it convenient to meet a deputation of your countrywomen on a question of so great public importance—the first time, I believe, that you have been asked to do so.

"As to your remark that you 'do not see that any good would arise from a deputation, as you are well aware of our desires, and have frequently expressed your own views on the subject,' may I be allowed to point out that the object of the deputation was not that of hearing a repetition of your personal views—which, however pleasantly sympathetic, are of no more than personal interest and importance to us—but that of receiving from you, as head of a so-called 'Liberal' Government, some pronouncement as to the future intentions of that Government towards this most vital part of the Liberal programme.

"I may take it from the terms of your letter, that the Government has no intention of facing its responsibilities in this matter, and that your reply to me is in effect that which would have been received by the deputation itself.

"I have no doubt it will tend to further enlighten those Liberal women who still endeavour to maintain faith in their party, and so will not be altogether without use."

After Sir Henry's reply to us, an unconstitutional effort to force from him a definite statement as to the intentions of the Government would have been more than justified; but on this occasion the hand of the Women's Social and Political Union was not free. We do not often give our word, but, having done so, we are scrupulously honourable in keeping it. Before the Premier's visit to Edinburgh was announced, the procession and demonstration had been arranged. In calling for the support of all suffragists for this effort, we had given a pledge that the day's proceedings were to be entirely peaceful, and only upon this basis was co-operation possible among the different societies which desired to take part. Therefore we refrained from any active protest at the Premier's meeting, and appealed rather to the people against his refusal to take action on our behalf. We believe our policy was the only honourable one, and we know that the protests that must follow later will be strengthened in the eyes of the public by the restraint, dignity, and high principle which dictated our acceptance of the peaceable course desired by other bodies, even when it entailed the loss of a great opportunity for justifiable protest.

The branches are very busy this week making final arrangements for the Conference. So far as I know, all of the Scottish branches except two are to be represented. I hope that as many members as possible of every branch will attend as visitors. There is need for the widest possible attendance, and the most general consideration of the internal machinery of the Union, if the effort we put forth is to be productive of the fullest amount of good for the cause we serve.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Legal Privileges of Married Women.

WHEN, as an argument for the enfranchisement of women, we advance the injustice, from our point of view, of entirely man-made laws, we are sometimes confronted with the statement that, in certain instances, existing legislation is unduly favourable to women.

That statement I believe to be a true one. I understand that it is possible for an unscrupulous woman to get into debt (for luxuries) to practically any amount and avoid payment, unless it can be proved that she had authority from her husband to incur such debts. But the existence of such a state of things is, to my mind, an argument for, and not against, the citizenship of women. Citizenship has its responsibilities as well as its rights, and the law does not yet recognize that woman is a responsible being; it treats her, in fact, as a child, and to a child are granted certain petty privileges which are rightly refused to those who have reached maturity. So long as legislation supports the old idea that the conduct of a wife is, and ought to be, completely under the control of her husband, so long is there a certain amount of logic in the state of things which permits women without heart or conscience to evade the payment of debts contracted without the authority of their overlords. The real reason why actions may not be brought against married women who have no separate estate is because the wife is regarded as the private property of the husband, and her imprisonment would be an interference with his proprietary rights. Recognize that a married woman is something besides a wife—an adult human being fully responsible for her actions—and you make it impossible for her to shelter herself behind the disability of coverture from the consequences of her own folly and dishonesty. As an independent citizen, she would be directly responsible to the community for her actions—not, as now, responsible only, if at all, through the intermediary of another person.

State sanction of marriage ought to be nothing more than recognition of a legal contract between two citizens. In its own interests the State has no right to allow one of the parties to that contract to shift on to the shoulders of the other the burden of her responsibilities to the community in general.

The privileged position of married women with regard to debt is nothing but a public recognition of the fact that their

condition is one of subserviency and dependence; so much so that the State does not expect them to attain to the legal standard of honesty and fair dealing. Honesty and fair dealing are the virtues of a free people. Those virtues the law tacitly admits it has no right to demand from a wife, and, that being the case, it is obliged to wink at the small meannesses and dishonesties it regards as inseparable from her dependent position. In so far as they are unduly favourable to women, existing laws on the subject of debt are simply an example of the intellectual pauperization of the feminine half of the community.

CICELY HAMILTON.

The Women's Strike.

[A "PATRIOT" writes to the Press that in the interests of the State he views with dismay an increasing tendency amongst women to decline marriage, which has resulted in the present lowered Marriage Rate.]

"O Ladies!" quoth the Patriot, "a public grief is mine, For with the lowering Marriage Rate, the Empire must decline." "O Patriot," said the Women, "O Lords and Commons all! Until you grant us Suffrage, it lower still may fall. Why should we care for Empires, for Parties, States or Kings, While we are still excluded from all Imperial things? As Women's Franchise in this land to hinder you think fit, The thinning State is nought to us, since we are nought to it. You know we are Monopolists—no one can take our place—Then why affront those who control the output of the race? Without co-operation you seem to challenge fate; Where will you get material for Army, Navy, State? We pay Imperial taxes, Imperial votes we've none—The State that takes and never gives is an inferior one. The slights your Houses pass on us have bitten to the bone. If alone you'd vote and govern, then raise your rates alone."

A. ABADAM.

A Week in Scotland.

ON Saturday evening (October 5th) a campaign organized by the Scottish Council of the Women's Social and Political Union came to a successful end in a demonstration in Edinburgh.

Five speakers came from England. The W.S.P.U. was represented by Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Mrs. Despard; the newly-entitled Society, the National W.S.P.U., sent as their representatives Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

Our first meeting was in Aberdeen, where the speakers and other friends of the cause were entertained generously by Mr. Murray, Liberal member for Aberdeenshire E., at the Grand Hotel. Everything had been admirably organized beforehand, and the result was a numerous attended and enthusiastic meeting. Mr. Murray, in the chair, gave hearty expression to his sympathy of long standing with women's aspirations for citizenship. The other speakers followed, and a resolution was carried almost unanimously urging the Government to pass a Bill enfranchising the women of the country.

On the following day Mr. Murray showed us some of the sights of the town, amongst which were the beautiful new façade of the University and the Fine-Art Gallery, which, mainly through his personal influence, had been rebuilt and endowed by the townfolk of Aberdeen.

We talked to several members of the branch during the day, and were greatly struck by their strength and independence and the determination they showed to work for the cause.

From Aberdeen we travelled to Dundee. There we met the local branch, which was addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Billington-Greig. There was not time for discussion, as we had to hurry on to the evening meeting, where again we were able to congratulate ourselves on the admirable work of the local branch. The meeting, gathered together in a large hall, was well attended and sympathetic. We passed our resolution this time unanimously.

In the afternoon of the next day our friends took us for a ramble through the beautiful park in the outskirts of the town, and I heard from them of the difficulties and dangers undergone by the women workers in the jute industry. It is from such

a population that we should obtain many recruits for our cause.

Dunfermline was our next halt. Here also fine work had been done in the way of stimulating public interest. The Provost was to have taken the chair, but illness preventing his attendance his place was taken by the President of the local Liberal Association, who, while approving our object, criticized our methods, especially our vigorous attack on Liberal candidates in by-elections. This led to a lively little passage of arms between Miss Pankhurst and himself. The meeting went off well, the audience being attentive and sympathetic. I should mention that at Dunfermline we were joined by Mrs. Philip Snowden, who, with her deep insight into the great sex question as it affects the life of the day, made a valuable addition to our little band.

Special interest was given to the next item on our programme—our visit to Glasgow—by the fact that the demonstration there had been organized by the Men's League in conjunction with the Scottish Council of the W.S.P.U. Certainly nothing was spared that could contribute to success.

It was on Friday, October 4, that we reached Glasgow. We had been invited to an "At Home" in the afternoon by the local branches of the W.S.P.U. This was presided over by Miss Helen Fraser and Mrs. Pearce, and addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Mrs. Snowden.

The evening meeting was held in the large St. Andrew's Hall, where, when we stepped out upon the platform, we found over four thousand people waiting to welcome us. That earnest friend of freedom Mr. Cunningham Graham took the chair, throwing himself, with his usual vigour, into the question before him, and making it perfectly clear how intolerable to his keen sense of justice was the subjection either of race or class or sex. The other speakers followed, and each one was listened to with deep attention. There was, in fact, no opposition at all.

I come now to our last day in Scotland—a day of which I shall ever think as one of the most memorable in my life. During the forenoon special trains had been arriving from other towns, and Edinburgh herself had been pouring out her multitudes. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon beautiful King's Park, whence the procession was to start, was full of people, many of them women and children. They covered the green hill side; they lined the road—quiet, patient, expectant of the new spectacle that had come to them. Gradually the procession formed under the banners of their different towns and societies. In front, supported by young women, waved the fine banner of the Edinburgh branch of the W.S.P.U. Two carriages led the way—one occupied by Miss S. G. S. Mair, president of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, and her friends; the second by Lady Steele, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and others. Past ancient Holyrood, and on to that most picturesque of highways, beautiful Prince's Street, the procession passed slowly, and the roads along the whole length of the way were lined with people, silent as Scotch crowds generally are, but for the most part smiling and sympathetic.

Finally we reached Synod Hall, into which the members of the procession and the crowd poured, until it was packed to overflowing—there was, in fact, presently an overflow meeting in the Lower Hall, presided over by Lady Steele.

Women, of course, predominated, but men also were in evidence. Miss Mair was proposed and elected to the chair. At first there were dim threatenings of pronounced opposition; but soon the atmosphere changed. The vast audience had made up their minds to hear the speakers, and their determination prevailed. The speakers were listened to with attention, punctuated by occasional applause, and two resolutions, one calling upon the Government to enfranchise women, and the other pledging the meeting to translate their enthusiasm into action, were passed with acclamation.

After the meeting Mrs. Snowden and I paid a pleasant and restful visit to Lady Steele, and then we started by night trains to our respective destinations, full of gratitude to our sisters and brothers in Scotland, full of confidence in the speedy triumph of the cause for which they and we are working.

C. DESPARD.

Meeting at Holloway Hall.

THE Northern Heights Branch is to be congratulated on the earnest and thoughtful audience present at its public meeting last Thursday. Rarely have the speakers received such appreciative attention, and the following resolution was carried, with only one dissentient (a man): "That this meeting is of opinion that the Prime Minister should give a place in the King's Speech next session to a Bill for the enfranchisement of the women of this country."

Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who was to have taken the chair, was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present. Mrs. How Martyn took her place, and read a letter from Mrs. Fenwick Miller, in which she emphasized the fact that Women's Franchise did not imply any antagonism between men and women, that, on the contrary, it would be an added bond of sympathy between them, and public life would become more earnest and interesting when husband and wife, father and daughter, brother and sister, shared its duties together.

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson wore a badge inscribed E2-8. The speaker said she was no stranger to Holloway. About a year ago that very month she spent a month there. So she thought, in remembrance of that month, she would put on the number she then bore. She was very proud of having been in prison, because it was very seldom that one could suffer for a good cause. That day she did not come to Holloway in "Black Maria." She came by the Tube and took a return ticket, which she was not able to do twelve months ago. She did not know why it was that the Liberal Party had always had a feeling that they did not wish to share the privileges of citizenship with women, and had always been most against Women's Franchise. If men had the chivalry which they pretended they had, surely they would get the rights of citizenship for women, and not leave the women to get those rights themselves. Women were going to prison because they believed they could improve the condition of the people, and make the lives of the women less hard and the lives of the children happier and brighter. They worked for that great cause because they believed there were so many things they could do, and which would not be done until the women were represented.

Mrs. Winton Evans, who kindly filled a gap at very short notice, seconded the resolution in a stirring little address. She mentioned that in England five and a half millions of women rendered service to the State and increased its wealth, and nearly two millions of them were married women—women to whom the power had been denied of working out their own salvation. Women should no longer be treated as if they were opposed to the interests of men.

Dr. Drysdale, supporting the motion, said he hoped the day was not far off when women would not only have the franchise, but would also be legislators.

Another speaker was Miss Irene Miller, who urged that they wanted the vote not only to protect their wages, but to protect their work as well. She believed that until women were recognized as the equals of men in every respect, they would never get equal wages with men. They must get a political and social equality of rights before they could get equal rights economically.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From October 10th to October 17th.			P.M.
Thurs.	High Cross Institute, Tottenham Green	Mrs. Eileen Mitchell Mrs. Tweedy	8
Fri.	Central Branch, 25, Wimpole Street	Mrs. Pracey Members	8
Sat.	Conference, Caxton Hall	Members only by ticket	10-1
	Meeting, Caxton Hall, Music and Discussion	Members and Friends (Men and Women)	2-6
Sun.	Clapham Common, Open-air Meeting	Miss Murby, &c.	3

* * * All communications intended for the Women's Social and Political Union columns should be addressed to Mrs. How Martyn, 1, Marden Road, South Tottenham.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

It is a dangerous thing to make a promise. Last week we undertook to publish in the present issue the names of the speakers for the Queen's Hall Meeting on December 17th. There seemed no reason to think that this would not be possible. Unfortunately, our list is not yet complete. Of six speakers, two are still uncertain. From sad experience we know, however, that the pie-crust type of promise is liable to have a boomerang-action, and therefore we indulge our native proclivity for promise-keeping.

The following gentlemen have consented to speak:—

The Rev. R. J. Campbell,
W. H. Dickinson, M.P.,
The Earl Russell,
Israel Zangwill.

Of these four, all except Mr. Dickinson are members of the Men's League. At the request of the Committee, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, Chairman of the Committee, will occupy the chair, and will doubtless take the opportunity of giving a brief exposition of the aims and activities of the League.

The presence of Mr. Dickinson will add considerably to the interest of the meeting, in view of the fact that, a few weeks later, he will carry to its most important stage in the House of Commons his new Bill for the abolition of the sex privilege as regards the Parliamentary Franchise. The Bill has already been discussed at some length, and from several points of view, in the columns of *Women's Franchise*. As most of our readers are aware, it contains an entirely new feature, namely, the automatic enfranchisement of women, who are, or who may become, the wives of electors. In so far as this would abolish not only the disqualification of sex, but also that of marriage, the Men's League most heartily approves. The question as to whether it adopts the right method of attaining the latter result—whether, for example, it does or does not go beyond the demand which the Men's League makes “on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men”—is a difficult one, apart altogether from its tactical aspect. The League has, in view of Mr. Dickinson's promise to speak at the Queen's Hall meeting, decided to suspend its judgment until after that occasion, when the exact meaning and the arguments *pro* and *con* have been fully set forth. All who have the interest of the movement at heart should make a great effort to be present at the meeting, if only that their ultimate judgment of the new measure may be based on authoritative first-hand knowledge.

The response which the Committee has received to its letter inviting guarantees towards any possible deficit on the meeting has been very satisfactory, and there seems every reason to hope that within the next few days the Committee will have a sufficient sum guaranteed to justify it in proceeding with the necessary arrangements. Several members have preferred to send donations.

It is perhaps a little early to expect members to offer their personal services for the work of circulating handbills and selling tickets. At the same time, we regret to learn from the Honorary Secretaries that very few offers of that kind have been received. Probably the majority of our members have not had any very extended experience of the methods generally adopted by the promoters of a political meeting of the size

which we contemplate. It may interest those members to learn that one of the leading advertising experts in London recommended an expenditure of between 200*l.* and 300*l.* in placards alone! This, he said, was the minimum which could be expected to produce a satisfactory result.

Now when we remember that this is only one of the methods adopted, and that a further expenditure on tickets, handbills, and press announcements is required, it becomes clear that the Committee's provisional estimate of 100*l.* is based on the assumption that the ordinary methods of advertisement are not necessary to a league like ours. As a matter of fact the placarding scheme recommended by the expert is quite beyond our means, as the Committee foresaw in making its estimate.

A certain amount of press advertisement is, of course, necessary; but this naturally cannot be taken up until shortly before the meeting. Again, leaflets are necessary; but leaflets do not distribute themselves! Tickets are necessary; but tickets do not sell themselves! At the same time the circulation of leaflets and the selling of tickets can be effected at practically no cost, providing members and friends are prepared to do their share. As we said last week, tickets and leaflets will be ready by the third week of October, and now that the list of speakers is all but complete, the work of distribution can then be undertaken. The Honorary Secretaries urgently request that those who are willing to help in these respects will communicate with them without loss of time. The tickets are as follows: 2*s.* 6*d.* (numbered and reserved), 1*s.*, and 6*d.* The meeting is for women and men, and we hope that both sexes will be well represented.

Several members in different parts of the country have suggested to us that branches should be formed in their several localities. With this suggestion we are, of course, entirely in sympathy, and the Central Office will be glad to give all information which will enable such members to carry this suggestion into effect. In another column we print the rules adopted by the Clapham Branch and since accepted by the Branch in Brighton. Should any of these rules seem ill-adapted to the local conditions of an embryo branch, the Committee would be glad to consider any modifications which might be proposed. The Committee is so anxious that the cause should not suffer from the weakness inherent in the individual action of isolated groups of workers that it is prepared to make the band of affiliation as elastic as is consistent with real association.

Correspondence.

DEAR SIR,—Your last issue contained a very interesting letter from Mr. Frank R. Cana pointing out that the enfranchisement of women will not only confer a privilege but also impose obligations. The reminder is a fair one, and some of the speakers of the various societies would do well to point out that the true object of the woman who claims a vote should be that she may obtain the opportunity of doing effective service to the society to which she belongs. It is all very well to claim a right, but such a claim were a purely selfish demand from those who attach more importance to the injustice than to the helplessness for social service which is involved in disfranchisement. So far I agree with Mr. Cana.

But I think he gives a wrong impression when he says that women guardians have not achieved any brilliant results. If he means only that the problems which faced the boards of guardians before women were made eligible to them are substantially unaltered, he is, of course, perfectly right. But if he means that women guardians are not on the whole better than men guardians, I think he is wrong. From my personal knowledge of certain districts in North London, and also of a large provincial town, I can say with emphasis that the women guardians have proved themselves, in certain respects, much more effective and much more conscientious. I believe, too, that on the School Boards the presence of women contributed much to the efficiency of the management.

Furthermore, however, I think he makes a mistake in his list of the corollaries which he regards as sequent on the acquisition of a Parliamentary vote. Take the case of jurymen. As he points out, large classes of men are absolved from this duty, and yet they remain electors. Now there is no particular reason why, as a class, women, if enfranchised, should not be similarly absolved and yet retain their votes. Presumably women would be as glad or as unwilling to serve as are the present potential jurymen. What I mean is that exemption from this liability is no bar to citizenship. Similarly in the case of the army. At present military service is not obligatory; relatively few of the present electorate are soldiers; in other words, capacity (or willingness) to serve as such is not the *sine qua non* of enfranchisement. But even if compulsory service were introduced, still certain men would be exempted. Blind men, cripples, and old men would not be compelled to serve—even as under present conditions they are actually excluded—but they would still retain their votes! Why should it not be possible to grant a similar exemption for analogous reasons to some (or even all) women without disenfranchising them? Why should it not be possible to use them in certain ways for which they are specially fitted, *e.g.*, in the commissariat, cooking, clothing departments?

The fact is that under any franchise system, large classes of electors have the privilege of voting, even though, for reasons of unfitness, they are exempted from certain State services. To disfranchise a man (or a woman) because the common sense of the nation exempts him (or her) from discharging a duty for which he (or she) is palpably unfit is recognized as an absurdity.

Therefore, when Mr. Cana says, “The English people have a perfect genius for not carrying a principle to its logical conclusion,” I should rather say, “The English people have, in certain respects, been sensible enough to realize that no practical principle is of universal application.” Mechanical rigidity in legislation is a less desirable attribute than discriminating elasticity. While there are numerous public services which enfranchised women might also reasonably be expected to perform, it is also consistent with common sense that they should be exempted from other services their discharge of which might be harmful to themselves and useless to the community.

J. M. MITCHELL.

Branches.

The Committee of the Men's League are very anxious to see branches formed in places which lie outside the area of their effective operations. Of course, it is not possible to accept every organization as a branch, but the policy has been adopted of leaving the utmost possible freedom of action to those who undertake the formation of local branches. It is recognized that any attempt to lay down a model constitution would be unwise, and that it is better to entrust this task to those who are familiar with local conditions and requirements. The Head Society feels, however, that it ought not formally to adopt any branch unless the latter binds itself not to take any political action without having first received its approval. If any of our readers are interested in forming provincial branches, the honorary secretaries will be pleased to render them every

assistance, and to serve as a basis for framing rules we append a copy of those governing the Clapham Branch, which was the first formed.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES.

1. The Title of this Society shall be “THE CLAPHAM BRANCH OF THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.”
2. The object of the Branch to be to forward the enfranchisement of women.
3. All subscriptions, donations, and other moneys received on account of the League shall be paid into an account in the name of the Clapham Branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and all cheques drawn upon the said account shall be signed by the Honorary Treasurer, and countersigned by one of the Honorary Secretaries for the time being, or by such other persons (not being less than two) as the Committee may from time to time appoint.
4. The sum of 1*s.* from every annual subscription shall be allocated to the funds of the Head Society of The Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and shall be forwarded every quarter to the Hon. Treasurer at the Head Office.
5. The affairs of the League shall be managed by an Executive Committee, which shall consist of not more than ten members. The Committee shall have power to add to its numbers so long as the aforesaid limit shall not be exceeded.
6. The Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the conduct of the business of the League, and four members shall form a quorum.
7. The Committee shall elect a Chairman, an Honorary Treasurer, and one or more Honorary Secretaries, and may from time to time, when circumstances so require, appoint any one of its members to exercise for any specified period the powers of any of the above-mentioned officers.
8. The Chairman of the Committee or other Member in the Chair shall be entitled to vote on any question, and in the event of an equal division of votes, shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.
9. The Committee shall appoint a properly qualified Accountant (who shall not be an Officer or Member of the Committee) to audit the accounts of the League, and the Committee may appoint such person either to act without remuneration or at such remuneration as it may fix.
10. An Annual General Meeting of the Clapham Branch Members of the League shall be held in the month of October in each year, at such time and place as may be determined by the Committee. The Secretary shall be held responsible for seeing that fourteen days' notice of such Annual General Meeting, or of any other General Meeting, shall be posted to each Member of the League to the most recent address given by such Member.
11. The business at the Annual General Meeting shall be to receive the Report of the Committee for the past year, the Election of the Members of the Committee, the passing of the Accounts, and any other business of which notice shall have been given to the Secretary at least seven days before such Meeting.
12. At the first and every subsequent Annual General Meeting of the League, the Members of the Committee shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election. Notice in writing of any nomination for election to the Committee must be given to the Secretary at least seven days before the date of such Meeting.
13. After each Annual General Meeting the Committee may appoint any Member to fill a casual vacancy.
14. The Clapham Branch of the Men's League binds itself not to take any political action without having first received in writing the approval of the Head Society signed by its Secretary.

An Average Man?

I WAS making a purchase in a tobacconist's shop the other night, and found three men discussing Women's Suffrage. Quoth one:—

“Look 'ere, guv'nor! Ain't we told that woman was made from a rib of man?”

The “guv'nor” replied, “Of course we are.”

“Well,” was the rejoinder, “ain't thet enough to stop 'er 'avin' a vote?”

Remembering that man was made of the dust of the earth, I wondered whether *that* is really enough to give *him* a vote!

XXX.

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

LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

The National Union and by the Central Society,
AT 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

HOME AND POLITICS.

An Address delivered at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere

Price 1d.

by Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

Price 1d.

OPINIONS OF LEADERS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

Quotations from Writings and Speeches of BISHOPS of EXETER, HEREFORD, LIVERPOOL, EDINBURGH, &c. The CHIEF RABBI, DR. BARRETT, DR. CLIFFORD, DR. HUNTER, REV. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, CANON SCOTT-HOLLAND, ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE, ARCHDEACON WILSON, CANON BRENNAN.

Price 1d.

Price 1d.

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE RIGHT HONBLE. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

Price 1d.

Price 1d.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

I.

WHY WE SHOULD CARE FOR IT.

II.

HOW CAN WE HELP TO FURTHER IT.

By EMILY DAVIES, LL.D.

Price 1d.

Addressed to the Students of Women's Colleges. Reprinted from the *Girton Review*.

Price 1d.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEPUTATION.

Speeches made at the Deputation to the Prime Minister, May 19, 1906. The Deputation consisted of Members of Parliament representing the two hundred signatories of the Petition to the Prime Minister, and the following organizations:—

Freedom of Labour Defence League.
General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers.
Hammersmith Women's Suffrage Society.
Independent Labour Party.
Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Society.
Joint Conference of Women's Liberal Associations.
Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council.
Metropolitan Radical Federation.
Municipal Employees' Association.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
National Union of Women Workers.
Queen Square Club.
Scottish Christian Union of the B.W.T.A.

Price 1d.

Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.
Society of Registered Nurses.
Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses.
Society of Women Employed in Bookbinding.
United Cigarette Workers and Tobacco Cutters' Union.
Women's Co-operative Guild.
Women Graduates of Universities.
Women's Industrial Council.
Women's Liberal Federation.
Women's Social and Political Union.
Women Textile Workers' Labour Representation Committee—Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Suffrage Society.

Price 1d.

OUGHT WOMEN TO HAVE THE SUFFRAGE?

By LADY LAURA RIDDING.

A Dialogue between the Master of the House and the Mistress of the House.

Price ½d. each; 3s. per 100.

LETTER ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

Price 3d. per doz.; 1s. 9d. per 100.

TO WOMEN WHO ARE WELL OFF.

Price 4d. per doz.; 2s. 6d. per 100.

THE LATE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Price 10d. per 100.

A REPLY TO 'THE SPECTATOR' ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

By WALTER S. B. McLAREN.

Price 1s. per 100.

LEADING FACTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Price 2s. 6d. per 100.

Words of a Leader.

Extracts from the Writings of Miss LYDIA BECKER.

Price 1d.

SECOND EDITION.

? ARE WOMEN CITIZENS ?

Price 1s. 4d. per 100.

Editorial Communications should be addressed to "THE EDITOR"—Business Letters to "THE PUBLISHERS"—at the Office, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
Advertisements should be addressed to Messrs. REYNELL & SON, 44, Chancery Lane, London.

Printed and Published Weekly by JOHN EDWARD FRANCIS at 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.—Thursday, October 10, 1907.