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Notes.

IN spite of adding to the number of pages in our paper, we find ourselves quite unable in this issue to report more than the first day's hearing of the Lady Graduates' case in the House of Lords.

IN an article extending over three columns in *The Nation* of last Saturday the following sentence occurs: "We cannot refuse aid to the women's cause because some women are violent, any more than the Whigs refused the Reform Bill of 1832 because some workmen burnt hay-ricks."

MR. PICKERSGILL proposes to move the following new clause on the consideration of the Prevention of Crime Bill: "On the occurrence of the next vacancy in the office of Prison Commissioner and Director of Convict Prisons, a woman shall be appointed to the office, and thenceforward one Prison Commissioner and Director of Convict Prisons at least shall always be a woman."

MR. ASQUITH'S reply to Mr. Bridgeman in the House of Commons recently on the Sweated Industries Bill, is far from satisfactory, no definite pledge being given as to the course of legislation next session. It is difficult indeed to bring pressure to bear on the Government on even such a vital question as the sweating evil, so long as women are voteless and have no direct influence by which they can make their point of view considered by our legislators.

The Government may find time for a "Brawling" Bill *this* session, but can promise nothing definite even *next* session to remove one of the greatest blots on our civilization—the awful sweating of women.

WE congratulate the Vicar of High Wycombe, the Rev. E. D. Shaw, for the spirited way in which he came forward to champion the cause of Miss Dove. A crowded parochial gathering of Church people was held in the Town

Notice to Subscribers and Contributors.

Weekly Numbers, 1½d. a week post free. Quarterly Subscriptions, 1s. 8d.; half-yearly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 6s. 6d. All Subscriptions must be paid in advance. Back Numbers can still be obtained at the Office.

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.

The General Editor gives the widest possible latitude to each of the Societies represented in this Paper, and is only responsible for unsigned matter occurring in the pages devoted to general items.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,
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Hall, when the Vicar expressed the sympathy and regret of the meeting that Miss Dove had been placed in the position in which she found herself by methods that he was sure even those who had employed them would, on mature reflection, regret.

A MEETING of the Associates of the Newbury Branch of the South Berks Women's Unionist Association was held last week at the Conservative Club to hear a paper read on the question of Women's Suffrage. There was a crowded attendance, great interest being shown. At the close of the meeting the following resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority: "That this meeting is in favour of extending the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same basis as the Municipal Franchise, but does not approve of women being eligible for seats in Parliament."

QUITE new ground was broken in the Women's Suffrage cause at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, on the 9th, when, upon the invitation of the local "Literary and Debating Society," Miss Matheson, of Dixton Manor, opened a discussion in favour of the extension of the Franchise to women. Dr. Halliwell, of Winchcombe, presided, and the Town Hall was crowded.

An amendment, restricting the Franchise to single women with property and to widows was brought forward, and another deferring the question until the leaders of the movement showed a more reasonable leadership, but neither amendment was seconded. When the resolution, "That this meeting approves of the Suffrage being granted to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men," was put to the vote, a tie was the result.

Miss Matheson answered objectors at the close of the meeting, and a great deal of interest in the subject was shown.

OWING to the increase of infant mortality in the district, the Rhondda Urban District Council has decided to appoint two lady health visitors.

WE have received from Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett 4s., being the 1s. a week which she kindly promised towards the publishing expenses of *Women's Franchise*; also we have received from two girls, aged eleven and thirteen, 4s. 6d., money which they have collected by selling cakes which were made by themselves. Mrs. Cavendish Taylor is paying for *Women's Franchise* to be sent to the Midhurst Reading Room, and Mrs. Eustace Smith for the Paper to be sent to Chelmsford Free Library.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

THE following article was written by Prof. Erminia Montini in answer to one which appeared in the *Tribuna*, asserting that the agitation of the *odalisques* was justifiable, because their aim was to become *women*, while that of the English Suffragettes should be condemned, because it tends to transform *women* into *men*.

Miss Antoinette Mackenzie, Editor of the *Englishwomen's Review*, has most kindly translated it for this column.

AN ITALIAN VIEW OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AND TURKEY.

Although there are people who will not recognize any connexion between the agitation now going on among the Turkish women in the harems and that of the English Suffragettes, the connexion undoubtedly exists; for both movements have their origin in a common cause—the desire of women to improve the greatly differing conditions under which they live.

The tendency of feminism is, not to change the nature, but to bring to perfection the qualities, of woman. It includes all questions which affect her, in her family relations, as wife and mother, and even more in her individual life, as a person who has duties, moral, legal and civil, and also rights which can be improved and extended.

Feminism is, emphatically, a growing force, and among the Turkish women it is now awakening the feeling of their own dignity, which rebels against their degrading and ignominious subjection, and claims the sacred rights of womanhood, suppressed by that masculine selfishness which has, in the harem, its principal temple. They wish, in short, to have the right to the love and absolute possession of one man, of their own man, to whom alone they shall belong by a free and mutual choice; they wish to be the mothers of their own children; they wish, in one word, to be women. And no one disputes that in claiming this they are within the limits of their womanly sphere.

The supreme aspirations of women, repressed for ages, are summed up in feminism, and to these are due that intensity, that innate compelling power which render it so regular in its advance. It may be that, with the privilege of the last comer, Oriental women will out-run in their successes their sisters of the West.

For the rest, the unhappiness of the Turkish women is, of its nature, so great as to call loudly for a prompt and energetic effort of remedial justice.

In like manner the English Suffragettes, while remaining within their womanly sphere, with no desire to transform themselves into men (a horrible charge which has been brought against them) wish, in their turn, to rise to the dignity of thinking and acting individuals, conscious of possessing all the rights and all the duties inherent in human beings.

Men have no right to put obstacles in the way of women's work, which, under the influence of culture, is bound to develop and widen in a thousand ways. They do not all understand this as yet, but it is a truth which, some day, they will be obliged to realize.

Women, who send their sons to the wars, who, like men, are subject to the laws, and pay taxes, have no selfish object to serve when they aim at enlarging their powers of action and taking their share in public work. The end which they have in view in their demand for the political vote, is social progress, which may indeed be called the essence of feminism, for it constitutes the main part of its political programme, which is outside party politics, feminism being a force of cohesion, not of division, of love, not of hatred. The tragedy which every woman feels in her own soul, as a result of the potentiality of suffering inherent in her nature must, like every other living force, act on her as a powerful agent for good, leading her to direct her efforts towards lessening the agony of the great human tragedy.

It may be that some of the actions of the Anglo-Saxon women are too violent to suit the taste of the Latin peoples, but this matters little. The manifestation of sorrow is not always a beautiful sight, and feminism, like all great vindications of justice is built up of sorrows. Yet there is a danger that the advocates of so new a phenomenon, destined to place new views before society, may lend themselves only too easily to exaggerations in their methods, which may tend to obscure the end in view. But struggle there must be; every conquest implies struggle, and feminism, the greatest of human conquests, is, by the inevitable necessity of things an alternation of victories and defeats, a succession of events, moreover, which gives occasion to its critics to point out that the actors in the struggle are not always perfect either in expression or action.

For as one who, travelling in an unknown country, wanders round and round, and is in peril of losing himself before he finds the right way, so the path on which woman has to-day set her feet, has never been trodden; it is long and thorny, and the end is not yet in sight. But when the day comes that Englishwomen succeed in planting on high the banner of victory, who will care to ask by what toilsome paths they have attained their goal?

VICTORY IS THE TRIUMPH OF SACRIFICE!

Let us then admire in these valorous women the strong will, the vast and profound culture, the strenuous and laborious life by which they hope to grasp their longed-for independence, and let us imitate these qualities in the women of the North.

The sense of beauty, harmony and order is common to all women. They are the priestesses of order, and it is this faculty which will lead them to sound in public life that note to which their powers are best suited. So will it be with regard to social work, which, multiform in its nature, lends itself to a division in which some parts will be found more suited than others to women's qualities, and it is these that women will choose. So that the presence of women in social life should not be regarded as competition with, but as complementary to, the work of men.

In the days to come women will take pride in passing on to their sisters, together with the advantages of a condition raised to the dignity of a complete life, the beautiful tradition, so jealously guarded, of the Eternal Woman, more attractive than of yore because more educated and more perfect.

On that day, when men and women can really call themselves brethren, feminism will cease to be, and throughout the world a new era will be opened which can be called in truth the *Era of Humanity*.

(Signed) ERMINIA MONTINI.

The Standing Army.

DESPITE the material prosperity around us, true civilization has not begun so long as a Parliament of men is permitted to impose its will upon women, to proclaim with impunity that Might is Right.

It is favouritism that breeds discord in the family, it is favouritism that breeds discord in the State, and that must be abolished before peace is possible.

A policy of coercion against women must prove a suicidal policy for any nation to pursue. No higher force than that of the brute made woman subject to man, and no higher force keeps her in subjection to-day. It bespeaks a sorry state of things when just, reasonable, and righteous claims are persistently ignored by Ministers of the Crown, and the claimants handed over to the police and magistrates.

When morality obtains over brutality, then will woman emerge from age-long subjection to take her place by the side of man, and together they shall achieve what neither alone is fitted to achieve. Faith in femininity is as vain as faith in masculinity. Faith will be best placed in humanity, in the joint deliberations of men and women, to gradually, patiently solve the problems of government to unravel the tangled skein of affairs.

What a spectacle! Woman, the *humanizer*, crippled from birth. The *civilizer*, with hands tied. An advance guard marking time, waiting for disabled regiments to fall into line. Free the women. Forward with the women, and let the human legions step out. K. KILBURN.

House of Lords.

TUESDAY, NOV. 10TH, 1908.

NAIRN AND OTHERS

v.

UNIVERSITY COURT OF UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, AND OTHERS.

THE Lord Chancellor: The next case is that of Nairn and Others v. The University Court of the University of St. Andrews and Others. (To Miss Macmillan.): Do you intend to plead your case yourself?

Miss Macmillan: Yes, my Lord.

The Lord Chancellor: Well?

Miss Macmillan: It is as an appellant in this action that I bring the case before your Lordships. To show that there is precedent for such a course, I refer your Lordships to the case of *Shedden v. Patrick* (Law Reports, I. Scottish and Divorce

Appeals, 1869, pp. 470 and 474). That report states that Miss Shedden pled her case before the House of Lords for twenty-three days (smiles), and that she was followed by her father, another appellant, who spoke for two days. Our appeal is from the Extra Division of the Court of Session in Scotland.

The appellants are five women, who are graduates of the University of Edinburgh and members of the General Council of that University. We are not allowed to graduate without paying a fee in order to have our names enrolled on the Register of the General Council, which is the statutory register of Parliamentary voters in a university constituency in Scotland.

We ask your Lordships to affirm that the women graduates of the Scottish universities are entitled to vote in the election for the Scottish University Members of Parliament. The Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, jointly return one member to Parliament.

The Respondents in the action are the Right Hon. Alexander Hugh Bruce, Baron Balfour of Burleigh, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews; the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh; and the Vice-Chancellors, the University Courts, and the Registrars of these Universities.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh is the Returning Officer in the election of a Member of Parliament to the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and he has over and above the duties imposed on other Returning Officers certain additional judicial duties to perform in connexion with University elections. The University Courts are parallel to the Sheriff's Registration Court in other Elections, and the Registrar has work in connexion with this election similar to that of the Clerk in other elections.

The Appellants were the pursuers in the lower Court, and the Respondents were the Defenders. On p. 6 of the Appellants' Case there is set forth in the Summons the Particulars of our Claim. We ask your Lordships to declare: "(1) that prior to December 31st, 1905, and at the date of the demand for a poll at the election of a Member of Parliament for the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh the pursuers were, and have since been, and now are on the Register of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh; (2) while and so long as the pursuers are on the said Register they are entitled at the present and on the occasion of any and every future Parliamentary Election for the said Universities—

"(a) To receive Voting Papers from the Registrar;

"(b) To vote by duly marking the same; and

"(c) To have their votes so given duly counted.

And (3) whether decree is pronounced in terms of the conclusions above written or not, the Defenders, or at all events the said Registrar of said University of Edinburgh, ought and should be decreed and ordained, by decree foresaid, to make payment to each of the pursuers of the sum of 5*l.* sterling; and the Defenders, or such of them as appear to oppose the conclusions hereof, ought and should be decreed and ordained, by decree aforesaid, to make payment to the Pursuers of the sum of 100*l.* sterling, or such other sum as our said Lords shall modify, as the expenses of the process to follow hereon; conform to the laws and daily practice of Scotland, used and observed in the like cases, as is alleged."

This latter part of the Summons we have not pressed, but we ask the claim for damages.

The principal pleas of the Respondents in this action are on p. 12 of the Appellants' Case. The main pleas are those marked "3" and "4." The Respondents ask that:—

3. "The pursuers being incapacitated by reason of their sex from voting at the election of a Member of Parliament for the said Universities, the Defenders should be absolved from the declaratory conclusions of the Summons, with expenses.

4. "In respect that the statutes and ordinances founded on by the pursuers do not confer upon them any right to vote at the election of a Member of Parliament for the said Universities, the defenders are entitled to absolve from the declaratory conclusions of the Summons."

The other pleas are unimportant.

At p. 16 your Lordships will find the Supplementary Statement. I will first take up the special sections of the special Acts dealing with this franchise. The Acts dealing with the franchises of the Universities of Scotland are different from those dealing with any other Parliamentary franchise, at least the Sections referring to the Scotch University Elections are distinct from those which regulate any other Parliamentary election, and also from those which regulate the University elections of England, and the enactments dealing with such (*i.e.*, Scottish) University elections are quite complete in themselves, and everything with reference to these elections is to be found within the four corners of the one or two Acts referred to.

The first Section referring to the University Franchise, the section conferring the franchise on the University Graduates in Scotland, is Section 27 of the 1868 Act (31 & 32 Vic., chap. 48). That section provides that "every person whose name is for the time being on the Register, made up in terms of the provisions hereinafter set forth, of the General Council of such University, shall, if of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, be entitled to vote in the election of a member to serve in any future Parliament for such University in terms of this Act."

The following section of the same Act sets forth the conditions under which individuals are registered on the General Council referred to in Section 27. Section 28 of this Act provides "under the conditions as to Registration hereinafter mentioned, the following persons shall be members of the General Council of the respective Universities, viz. (1) all persons qualified under the sixth or seventh section of the Act 21 & 22 Vic., chap. 83." That Act was passed in 1858, and dealt with University matters. It established this General Council, but no Register was established in that Act. And on the General Council are "(2) all persons on whom the University, to which such General Council belongs, has, after examination, conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine, or Doctor of Science, or Bachelor of Divinity, or Bachelor of Laws, or Bachelor of Medicine, or Bachelor of Science, or any other degree that may hereafter be instituted."

In that 1868 Act there were certain sections which dealt with the taking of the poll at University elections. But in 1881 all these sections were repealed, and in place of them, we are told, in the 1881 Act (44 & 45 Vic., chap. 40) referred to on p. 17 that the 1881 Act is to be inserted in the 1868 Act in place of the repealed sections. The 1881 Act is entitled, 'An Act to make further provision in regard to the registration of Parliamentary voters, and also in regard to the taking of the poll by means of voting papers in the Universities of Scotland.'

Section 2, Sub-section 3, of that Act gives the Registrar certain duties to perform in connexion with the taking of the poll. It says: "In case of a poll, the Registrar of the University . . . shall issue simultaneously through the post a Voting Paper . . . to each voter to his address as entered on the Register of the General Council of the University, who shall appear from said address to be resident in the United Kingdom or the Channel Islands." That is the only restriction put upon the Registrar.

Then Sub-section 10 of the same Section 2 of the 1881 Act gives special powers to the Vice-Chancellor as Returning Officer in the University election over and above the powers which are given to Sheriffs in other elections. It sets forth that "it shall be lawful for any candidate, or the agents of the candidates who may be in attendance, to inspect any Voting Paper before the same shall be counted, and to object to it on one or more of the following grounds." The second ground of objection is "that a person giving a vote by a Voting Paper is not qualified to vote," and the rest of the section goes on to say, "And the Vice-Chancellor or one of his pro-Vice-Chancellors shall have power to reject or receive, or receive and record as objected to any Voting Papers."

Another section of the same Act, Section 2, Sub-section 16, provides that no person shall be allowed to graduate at any of the Scottish Universities without having first paid the General Council Registration fees and been duly registered as a Member of the General Council. So we cannot become graduates until we are put on this Parliamentary Voting Register. It concludes with the following proviso: "Provided always 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 of any University." Other privileges we have always been allowed to exercise.

At that time women were not entitled to become graduates of the Universities of Scotland. That was decided in the case of *Jex Blake v. The Senatus of the University of Edinburgh*. That case is to be found on page 784 of the Law Reports, II. Macpherson. On that case—which was considered a very important case—the whole of the Judges of the Court of Sessions sat, and, in the decision thirteen judges were sitting, and of these thirteen Lord President Inglis gave no decision, as he was an official of the Universities, and of the other twelve, seven gave against the women and five gave for the women. But the women gained their case in the Lower Court, and the total majority was only seven to six, so there was very little between their right and the absence of their right. At that time women were attending University Classes, which were held by Professors and Lecturers of the University of Edinburgh. These classes were instituted in 1867, and it was a question very much under discussion at that time whether or not women should be admitted to the Universities. But in 1889 an Act was passed, the University of Scotland Act, 52 & 53 Vic. chap. 55. That Act deals exclusively with University affairs and appointed Commissioners to regulate various matters of University administration. Under Section 14 of the Act the Commissioners had power, "after making due inquiry, to make ordinances for all or any of the following purposes as shall to them seem expedient." And the 6th of these items is "to enable each University to admit women to graduation in one or more faculties and to provide for their instruction." Afterwards, in 1892, the Commissioners in pursuance of the powers given them in that section made the following Ordinance. Ordinance 18, dated February 22nd, 1892, that Ordinance is given in the Appendix, page 13. The Ordinance is to the effect that "it shall be in the power of the University Court of each University to admit women to graduation in such faculty or faculties as the Court may think fit." These are the principal sections of the Acts on which our case is founded.

Now to take up the facts of the case. Since that Ordinance of 1892, women have graduated in a variety of faculties in both these Universities, and they were not allowed to graduate without being put upon the Register of the General Council, the Register of Parliamentary voters, and they have exercised all the privileges of membership except this privilege, which it is suggested that they have not the right to exercise. The Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews jointly return a Member of Parliament. But although women first became graduates in 1893 there was no contested election in either of the Scotch University constituencies till 1906. In 1906 there was a contested election, and the women expected that they would have Voting Papers sent them for this election. But as these Voting Papers were not forthcoming we have sent a request to the Registrar asking for the papers, and they were refused, and in consequence of this refusal it was necessary for us to bring this action. We raised this action in the Court of Session, and we now ask, as set forth in the Summons, your Lordships to declare "that prior to December 31st, 1905, and at the date of the demand for a poll the pursuers were and have since been and now are on the Register of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh; and secondly, that while and so long as the Pursuers are on the said Register, they are entitled at the present and on the occasion of any and every future Parliamentary Election for the said Universities (a) to receive Voting Papers from the Registrar, (b) to vote by duly marking the same, and (c) to have their votes so given duly counted."

When these matters were taken up in the Lower Courts the fact that we were duly entered on this Register was admitted. It was admitted both by the Lord Ordinary, see Appendix, page 5: "all the Pursuers are members of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh, and their names are duly entered in the Register of such members," and by the Judges of the Extra Division Appendix p. 11 C. "The Pursuers' names have been placed on the Register of the General Council of one of these Universities in right of their respective degrees."

Two points, however, were argued in the other Courts, namely, our right to receive Voting Papers from the Registrar, and the right of duly marking these Voting Papers, and of having our

votes duly counted. The decision on these points was in both Courts adverse, and we ask your Lordships to affirm that the decisions of the Lord Ordinary and of the Extra Division of the Court of Session are not well-founded in law.

Before taking up the legal arguments, I should like to make a few general observations on the points which distinguish this franchise from other franchises. It is a newly established franchise, and it is based on quite different qualifications from the other franchises. The other franchises, all of them, have some connexion with property and with the principle that taxation involves representation. But this franchise is quite distinct; an intellectual test is required. The constituency also differs; it has no geographical limits, that is, only the geographical limits of the United Kingdom. Only those whose names are not entered on the Register under an address in the United Kingdom or the Channel Islands are not entitled to receive Voting Papers from the Registrar. In another way this constituency differs from other constituencies because here the electors have a certain power to alter the qualifications necessary to a voter in a constituency. The Professors lay down the conditions and the standards of the examination; besides, the members of the University have power to suggest alterations in the constitution—they may establish other Degrees, while in other constituencies the qualifications are definitely laid down, and there is no reference to enlargement in the future. The sections of the Statute dealing with the Scotch Universities are quite distinct from other Statutes dealing with the elections in other constituencies. For example, almost every section of the Ballot Act is specifically declared to have no connexion with University elections, and the enactments regulating our election differ from those regulating the elections in the constituencies of the Universities in England and Ireland. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin are in some way relics of the older franchises; but this is a newly established franchise, and has no connexion with anything that has gone before. It is quite a new creation of this Act, and every particular having reference to the conduct of the election is in the above-mentioned Acts themselves, and not to be taken from anything outside these Acts.

The Court of Session was the only competent Court before which this action could be brought, because the other Courts, such as the University Court and the Registration Appeal Court, have special work given to them by Parliament.

The University Court deals with undue insertions and undue omissions from the Register; but we are admittedly duly inserted on that Register. The Sheriff's Registration Court deals only with Registration in Counties and Boroughs, and similarly, the Registration Appeal Court deals only with the undue insertion or the undue omission of names from the registers in Counties and Boroughs; and the Election Petition Court deals only with the undue Election or the undue Return of a Member of Parliament, and does not refer here. This was admitted in both the lower Courts.

But there is one Court established by Law before which we could have taken part of this question, but by the action of the Registrar we have been forbidden to go before that Court. As set forth in the Appellants' case, page 18b, you find the particulars of the Court which is held by the Vice-Chancellor during the counting of the votes, 1881 Act, S. 2 (10). Here the Vice-Chancellor, on objection being taken by a Candidate or the agent of a Candidate, has a right "to inspect any Voting Paper before the same shall be counted, and to object to it on one or more of the following grounds," &c. He has this power given to him over and above the power given to the Sheriff in other elections, and this Vice-Chancellor's Court is specially established by the 1881 Act, which is to be read in place of the repealed sections of the 1868 Act. This Court is established in the Franchise Act to deal with these particular questions. The fact that the Registrar refused us our Voting Papers made it impossible for us to bring the main question before the properly established Court of Law, and we had no other method of getting redress except by bringing this action before the Court of Session in Scotland to have it declared that we had been prevented by this unauthorized action of the Registrar from taking our case to the proper Court. I may make this distinction more clear by reading from the 1881 Act the difference between Section 2,

Sub-section 9, and Section 2, Sub-section 10. In Section 2, Sub-section 9 certain powers are given to the Vice-Chancellor, ministerial powers. He has only discretion in rejecting Voting Papers which have any technical irregularities. Sub-section 9 sets forth that "any Voting Paper which has not the official mark and the number on the back as appearing on the counterfoil, or which is, in the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor otherwise wanting in any of the essential conditions required by this Act shall not be counted as a vote in the election." The Vice-Chancellor is here instructed to reject and disown any Voting Paper which is irregular. That duty is similar to the duty imposed upon the Sheriff in the Ballot Act (35 & 36 Vic., chap. 33). Section 36 defines his duties at the counting of the votes. The Sheriff's duty is purely ministerial; he has no discretion as to the qualification of the voter. But to the Vice-Chancellor, over and above these ministerial duties, are given the duties set forth in Section 10 of the 1881 Act, where it says: "The Vice-Chancellor on objection being taken by the Candidate or the Agent of the Candidate may reject," for a variety of reasons, the most important for our purpose being that "the person giving a vote by the voting paper is not qualified to vote." And in being prevented from going before this Court we have not been able to have the proper legal decision made on this question, besides having been prevented from going to this Statutory Court. This assumption of the Respondents would mean that the Registrar had greater power than the Vice-Chancellor, who is the Returning Officer. The Vice-Chancellor may only reject these papers if objection is taken; but the Registrar has taken upon himself to reject the papers without objection being taken, and he is presuming to do more than is in the power of the Vice-Chancellor, and this, in itself, seems absurd, as it is very definitely laid down in the Act exactly what the Registrar's duties are. They are purely ministerial. We find—1881 Act, s. 2 (3)—he is instructed to send a Voting Paper to each voter. He has this Register of the General Council, and on the Register it is not mentioned whether the individuals are men or women, and the only discretion he is allowed to use is that he may state whether the address is in the United Kingdom and Channel Islands, or whether it is outside these countries, and that is the discretion he may use. His only guide is the Register itself, and he must carry out the instructions there to send the Voting Papers to each voter, and it is important to notice that the title of this 1881 Act is: "An Act to make farther provision in regard to the registration of Parliamentary Voters, and also in regard to the taking of the poll by means of Voting Papers in the Universities of Scotland." Now the only section which deals with registration is Section 2, Sub-section 16 of that Act, and that section has always been applied to women, and under that section women have exercised all the privileges of membership, so that the result is that the women to whom the Act has been applied are Parliamentary Voters; besides, it is common knowledge that the Registration Acts before the date of the passing of this 1868 Act forbade the Returning Officer to ask any questions of the voter except whether he is the person whose name is on the Register, and whether he has previously voted at the Election, and the Returning Officer has no power to reject votes except on these grounds. So that the custom is that, if a name is legally entered on the Register that vote must be counted, and I submit that there is no answer in Law to our statement that we have the right to obtain Voting Papers from the Registrar. Coming to the House of Lords to-day I was stopped by the policeman, and if he had prevented my entrance that would have been much as if he had said to me, "Your case is a bad one; there is no use your going in, and I won't admit you to the Lord Chancellor." But if the policeman had done that I could have taken him to whatever court in England corresponds to our Court of Session in Scotland. In the same way this Registrar has forbidden me to go before the properly established Court, and we have therefore taken the case to the Court of Session in Scotland to have the matter decided in law. We ask to have it declared that he is bound to give us our Voting Papers. A statutory duty is imposed upon him by this Section 2, Sub-Section 3 of the 1881 Act. It seems that there is no answer to that part of our claim.

But our right to Voting Papers is quite subsidiary to the main part of our claim. The section giving to a graduate of Scotland the right to vote in a University Election is Section 27

of the 1868 Act. There it provides that "every person whose name is for the time being on the Register, if of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, shall be entitled to vote." Now, we are admittedly on the Register, and the question comes to be: Are we "persons"? are we "of full age"? and are we "not subject to any legal incapacity"? We are admittedly of full age, so the question comes to be, Are we "persons"? and are we "not subject to any legal incapacity" within the meaning of this Act? I submit that if we are "persons," and if we are "not subject to any legal incapacity," inasmuch as this Act is applicable to us, we are entitled to vote and have the vote counted in the election of University Members for Scotland—because we are on the Register; that is admitted. I repeat that the necessary qualifications for the exercise of this franchise are (a) that we are persons, (b) that we are on the Register, (c) that we are of full age, and (d) that we are not subject to any legal incapacity. So as the points that we are on the Register and are of full age are admitted, the questions that come to be argued are: Are we persons? and are we subject to any legal incapacity?

Now I submit that the word "persons" in its ordinary signification includes both men and women. We should expect to find a different word here if the franchise was to be conferred only on male graduates. That "persons" means both men and women is the natural sense of the word. Besides, it is to be remarked that in the other enabling sections of the same Act it is the word "man" which is used. You will find that Sections 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the 1868 Act, which deal with County and Borough franchises, and which confer new franchises in Counties and Boroughs, use this word "man." In these sections of the Act the words are: Section 3: "Every man shall in and after the year One thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight be entitled to be registered, &c." And in all these Sections we have the same limitation "not subject to any legal incapacity."

The Lord Chancellor: We must stop now, and we propose to continue this argument on Thursday morning at 10.30.

[The continuation will appear in our next issue.]

Wedded Bliss.

(Continued from p. 219.)

AGAIN, Mary Wollstonecraft says: Fragile in every sense, women are obliged to look up to men for every comfort. In the most trifling dangers they cling to their support with parasitical tenacity, piteously demanding succour; and their natural protector extends his arm, or lifts his voice to guard the lovely trembler—from what—perhaps the form of an old cow, or the jump of a mouse; a rat would be a serious danger. In the name of reason what can save such beings from contempt—even though they be soft and fair. (These fears when not affected may produce some pretty attitudes; but they show a degree of insensibility which degrades a rational creature in a way women are not aware of—for love and esteem are very distinct things.)

In 1808 we read that a man sold his wife for sixpence and a quid of tobacco, and that the newspapers spoke of such events as growing too common.

In 1820, and years after, women often supported the husband and family by hard manual labour—the profligate husband collecting and spending the wages which were his by law. It was common for husbands to will their children away from their wives to other guardians.

Too great a space would be needed to describe in any detail the gradual change of thought which strengthened and broadened, until it has brought us to the position we occupy at the present day. One is apt to feel that it was a natural and inevitable growth. The pioneers could tell you a different story. "Thought you greatness," says Walt Whitman, "was to ripen for you like a pear; know that you must conquer it through ages, through centuries, must pay for it a proportionate price." The Grimke Sisters of South Carolina paid that price when they underwent savage persecution for daring to speak from a platform in favour of abolition. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first graduated woman physician in the world, paid it when the women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her during her three years of study, and drew aside their skirts if they happened to meet her in the street, lest they be contaminated.

In 1853 some friends of temperance met in New York to arrange for a World's Temperance Convention. Ten women delegates were present, and upon vote accepted. During the meeting, discussion arose upon the right of women to take part in the reform. After much vulgar insult, a committee was formed to decide the matter, upon which they immediately requested the women delegates to leave the room. A number of the most liberal-minded men followed them. After they had left, another discussion followed, condemning all public action of women, and one reverend gentleman expressed his pleasure at being "Now rid of the scum of the convention." Many people were genuinely shocked at the indelicacy of women wishing to work for temperance.

History repeats itself, and the pioneers are again paying the price. To many women their methods appear only a shade less objectionable than did the conduct of the pioneers of the past to the good women of that day. And yet it is because of these past efforts that we stand where we are, and I take it in the perspective of the future, the daughters of a succeeding generation may view the general attitude towards present-day pioneers with much the same wonder as we now view that of our sisters in the past.

Is our present position satisfactory? Has the reaction reached a point when to go further would do harm? Are the women of to-day more selfish than they used to be? Women talk glibly the world over of wishing no rights—nor do they, until the unforeseen happens, and they begin to try to earn their own living. The actual condition of women's labour was put by a woman speaker the other day at one of the Suffrage Meetings. There is not a woman among you, said she, who is trying to earn her own living, who has not found it more than difficult to succeed, not because your brains are inferior, nor because you are less competent than others, but simply and solely because of your sex. She instanced a case she had met with recently in a Lancashire factory, where two men and one woman were working at a machine. All three were doing exactly the same thing; each man earned 29s. per week, the woman got 9s. If the price paid for woman's work is unsatisfactory, what can be said for the laws. Legally, as we know, there is only one parent? When the child is illegitimate that parent is the mother. That means that the mother's name only appears on the birth register, and unless appeal is made, which the mother is usually unwilling to do, the father has no responsibility whatever towards the support of his child. When the child is legitimate, the father, so long as he lives, is guardian to the exclusion of the mother. In the case of separation or divorce the children belong to the father. This may be overruled at the discretion of the Court. Would you like to hear what that discretion may mean? Some years ago in Edinburgh a wife obtained separation on account of cruelty. There were five children, the youngest a child of four. The wife asked for the custody of all, which was refused, but the Lord Ordinary gave her the youngest. On appeal this was reversed, and the child, like the rest, was handed over to the father. In giving judgment Lord Deas said: "The defender (i.e. the husband) frequently used bad language towards his wife, addressing her by such epithets as "blackguard," "fool," "liar." It is proved that he locked her into the drawing-room, and behaved in a very violent manner, which so greatly alarmed her that she escaped by the window. . . . In 1869 it is proved the defender struck the pursuer several violent blows upon the head with his clenched fist. She fell and was taken up insensible, and continued in a helpless state for some time afterwards. Lord Deas was in favour of granting separation, but refusing even the custody of the youngest child. Lord Ardmillan agreed, and said: "The rule, as a general rule, is settled; and, notwithstanding his conduct to the mother, we have no reason to dread injury to the health or morals of the child. To leave his wife with the defender were to subject him to an influence exciting and tempting him to violence towards her. To leave his little child in his house is, or may well be, to introduce a soothing influence to cheer the darkness and mitigate the bitterness of his lot, and bring out the better part of his nature."

The desirability of cheering the darkness and mitigating the bitterness of the wife's lot does not seem to have crossed the judicial mind, and the influence on the children was simply not

taken into account. Public opinion has changed, and I take it that that verdict is no longer probable; but the law is the same. (To be concluded.)

ProceSSIONAL.

Tune "Uplift the Banner."

O England, where thy sons have spread
In peace or conquest o'er the Earth,
We boast that Justice rears her head,
And Freedom springs to glorious birth.

Then can it be, dear Motherland,
Thy daughters ask a thing too great,
When they, in Justice' name, demand
More Liberty to serve the State?

No vulgar wish with men to vie,
No love of Power for Power's mere sake,
No impulse mad to strive and cry
Have moved us our appeal to make;

But we have heard, alas, too long
From ruined home, from cell and slum,
The helpless cry of want and wrong
That bids us be no longer dumb.

We rise to voice the Woman's cause;
What power can long our claim gainsay?
An equal right to frame the laws
That all must equally obey.

Shall senseless Clamour drown our plea,
Dull Ignorance or selfish Fear,
Shall Prejudice that will not see,
Refuse our righteous cause to hear?

Ah no, our purpose forward goes,
Upheld by many a gladdening sign,—
The help of men that were its foes,
And waverers falling into line.

Our hope is strong because we know
We follow but the Age's trend,
A tide that will not backward flow
But bear us onward to the end.

The mothers of our mighty men,
Great spirits found in every age,
The heroines of sword and pen—
By them we claim our heritage.

E. M. GRIFFITHS.

Correspondence.

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

DEAR SIR,—Lately in your columns (Men's League portion) I had the pleasure of urging the necessity of co-operation of the societies now advocating Women's Suffrage; but, as I had anticipated, the obtaining of neutral ground is exceedingly difficult.

It seems to me, however, that it would not be in any way difficult to obtain the earnest help of all sections in some charitable act—such, say, as the feeding of a few thousand people on New Year's Day in one of the largest halls in London, suitable for the purpose.

The societies might thus, I feel certain, feed more persons at once than has probably ever been done in one building before, and in addition to the good effect I believe it would have, would show, or help to show, what a large number of people are connected with the movement, and would, I trust, form the first of other co-operative action.

The tickets would undoubtedly reach into quarters which ordinary propaganda fails to influence, and I am wrong in my judgment if it would not also break down certain of the forms of prejudice with which we have to contend.

Yours faithfully,

H. MACKENZIE THEEDAM.

'Women's Franchise' and 'The Times.'

WE subjoin the communication which has now been sent out to the Press generally.

We can only regard the part played by *The Times* as consistent with their attitude throughout in the matter of Woman's Suffrage, which has been to seek by disparaging allusion whenever possible to retard our advance. Some of our readers may not be aware that for reports of anti-Suffrage news in *The Times* they should look to the pages indicated in the Index as containing news of "Woman's Suffrage" and "Political Notes."

Copy of communication in 'The Times' of Nov. 12.

"Mrs. Hylton Dale sent yesterday the following letter to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—

"Mrs. Hylton Dale begs to resign her position as an honorary vice-president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. She recognizes the kindly spirit in which this vice-presidentship was conferred upon her, although it was "an honour that she dreamt not of," and did not seek. But she cannot remain even an honorary official of a society which, while enormously benefiting, and in fact being revitalized, by the splendid courage and self-sacrifice of the militant section, the founders and leaders of which are now in prison, yet denounces that militant section by the mouth of the Chairman of the National Union. Also Mrs. Dale points out to the National Union that to denounce the militant section, the Women's Social and Political Union, while running a paper, *Women's Franchise*, jointly with the equally militant section, the Women's Freedom League, members of which are now in prison, and the leaders of which have all been in prison for militant action, in order to make the paper pay, is an immoral act of the National Union to which Mrs. Dale will not be a party."

Copy of reply sent to 'The Times' by the Editor of 'Women's Franchise.'

DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Hylton Dale's statement that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies run "a paper *Women's Franchise*, jointly with the equally militant section, the Women's Freedom League, members of which are now in prison, and the leaders of which have all been in prison for militant action, in order to make the paper pay" is made under an entire misconception. The paper was started by me, and is still entirely under my control. I am a member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, but not a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The object of the paper was, and is, to afford an outlet in print to all those interested in Women's Suffrage. Should any profit accrue from the paper it will be devoted to the cause of Women's Suffrage.

This last contingency is not likely to arise, although the paper is under no expenses for Editor or Manager, as the object of the publication is propaganda, and not profit. Partly for the same reason I have thought it better to keep the personality of the controlling influence in the background, though, as the bearer of a name long honorably associated with the best traditions of literature, I am not entirely unknown to yourself and to others.

Copy of a letter left by the Editor of 'Women's Franchise' at the offices of 'The Times' last Saturday, to which no answer has been received.

DEAR SIR,—On Thursday the communication enclosed [being a duplicate of the above letter] was handed to Mr. [], a friend of mine, working, I believe, in the Encyclopædia Department. I had it handed to him as, being cognizant of the facts, I thought he could afford you any explanation you might desire. I have not yet seen the communication in *The Times*, and should be greatly obliged to you if, having received it and decided not to insert it, you will kindly inform me why you refuse to allow the correction of a grave misstatement which has appeared in your columns.

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.

Secretary: MISS MARGERY CORBETT, B.A.

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON

Hon. Secretary: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A.

Organisers: MISS E. M. GARDNER, B.A. MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON, B.A. MRS. COOPER.

Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Telephone: 1860 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, 1908.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. MCLAREN.

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

MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P.
MISS EDITH DIMOCK
MISS L. O. FORD
MISS MARTINDALE, M.D. (Lond.)

MRS. BROADLEY REID
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN
MISS LOWNDES

MISS WARD
LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

WANDSWORTH AND PUTNEY.—A meeting for all interested in Women's Suffrage will be held at 31, Spencer Park on the first Wednesday in each month (January excepted) at 8.30 P.M. The next meeting will be held on December 2nd. Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, of the Men's League, will be the principal speaker on December 2nd.

We are delighted to inform our members that the first of the series of Tuesday "At Homes" was so successful that the second one was held at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, as the latter has a plentiful supply of seats. In order to hear the special speakers nearly a thousand people were present at our first party; and the speeches by Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Frances Balfour, Mr. Philip Snowden and Mr. Cholmeley were greatly appreciated. We were especially glad to welcome a large number of visitors. The receptions will be continued at the Doré Gallery till Christmas, as arrangements have already been made, and we promise our friends that they will have better sitting accommodation.

The South Paddington Branch of the London Society has arranged for a course of meetings to be held at 8 o'clock on alternate Wednesdays. The first one has already taken place, and the next one will be held on November 25th, at 20, Craven Terrace, W., when Miss G. Dykes Spicer, B.A., will lecture on "The Ideal Voter." Admission free. All information can be obtained from the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, 20, Craven Terrace, Lancaster Gate.

By the time this issue appears the success of the great meeting at Queen's Hall will be, we hope, assured. This meeting, as is well known, has been arranged by an independent Committee of those interested in the Professional and Industrial aspect of the Suffrage question, working in co-operation with Miss Roper and Miss Gore-Booth.

Annual Meeting of the London Society.

THE annual meeting of the London Society for Women's Suffrage was held at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, November 10th, at 3 P.M., Lady Frances Balfour in the chair.

After formal business, three resolutions bearing on the general policy of the Society were moved. It was proposed by Miss Flora Murray, M.D., and seconded by Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., that the rule regarding the election of members of the executive committee should be amended by the addition of the words "provided always that such person should be pledged to put the interests of the suffrage before party considerations and should not be holding office in a party organization." To this an amendment was moved by Mrs. Fawcett and seconded by Mr. Walter McLaren to substitute for the words "should not be holding office in a party organization" the following, "to adhere solely to legal and constitutional methods of agitation." This amendment was carried by a very large majority. A resolution recommending that an alteration on identical lines should be introduced into the rules of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was then moved

and seconded by the same ladies, and a similar amendment was moved and carried by an equally large majority. Mrs. Hylton Dale then moved, "That the London Society urges the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to adopt the policy of opposing the Government candidate at by-elections." This was seconded by Mrs. Nevinson. Miss Sterling moved an amendment to omit all words after "the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies," and to substitute as follows, "to pursue its present by-election policy with increased energy." This amendment was carried by a very large majority.

The election of officers of the Executive Committee was proceeded with during the afternoon, and resulted in the election of Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Emily Davies, Miss Clementina Black, Mr. Yorke Stanger, K.C. M.P., Miss Dimock, Mrs. Chesterton, Miss Palliser, Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., Miss Emily Hill, Miss Jenner, Miss Bertha Mason, Mrs. Stanton Coit, Mrs. Broadley Reid, Mr. J. E. Raphael, Miss Lowndes, the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Miss H. D. Cockle, and Mrs. John Roskill. The poll was an unusually heavy one. All the above were strongly supported, there being a difference of some 300 votes between the lowest of those elected and the next on the list.

Chelmsford By-Election.

THE resignation of Sir F. Carne Rasch makes a by-election in the Chelmsford division of Essex imminent. We hope that all our members who believe in our policy will go down to Chelmsford to help make that policy a success, and that those members who have no personal experience of its effect on the voters may seize this very convenient opportunity of seeing how we work. We shall require many helpers, for the constituency has a population of 62,679, and the electorate numbered 12,285 at the last election, so that we have a fine field for propaganda. Mr. E. G. Pretymann, who was Secretary to the Admiralty in Mr. Balfour's last administration, has been before the constituency for some time as the prospective Conservative candidate. On Jan. 12th 1906, he wrote as follows to Miss Palliser: "I regret that I am unable to agree with your view as to the admission of women to the franchise on the same terms as men."

Mr. Pretymann explained in 1904 that he could not support Sir Charles McLaren's Bill, but in 1896 stated he was in favor "of extending the present Municipal Franchise as exercised by women to Parliamentary elections."

Mr. Dence, who was the Liberal candidate at the last election, was favourable to the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women, but it seems unlikely that he will contest the division on this occasion.

County Campaign Fund.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Hants.—Herr von Pohl (per Miss Dorothy Edwards)	0	2	6			
				23	18	0
London.—Miss Lake	5	0	0			
Miss Rose M. Paul	2	0	0			
				303	17	6
Total to Saturday, Nov. 14th, 1908 ..	£	765	19	8		

National Union Manifesto.

Two years ago I came forward in defence of what have since become known as "Suffragette" tactics, and said I thought it was the duty of the old Suffragists to stand by the women, then in prison, who were at the moment the objects of very severe criticism from the press and the public. I do not go back from what I then said. In a circular letter dated November, 1906, to old Suffrage friends I used the following expressions:—

"I need hardly say that I am convinced that the work of quiet persuasion and argument form the solid foundation on which the success of the Woman's Suffrage movement will be reared, and I, in common with the great majority of Suffrage workers, wish to continue the agitation on constitutional lines; yet I feel that the action of the prisoners has touched the imagination of the country in a manner which quieter methods did not succeed in doing."

Since that time, however, many circumstances have changed; the methods of violence have become more violent; their popularity has increased; and I feel now that the Societies standing for lawful and constitutional methods of agitation only should definitely and deliberately say so. We do not sit in judgment on the motives of those who believe that injustice can best be met by violence. We acknowledge—I have constantly and publicly acknowledged—their courage and self-sacrifice; but when they adopt methods which we believe to be wrong in themselves, we are compelled to dissociate ourselves from them.

All the various Suffrage Societies are at one in the object sought, viz.: the extension of the Franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, but they differ as to methods of attaining that object, and it is right that the difference should be clearly expressed, so that those who are invited to join our Society, or any other, should know exactly what their membership implies.

The document printed below was drawn up by the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and it was resolved by them to send it in the first place to Members of Parliament and afterwards to the Press.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

Letter from the Executive Committee.

To the Members of the House of Commons.

GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies we desire to address you with regard to the present position of the movement for the extension of the Franchise to women. We do so more particularly because of the recent disturbances in the Ladies' Gallery and the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons, and outside the Palace of Westminster. We wish to place on record our strong objection to all these and similar disturbances and breaches of the peace. We deeply regret them, and are convinced that our great cause, the basis of which is justice, and not force, does not require such methods for its advocacy. They are completely at variance with the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which is one of steadfast adherence to lawful and constitutional methods of agitation.

We appeal now, as we have appealed in the past, to reason, justice, and experience; the result of this appeal has been the gradual conversion of large numbers of men and women to our cause, so that at the General Election more than half the House of Commons, including two-thirds of the present Government, were returned as pledged supporters of Women's Enfranchisement. We are unwilling to believe that arguments thus accepted and pledges thus given will be cast aside because other methods have been adopted by what are known as the "militant" societies. The justice and expediency of any cause is not affected by the unwisdom of some of its advocates; nor should the steady, argumentative agitation of forty years be now ignored because in the disappointment of long deferred hopes, methods of anger and impatience, and even of violence, have

been resorted to. While, therefore, we feel assured that Members will not change their opinions, nor abstain from voting because of the disorder that has occurred, we should not be candid if we did not state that the deepest disappointment exists in our Union at the long delay which has occurred in placing a measure for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women upon the Statute Book. The refusal of the Closure in 1907, the failure to make any further progress with Mr. Stanger's Bill this Session, in spite of its great majority on the second reading, and the absence of any apparent effort in the House, have caused many workers almost to despair, and in so far have given encouragement to the militant movement; for it must be remembered that the refusal of justice has often led to methods of violence and disorder.

We urge our friends in the House of Commons to make every effort next session to carry a Women's Suffrage Bill into law. Such a measure would be more satisfactory than waiting for the chances of the moving of an amendment to the Government Reform Bill, and would give positive proof of the sincerity of members who are pledged to our cause. The pledge, however, given by the Prime Minister is distinct, and while it does not satisfy us because we desire that the Government should itself include Women's Suffrage in its Reform Bill, we still accept it, knowing that it will be adhered to and that the House will be left free from any Government opposition to insert Women's Suffrage in the Reform Bill.

The Ministry have advised H.M. the King to promise to his Indian subjects a wider measure of representative institutions than has hitherto prevailed in our great dependency. They have done so because they believe it to be in harmony with social changes which have already taken place among the vast populations of India, and therefore just and right. They have not been deterred from this course by the fact that the unrest in India has been accompanied by crimes of violence compared with which the unconstitutional action of the militant Suffragists fades into insignificance.

Believing in the justice of our cause, we appeal to you to increase your efforts on its behalf, and we assure you, on our side, that the patience, perseverance, self-sacrifice and hard work on constitutional lines which have brought us within measurable distance of success will be steadfastly adhered to by our societies.

We are, on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

Your obedient servants,
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, President.
BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.
FRANCES HARDCASTLE, Hon. Secretary.

Correspondence.

DEAR SIR,—We, the undersigned, members of the N.U.W.S.S., candidates for election to the Committee of the London Suffrage Society at the recent annual meeting, and representing a large number of members voting on that occasion, wish to enter a protest against the views expressed in a letter from the Executive Committee of the National Union to the members of the House of Commons, signed by the President, Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary of the National Union, and published in *The Times* of November 12th.

Though not ourselves taking part in militant movements, nor wishing the National Union to become a militant society, we admire and respect the women who have sacrificed so much for the cause for which we are all contending, and we believe that what they have done and suffered has been of value in advancing it.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) L. GARRETT ANDERSON, M.D., B.S.
BEATRICE HARRADEN, B.A.
I. M. MACDONALD, M.B.
FLORA MURRAY, M.D., B.S., D.P.H.
HELEN WEBB, M.B.

Debate between Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Humphry Ward.

The debate on Women's Suffrage between Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Humphry Ward will take place on Dec. 9th, at 8 o'clock, at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Square. Tickets, price 10s. 6d., 5s., or 2s. 6d., can be obtained from Mrs. Bertram, 38, Palace Mansions, Addison Bridge, and from Miss McKee, 12, Tavistock Square, W.C.

We are glad to announce that Bridlington W.S.S., Wallasey and Wirral W.S.S. have now entered the Union.

Branch Societies.

CHELTHENHAM.—The second Social Meeting was held on November 14th, when the room was crowded. Tea was served, and a Suffrage song sung by all present. Mrs. Frances Swiney surveyed recent events, after which Mrs. Sarah Wilson, M.B., read a deeply interesting paper on 'The Modern Woman's Movement.' The collection more than covered expenses, a new member joined, and the programme closed with another song, "Forward, sister women"! THEODORA MILLS.

LONDON.—*Hampstead* has lost its able and energetic Hon. Co-Secretary, Mrs. Bull, who has done such splendid work for the Society. Mrs. Bull has resigned, as she finds she cannot give the necessary time. She will be greatly missed by the Committee. Mrs. Hartley has been elected Hon. Co-Secretary in her place. Miss Evans, 17, Willow Road, Hampstead, will hold a drawing-room meeting on Thursday, Nov. 12th, at 4.30. Mr. Joseph Clayton has kindly consented to speak, and we hope that Mrs. Gilliland Husband will take the chair.

HULL.—Over a hundred persons were present at a Conversation, held at the Oddfellows' Hall, on the 1st inst. All the artists who supplied the most enjoyable programme were women. The President (Mrs. F. Richardson) appealed for more active help in organization work. The Society has done good work during the year, and meetings have been held at Grimsby, Bridlington, and Beverley.

WOBURN SANDS.—At a meeting of members on Nov. 4th, the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Committee were chosen, and it was decided to hold four Public Meetings in the district yearly. The Society has been formed for just a year, and is now in full working order.

WHITBY.—A successful public meeting was held in the Temperance Hall on November 11th, the audience of about 600 being at least twice as large as at any previous indoor meeting held by this society. Henry Seddon, Esq., of Manchester, presided. Numerous written questions were passed up to the platform during the collection, and were answered by the two chief speakers, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., and Miss Gardner, B.A. The resolution was passed, only two voting against it. Miss Gardner and Mr. Seddon also addressed an open-air meeting in Station Square just before the meeting in the hall.

YORKSHIRE.—*Pickering.*—A very successful meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, Pickering, on November 12th. The meeting was arranged by Mrs. Highfield. Miss Priestman took the chair, and Mr. Seddon (Manchester), and Miss Gardner spoke. A good collection was taken.

Malton.—On November 13th Miss I. O. Ford and Miss Gardner addressed a sympathetic meeting in the Adult School. Great interest was shown, and three new members were obtained. A short meeting was also held in the market in the afternoon.

Thornton Dale.—Miss Priestman arranged a meeting in the Old Grammar School on the afternoon of the 14th. Miss Highfield took the chair, and Miss Gardner spoke. The attendance for a Saturday afternoon was very good, and Miss Gardner was invited to bring the van to Thornton next summer.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nov. 19. | Knutsford , Public Meeting
London , <i>Chelsea</i> , Invitation Meeting, Humphrey's Tea Room, 145, King's Road
Wandsworth , Public Meeting, Town Hall | <i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam
<i>Chair</i> , W. H. Dickinson, Esq., M.P.
<i>Speakers</i> , The Right Hon. Earl Russell, Miss Alison Garland, and others
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Gardner, B.A. | P.M.
8 |
| | Sunderland , Open Air Meetings
Public Meeting , Masonic Hall, Monkwearmouth. Admission: Women, free; Men, 6d.
Newcastle , Public Meeting, Shields Green
Solihull , Meeting for Women only | <i>Chair</i> , Mrs. James Stuart
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Gardner, B.A.
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Fraser
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam | 7.30
3.30 |
| 23. | Newcastle , Drawing-Room Meeting
Southampton , Public Meeting, Shaftesbury Hall
Worcester , Meeting for Women only | <i>Hostess</i> , Mrs. Sturge
<i>Speakers</i> , Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Mrs. Russell Cooke,
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam | 3
3.30 |
| 24. | Birmingham , <i>Edgbaston</i> , Meeting for Women only
London , <i>Paddington S.</i> , "At Home" | <i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam
<i>Hostess</i> , Lady Spicer
<i>Speakers</i> , Mrs. Eltham Mylne, Miss Cicely Corbett | 3.30
4.30-7 |
| 24. | London Society Reception , Doré Gallery, 35, Bond Street | <i>Speaker</i> , Mrs. Holmes | 3.45 |
| 25. | Bournemouth , Annual Meeting, The Quadrant
Debate , Lecture Hall, West Hill Road
London , <i>Paddington S.</i> , Lecture, 20, Craven Terrace, W.
Nottingham , "At Home," Mikado Café | <i>Speakers</i> , Mrs. Holmes, 8 and Representative from Anti-Suffrage League
<i>Lecturer</i> , Miss G. Dyce 8
<i>Chair</i> , Mrs. William Thorpe
<i>Speaker</i> , Dr. Louise Appel
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam
<i>Speaker</i> , Lady Frances 3 Balfour | 8
8
3.30
3.30 |
| | Shrewsbury , Public Meeting
Windsor , Public Meeting, Town Hall | <i>Hostess</i> , Mrs. John Roskill
<i>Speakers</i> , Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., and others
<i>Speaker</i> , Mrs. Pember Reeves
<i>Speaker</i> , Mrs. Corbett | 4
3.30 |
| 26 & 27. | Altrincham , Public Meetings.
Birmingham , Exhibition of Banners | <i>To be opened by Mrs. Fawcett (26th)</i>
<i>Miss Ashton (27th)</i>
<i>Speakers</i> , Miss Abadam
<i>Speakers</i> , Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Abadam
Students and Teachers | 8
8 |
| 26. | Bowdon , Public Meeting | <i>Speaker</i> , Mrs. Donaldson | 8 |
| 27. | Bowdon , Public Meeting | <i>To be opened by Lady Frances Balfour</i> | |
| 28. | Stepney , Jewish Schools, Debate | | |
| 30. | Leicester , Debate, Y.M.C.A. | | |
| Dec. 1 & 2. | Glasgow Exhibition of Banners , Fine Art Institute, Sauchiehall Street | | |
| 1. | London Society Reception , Doré Gallery, 35, Bond Street | <i>Speaker</i> , Mr. Walter McLaren
<i>Speaker</i> , Mr. Malcolm Mitchell
<i>Lecturer</i> , Miss Murdoch | 4.30-7
3
8.30
8 |
| | London , <i>Richmond</i> , Public Meeting
Wandsworth , Branch Meeting, 31, Spencer Park Road | <i>Chair</i> , Lady Spicer
<i>Speaker</i> , Miss Abadam | 8.30 |
| 2. | Hull , Lecture, Oddfellow's Hall, No. 3 Room | | |
| 3. | London , <i>N. Kensington</i> , Meeting for Women only, Horbury Rooms, Notting-Hill Gate | | |

** Kindly address all communications relating to the work of Societies in the N.U.W.S.S. and all paragraphs intended for these columns to Miss Hardcastle, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.; to reach her by first post Saturday.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Freedom League (late W.S.P.A.).

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

SCOTTISH OFFICE: 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

NATIONAL OFFICES: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

Organising Secretary: MISS ANNA MUNRO.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. GRAHAM MOFFAT.

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.S.C., A.R.C.S.
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.

National Hon. Organising Secretary: MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG.

Telegrams: "Tactics, London."

Salve!

WELCOME HOME.

THE only enjoyable thing about going to prison is the coming out. That is a fact that needs no demonstration, but if any one doubts it, our advise is, try it and see, and if ever you valued the loving greeting of friends, eager hands outstretched to grasp yours, the sound of kindly voices, welcoming smiles, and, best of all, liberty—liberty to move, to speak, to breathe in great gulps of clean fresh air—why, you will value them a thousandfold more when you pass out from those great barred doors of Holloway Gaol. Let there be no mistake about it; our prisoners are the warriors who have faced fire, who have won honourable scars. No one who has faced the experience that goes on behind those doors ever looks upon life with quite the same eyes again. The scars inflicted by the coming to real grips with Government, by force in its most naked and appalling aspect, are inefaceable. Life is divided afterwards into two sharp periods—before prison and after prison. Our members now in prison are:—

Miss Bremner.
Miss Manning.
Mrs. Duval.
Miss Matters.
Miss Spencer.
Miss Tillard.
Miss Henderson.

For these prisoners we want to link on inseparably to that experience one of their brightest memories—the memory of a welcome so warm, so heartfelt, that it would overshadow the other for a long time to come. So please, members and friends, every one of you remember that November 28th must be kept as a red-letter day for the Women's Freedom League. Gather outside Holloway gates at 8 o'clock in the morning to give them all the welcome they so richly deserve. We have arranged to give them breakfast at Cottage Tea Rooms, Strand (opposite Adam Street), at 9.30, and any member or sympathizer will be able to join us there. Then come in overwhelming numbers in the afternoon to Trafalgar Square, where we intend holding a great mass meeting, and passing a resolution of condemnation on the Liberal Government and all its works. There will be a public reception at Morley Hall, George Street, Hanover Square, at 7 o'clock in the evening, when Miss Matters, Mrs. Bormann-Wells, and Mrs. Duval will speak. We hope they will speak to such an audience of sympathetic enthusiastic friends as they have never before met.

Remember our

RED LETTER DAY,
NOVEMBER 28TH.

Remember, every one of you must join in our
WELCOME HOME.

M. H.

Overheard in a London Hotel.

Lady: I give my personal service to the constitutional society, but my money to the militant section.

Having proved the worth and determination of women, this Government may now dissolve. Its chief *raison d'être* is accomplished.
K. K.

In Parliament.—The principal incident on November 16 was the discussion as to the propriety of accepting the offer of a medicine chest made to the House of Commons by a sympathetic and liberal firm who had read in *Women's Franchise*

that members were now taking a nerve tonic. It was felt to be expedient to accept the gift, having regard to the probability of future demands on the nervous systems of members. It was agreed that if England is to preserve her greatness, Members of Parliament must be well physicked. The offer was gratefully accepted.

"Not Cricket."

If the women's fight for freedom is to result in once more raising the image of Justice from the dust to the high pinnacle from which it has fallen in this England of ours, it will have achieved a twofold triumph. The arrests, mock-trials, and unfair imprisonments of the Suffragists, the quibbling and prevarication of the Home Secretary on the subject of the conditions of imprisonment, the unworthy and double-faced attitude of Ministers of the Crown towards the question of the enfranchisement of women, the Parliamentary tricks and evasions resorted to in order to stifle a just measure, are so many indications that the love of fair-play which is supposed to be so essentially British, is not by any means a characteristic of Englishmen to-day. If any person still harbours a belief in British justice, let her go and sit through a day in each of the Metropolitan police-courts. She will watch the rows of wretched trembling human beings—whose very appearance proves them to be more sinned against than sinning—haled before men who hardly look at the unfortunates they are to condemn to a punishment which is probably to destroy the lingering spark of self-respect the victims may possess—men whose daily business it is to get through the list with all expedition, and who, for the most part, are so hardened by custom, that they appear to forget they are dealing with their fellow-creatures. Here and there she will find a humane magistrate; but whether humane, case-hardened, or frankly brutal, she will realize that these men have all but unchecked power to punish the guilty and to wreck and ruin the lives of innocent people, dragged before them without the formality of a legal warrant, convicted and punished on the mere word of a constable.

It is suggestive that Englishmen to-day are apt to make use of sporting terms in order to express moral ideas—a most objectionable practice, and one which shows how low the moral ideal has fallen. We hear of "hitting below the belt," of "good form" or "bad form," of people not "playing the game," of a line of action being "not cricket," and, I suppose, we may assume that British morality to-day is the hooligan morality of the football field, with its victory to the strongest, and that national honour is that of the cricketer, whose power to resist the temptation to cheat is strengthened—perhaps even inspired—by the all-pervading eye of the umpire. If this is so, it may be as well that I should make use of the present-day phraseology in order to be fully understood, and I therefore point out that the "game" as played in our police-courts to-day is "not cricket"; that the Home Secretary has plainly stated that neither he nor any one else has the power to act as "umpire"; and that until the English people rise up and demand "fair play" between the magistrate and the humblest and weakest of those who are brought before him, the administration of justice will continue to be the wicked farce it too often is, and our country will be shamed and disgraced by the tears of "poor humanity, weeping sore," for—

In England justice and love are slain:
Since they have failed, then what could win?
On the thirsting ground let them fall again,
Tears of sorrow and tears of sin.

F. M.

In Recognition of Sacrifice.

OWING to the instrumentality of two Scottish members of the Women's Freedom League a "Recognition of Good Service" Fund has been started in connexion with the imprisonment of Miss Esme M. Manning, one of our prisoners at present in Holloway.

The intention of the promoters of the Fund is to provide for the work the sum of 1*l.* per day for every day spent by Miss Manning in Holloway. It is felt that by this means substantial financial assistance will be obtained for the cause and a graceful tribute will at the same time be paid to the heroism of Miss Manning by those who know her, but cannot share her present sacrifice for the cause in any other way.

The friends of other prisoners are invited to follow this excellent example. T. B. G.

On, through the Sunshine and the Showers.

A GLOOMY winter day and despair in my heart. As I trudged along a dull, monotonous country road, the words kept ringing in my ears, "This time you have spoilt your cause, this time assuredly you have thrown it back, maybe for years." Can this be true? I thought, and as I gazed upon the dreary landscape no comfort came. But comfort was to come, for as I walked my thoughts went back to the beginning of this struggle of ours for freedom, and I saw, in spite of the criticism and clamour of the world, how much we have advanced, how many obstacles we have surmounted; and I realized more firmly than before that for us there is no going back, for us there is no rest, until as conquerors we can claim the victors' rest.

And now scarce a week has passed, and again I take that walk. This time the sun is shining brightly, and yet I almost grudge its brightness when I think of the many brave women to-day enduring captivity, and scarcely knowing that the sun shines. Still, peace is in my heart, for I know, in spite of the gibes and laughter of our enemies, the cause is not going back. As I stand and feast my eyes on the rich autumn colouring, there flashes into my mind the knowledge that peace too, reigns in the hearts of these sisters of ours, who to-day are clad in prison raiment; who to-day are treated as outcasts. They are not dependent on sunshine or worldly comfort, for from their hearts the hymn of peace is ascending, because they know that by their suffering they have brought that fight nearer to an end. And we, who have taken no active share in the hardships of the battle, what can we do to show our love and gratitude to our sisters? We can best prove our thanks by our deeds. We can determine to fight twice as hard as we have done before; for every woman the Liberal Government imprisons we can show there are two to take her place. We can give more generously than before, for though money is not as valuable as service, still we know the fight can not be waged without the sinews of war, and it is our privilege and duty to see what we can give. Every day that our sisters are enduring imprisonment, let us ask what we can deny ourselves, what we can give up, and we shall find that we can each do more than we have already done. And our little sacrifices—how paltry they seem compared to what the others have borne so willingly and cheerfully! So let us each make a strong and determined resolution to give our love, our time, our service, and our money to the women's cause. E. G. M.

Correspondence.

DEAR MADAM,—I have read every word of every number of *Women's Franchise*, and have secretly cherished the hope that some day I might have the pleasure of seeing some article of my own in print; but until this last week there has seemed to be no opening for my particular talent. Your 'Notice to Literary Contributors' has, at last, made it possible for me to

realize my ambition. Forgive me for troubling you with a few personal idiosyncracies. Among my earliest pleasures was the learning of lists of names and dates. I can picture vividly, even after so many years, the exact shape and appearance of the card containing the kings and queens of England, with their dates, their respective wives or husbands, and the places of burial. These were soon mastered, and were followed by other fascinating lists, such as that of the towns at which Paul touched in his various journeys. The names, ages, and birthdays of my friends have always been of peculiar interest. For some reason I am still trying to fathom, more of my friends have been born in March than any other month. Lists have always been, and I hope will always remain, a never-ending source of joy. However tired and jaded after a hard day's work, a list of names is sufficient to refresh and reanimate me. I enclose an article I have just finished, being a small contribution to our great cause. After what you have said I cannot think there will be any one who will fail to grasp its significance, and I need hardly add that this is only a specimen. I shall be delighted to supply similar lists, either assorted as this one or all of the same kind, if you will kindly let me know how many columns per week you can put at my disposal. Yours truly, A. GULL.

1867, John Stuart Mill, Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. Fawcett, Lily Maxwell (Manchester); 5346, Chorlton v. Lings; 1870, Jacob Bright, 33 Gladstone; 1877, Courtney (*Divide! divide!! divide!!!*); 1886, Courtney (without div.); 1897, Begg 71; 1905, Sir Edward Grey (Manchester), Kenney, Pankhurst; 1906, 10, Downing Street, Miller, Keir Hardie, Billington, Kenney (Flag), Asquith, back door, 20, Cavendish Square, Billington, care of Governor, Holloway; House of Commons Lobby, Cobden-Sanderson, 9 confederates Holloway (*stone walls do not a prison make*); 1907, Despard Cossacks in London—57—March, 67, 1=2; 1908, Edward VII., Keningale Cook, Munro, Sanderson, Neilans, Asquith, Haldane, Sinclair, Harcourt, Birrell, Burns, at home to W.F.L., 9 A.M.; May 20th, John Stuart Mill, L.C.C., Asquith v. Stanger; May 21st, Asquith v. W.F.L., 7 Holloway; Oct. 12th, House of Commons, War Office, Guildhall, G.P.O., Bank, Law Courts, Monuments, Scotland Yard, &c.; Oct. 28th, House of Commons, Grille Procession, Matters, Fox, Matters, Duval, Henderson, Tillard, Borrmann-Wells, Manning, Molony, Holmes, Spencer, MacCallum, Bremner, Neilans. A. G.

[It is quite easy to fathom why most of A. Gull's friends were born in March. We will regretfully and indefinitely postpone A. Gull's further productions, having given her the pleasure of seeing herself in print.—Ed. W.F.L.]

Branch Notes.

Manchester Branch.—The members of the Manchester Branch have just entered the second year of their existence. The meetings which have taken place since the annual meeting on November 4th have been very satisfactory. On Monday, November 9th, a drawing-room meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. McMurray, in Upper Brook Street. Miss Mallon was the speaker, and although no new members were made, there is every reason to expect that Mrs. McMurray's meetings will result in bringing many new members to the branch. Mrs. Dean is to be the speaker next Monday.

The branch meeting on Wednesday was a very enthusiastic one, new members were enrolled, and a fair amount of literature sold. Next Wednesday Nurse Eddie will read a paper, 'Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow.' F. B. G. K.

Central Branch.—Will branch members attend the General Business Meeting on the 19th at 1, Robert Street, 8 P.M.? Resolutions and nominations for next annual conference will be discussed. No meeting on the 26th.

Despard Debating Society meets on Dec. 3rd, 8 P.M. Proposition: "That men are suffering from grave disadvantages, owing to the fact that women are unenfranchised." P. H.

Finchley Branch.—The branch work progresses steadily. On the 9th inst. Miss Sidley addressed the Barnet Literary Society.

There have been two members' meetings to discuss and to apportion out the work for the public meeting on the 26th. We have decided to give out handbills at every meeting in the neighbourhood of the three Finchleys, besides which a canvass of women ratepayers is being carried on.

One of the committee of the East Finchley Women Liberals has resigned from the association, and is doing good work for us; and at the annual meeting of the West Finchley Women's Liberal Association it was stated that, although the membership is fifty-three, only once during the session have as many as twenty attended. This, it was said, was due very largely to the knowledge that they could bring no practical influence to bear on politicians. We understand that Liberal women are refusing to work for the Liberal Bazaar.

On the 19th we expect to be visited by the Cyclists' Corps, and to hold a meeting at 6.15 P.M. at the Market Square, East Finchley. E. B. & E. M.

Hackney Branch.—An entertainment in aid of the funds of the League is to take place in the Library Hall, Church Street, Stoke Newington (electric cars from Holborn and Moorgate Street for Stamford Hill, pass the end of the street), at 6.30 on November 20th and 21st. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig Hrs. Hicks, Mrs. Nevinson, and Mr. Hart Davis, M.P., will speak. Miss Cicely Hamilton will show Waxworks. The duologue, 'Granny Bopeep' and Tableaux Vivants will be presented. South Place orchestra will give selections. Will members and friends please come, and help to make a great success? S. A. MUSTARD.

Special Notices.

NOVEMBER 28TH: Release of Prisoners from Holloway Gaol at 8 A.M. In the evening the prisoners will be again welcomed at Morley Hall, George Street, Hanover Square, from 7 to 10 P.M. The chair will be taken at 8 P.M. Reserved seats, 1*s.*, to be obtained at 1, Robert Street, Adelphi. Admission free.

DECEMBER 9TH: Public Meeting, St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, at 8 P.M. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Billington-Greig. Speakers: Miss Matters, Miss Molony, Mrs. Borrmann-Wells, and other released prisoners. Admission free. Reserved seats, 2*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* All members are requested to help in making this meeting known. Handbills are ready for distribution.

DECEMBER 19TH: W.F.L. Christmas Party at Caxton Hall, from 6 P.M. to 11 P.M. Admission tickets, 1*s.* Miss Hodgson, who is in charge of the arrangements, wishes to make it known that all members may bring all their relations and all their friends. Even enemies are to be admitted (if certified sane), with the exception of Cabinet Ministers. "Antis" are respectfully invited.

The programme will include an amusing duologue given by Miss Hodgson and Mr. Victor Duval (Men's League). The novelties of the evening will be a Cake and Pudding Competition and a Pound Stall. Judging from the known limitations of some of our members, it is quite certain that some of the puddings at least, will be quite novel productions. There is some talk of utilizing them as property puddings, which need not be eaten, by selling them to public-houses keepers in anticipation of the time when the Licensing Bill being law, legal (and not necessarily eatable) meals will have to be served with drink at stated times. So they will not be wasted, and the makers will be consoled when they think they are helping Mr. Asquith to make England sober. The Pound Stall is to consist of pounds of anything, and every member is expected to bring and buy one pound of something. Miss Hodgson will be glad to hear from all members who will help to make the party a success financially, and from the social point of view.

On Sunday the 22nd, there will be a **Mass Meeting in Trafalgar Square at 3 P.M.** To make this of the greatest use possible, we need numbers of our members in the crowd—to sell literature, answer questions, collect, sell tickets for meetings,

and take the names of sympathizers. Will all volunteers who can be at the office by 2.45, kindly send a post-card to the Hon. Sec., so that we may know how many helpers we can depend on. Those who cannot be there till 3 P.M. please go straight to the Square.

We want the pavements chalked with "Votes for Women," Trafalgar Square, Sunday at 3 P.M. This is easy to do with lump chalk, which can be bought at an oil-shop.

We hope that all who can will go to Holloway Gaol on Saturday morning, the 21st, to welcome Mrs. Brindley, and on Saturday morning, the 28th, to meet our other prisoners.

Then we want your help and co-operation all day on **Saturday, the 28th**—"sandwiching" in the morning—mass meeting in Trafalgar Square in the afternoon—and in Morley Hall, Hanover Square, in the afternoon.

It is hard to give up our Saturdays and Sunday afternoons in this way—but it is not so hard as going to prison; so let us all make a great effort to show we appreciate what our imprisoned members are doing for the cause.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

November 19th to November 28th.		
		P.M.
Nov. Thurs. 19.	"At Home," Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Billington-Greig 3.30 Song—Miss Winifred Kenny
	Cheltenham, Glenroy	Mrs. Wilkins
	Croydon Horniman Hall	Mrs. Holmes
	Debate	Mr. T. Lawler Wilson
	1, Robert Street, Adelphi	Central Branch Business Meeting 8
Fri. 20.	Tottenham	Mrs. Toyne 3
	Chichester Assembly Rooms	Countess Russell 8 Mrs. Billington-Greig Miss V. Cummin Dr. C. V. Drysdale
20 and 21.	Library Hall, Church Street, Stoke Newington	Mrs. Despard 6.30 Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Dickinson Mrs. Nevinson Miss Cicely Hamilton Mr. T. Hart Davies, M.P. Duologue—Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc. Miss Hodgson
Sat. 21.	Holloway Gaol	Release of Mrs. Brindley 8.15 and others
Sun. 22.	Trafalgar Square	Mrs. Billington-Greig 3 Mrs. Manson and others
Mon. 23.	Bournemouth, Prince's Hall	Mrs. Holmes
Tues. 24.	Kensington Town Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig 8
	Debate	Mr. St. Loe Strachey
	13, South Side, Clapham Common	Mr. Duval 8
Wed. 25.	Manchester Branch Meeting Crossway	Miss J. Heyes
	Bournemouth, Lecture Hall, West Hill Road, Debate	Mrs. How Martyn 8 Mrs. Holmes Miss E. Hickey Mrs. Despard
	Blackburn Town Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig
Thurs. 26.	Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett 3.30 Miss Cicely Hamilton Recitation—Miss Anna Carola
	Finchley, High School, Great North Road	Mrs. Despard 8 Miss Hicks, M.A. Miss Sidley Mr. Chancellor Mrs. Gard
Fri. 27.	Cheltenham, Holbein House	
Sat. 28.	Holloway Gaol	8 A.M.
	Trafalgar Square Mass Meeting	2.30 P.M.
	Morley Hall, Hanover Square	Miss Matters and others 8
	Reception to Released Prisoners	
	Bromley Co-operative Hall, East Street, Social and Small Sale	5
Dec. Tues. 1.	Sittingbourne	Mrs. Holmes
	Wanstead	Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc. 8 Mrs. Despard 8
Wed. 2.	Paddington	Mrs. How Martyn Mr. G. E. O'Dell
Thurs. 3.	Caxton Hall, Westminster	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson 3.30
	Tunbridge Wells	Miss Matters and 8 Mrs. How Martyn
Wed. 9.	St. James's Hall	Mrs. Billington-Greig 8 Mrs. Despard Miss Matters and Miss Molony

* * All communications intended for the Women's Freedom League columns should be addressed to The Editor, W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and must reach her not later than first post **Saturday**.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

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Hon. Secretary: J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

Hon. Treasurers: GOLDFINCH BATE, H. G. CHANCELLOR.
Hon. Literature Secretary: A. S. F. MORRIS.

Notes and Comments.

WE are glad to announce that representatives of the League have been secured in Bolton and Rochdale. All communications, especially as to men wishing to help in the formation of branches in those towns, should be sent respectively to Mr. J. Darbyshire, 65, Randal Street, Bolton, and Mr. Wilfrid B. Scott, 72, Entwistle Road, Rochdale.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of branches. We have been asked to provide stewards this week for a meeting in a town not far from London; we have also had requests for speakers in more distant places. Now it is clearly impossible for men who are tied to their daily work to accept such invitations except rarely. Within a day and a half we asked five men for a particular meeting; all were compelled to refuse. The chief difficulty is that of getting back to London by nine or ten in the morning.

Now a local secretary in every big town could generally provide the men required, even though no branch had actually been formed. The acting Honorary Secretary is about to take up the whole question, with a view to systematizing work of this kind. A circular will shortly be issued to a number of men in the various big towns where no branch exists, with a view to their appointment as official representatives. The office work at Museum Street, which has been just kept going at a minimum of cost, is being completely overhauled. Paid clerical work is being introduced, and one of our members has consented to act as assistant secretary. The committee has not felt justified in engaging as yet a permanent secretary, but this must be done if the work is to be put on a sound footing.

For this money is required in sums which will justify the Committee in extending the work. The treasurers are about to issue an appeal, and it is absolutely necessary that a generous response should be made by those who can afford it. It is often said that if we spent more we should get more. But it must be remembered that the Committee cannot spend what it does not possess. The Queen's Hall meeting of January 26th is drawing near, and if we are to advertise properly and make it a success we must have a good balance at the bank.

Will not some of our richer friends come forward and help? There is much to be done, and the workers are sadly overstrained!

LONDON BRANCHES.

It is sometimes forgotten that the head office has to act in a double capacity: it has to deal with all the details of a local branch which has all London for its sphere; it has also to act as a centre for the whole country.

We need London Branches with separate organizations to deal with local affairs, each with its own list of speakers, stewards, and workers. Now when the organizers of a meeting ask for stewards (twenty this month, some of which have had to be declined), it often happens that we send out thirty letters to get perhaps only six stewards. A local representative could work much more economically; it would be his duty to know the members (and friends) in his district, and to deal with them directly, in many cases personally, or by hand-delivered notices. The Hon. Secretary will be glad to meet all who are willing to take up or help in this work, at the office on Saturday next between 2 and 5 P.M.

The House of Lords Appeal.

THE St. Andrews University case is still *sub judice*, Miss Jessie Chrystal Macmillan, B.Sc., and Miss Helen Simson, M.A., having opened the case on behalf of the appellants. The House of Lords may now either pronounce its decision or call upon counsel for the respondents to argue, in which latter event Miss Macmillan will have another opportunity of addressing the House.

We do not desire to anticipate the decision, but we think that even if that decision is an adverse one, a great deal will have been done to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage. The question has been debated in the serene atmosphere of the House of Lords in a manner which must inevitably impress friends and opponents alike. A lady without legal training or experience has argued a difficult question of construction with consummate skill and ability. Indeed, we feel sure that if the name of some eminent barrister had been substituted for that of Miss Macmillan in the report of her argument as it appeared in *The Times*, the eminent barrister in question would have received many congratulations on his achievement. Again, all Suffragists are anxious to obtain a final and authoritative decision upon the questions involved, and to know how far the common law is the real enemy lurking behind statutes, which on the face of them appear to confer rights on women.

Two Debates.

At the Sesame Club last Monday week, Mr. Newton Crane's motion that women's enfranchisement will be harmful to the nation was defeated. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was the protagonist on our side, and among others who spoke were Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Brackenbury, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, and Mr. J. M. Mitchell.

The Mildmay Radical Club upheld by 57 to 19, the contention of Mr. Johnstone Edwards (of the New Reform Club) against Mr. Mitchell that the late Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was wrong in saying that the exclusion of women from the Franchise was "neither justifiable, expedient, nor politically right."

Portsmouth.

THE joint meeting, under our auspices and those of the N.U.W.S.S., held at Portsmouth on the 11th, was only partly successful, owing to the efforts of noisy persons of the male sex. The character of this opposition will be guessed by all who know Mr. John Russell's fine speeches on Women's Suffrage. There is a class of men to whom a thoughtful speech on the true meaning of the movement is unfavourably contrasted with the patter of a tenth-rate comedian.

Finchley.

A JOINT meeting of the Women's Freedom and Men's Leagues will be held at the High School, Great North Road, Finchley, on November 26th. The chief speakers will be Mrs. Despard and Mr. H. G. Chancellor, and the chair will be taken by Miss Hicks, M.A. Tickets 2s., 1s., and 6d., to be obtained from the League Office on application by post.

Members of the League are urgently invited to make this meeting a success by helping with the sale of literature, the stewarding, and the like.

"A Reply to the Suffragettes."*

(Continued).

Now we venture here to establish, with as much brevity as is compatible with lucidity, that this pamphlet production is an inaccurate, ill-balanced, and, we are afraid, extremely vulgar attempt to divert the true issue of women's questions, in relation to which more than in any other matter one's seriousness and honesty of purpose can only be ascertained by the delicacy of treatment, the withholding of undeserved bitterness, and the sympathetic ear which alone are the gates to truth.

Firstly, it is *inaccurate*, because the statements of the law are erroneous to an alarming degree. It was our original purpose to test the book's legal correctness by a few haphazard pin-prick references, but we discovered when in the initial stages of perusal that there was hardly a page without a blot of legal inaccuracy upon it, and those pages which can be said to logically and legally pass muster either give a wrong impression or are quotations, which latter, as such, we do not propose to dispute. Take, for example, a statement on p. 6:—

"The rules of law invalidating contracts obtained by fraud, duress, or undue influence, have no effect as against a woman inducing a man, by subtle device or threats of scandal, to marry her. An experienced woman of thirty can entrap a boy of twenty-two into such a promise; the Court takes no notice of the invalidity from the point of view of fair play."

Having in mind the recent Morton case at Newcastle Assizes (*nisi prius*), we feel fairly entitled, without further mental research, to repudiate this. However, as a statement of law, it can be mildly described as crude.

Secondly, the book is ill-balanced, because, not content with inaccuracies as well as omitting the legal injustices suffered by women, the author has no regard to the fact that when the law *does* apparently lean in favour of women, it would be a truer statement to say that there are legal *differences* as to sex rather than inequalities; for it is the duty as well as the practical aim of all systems of law, in working out their own genius, to have due regard to (among other things) (1) the inequalities thrust upon woman by nature, particularly with reference to the unequal burden of procreation; (2) the fact that in temperament and mental bent she is not inferior to, but different from man, and so requires a different (not an unequal) treatment; and (3) the fact that in matters of marriage, earning capacity, and social position, as a result, she is still dependent to such an extent that the law should (and often does) prescribe separate rules of civil conduct. So, therefore, where there exists unparallel treatment in the law, the *raison d'être* is entirely attributable to this purpose of the perfect legal system. And the yet inadequate adjustment of law to the equities of female circumstance is commensurate with the continuing necessity to carry on progressive movements, legislatively to mitigate, as far as possible, those portions of the law which still treat woman with disfavour in the light of all sociological fact.

And, finally, the book is extremely vulgar, for, in parts, it so grossly libels His Majesty's judges (particularly Mr. Justice Wright), that those responsible for its production are more than technically guilty of a serious contempt of Court. The tone and assumption throughout is, that woman is a bloodthirsty oppressor and husband-beater. P. 20 says:—

"If a man under any provocation—no matter how galling—insolence or violence—strikes a woman, he is sent to hard labour, divorced, and his property confiscated or his earnings hypothecated—and all this through the prompt instrumentality of the police-court. A woman may assault, stab, set fire to her husband, and he has no remedy except to summon her to the police-court, where, if she be fined, he is compelled to pay the fine, and as likely as not is laughed at."

A more grotesque statement of law and procedure than this would be difficult, indeed, intentionally to concoct, and one is forced, by way of contrast, to think of the daily recurring scenes

* 'The Legal Subjection of Men: a Reply to the Suffragettes.' By E. Belfort Bax. (New Age Press.) Sixpence net.

in police-court life, which, in their throng of weeping and distressed women and children, pitifully and unmistakably impress us with the other side of the picture. What account is made of this is tucked in and airily disposed of on the last page; but to comment on it would be to mar its eloquence:—

"As regards the occasional cases of the ill-treatment of women by men, especially wife assaults and such-like, these may be traced largely to the infamous state of the law we have just described."

However, this is the wrong spirit in which to approach the sex question; but our mention of it is illustrative of the serious perverted influence such a book can have on those (and railway travelling impresses us with their numbers) already too susceptible to fall a prey to the maudlin rant of demagogic charlatans (and, strange to say, we take the words from the subject of our review), "ignorant of law and as destitute of the capacity of independent judgment as they are of any impartial sense of justice."

By way of postscript we should like to observe that the book is an old one, recently re-edited, and now labelled, 'A Reply to the Suffragettes'; but on p. 63 is this statement—the only definite reference to the subject—under the heading:—

"THE SUFFRAGE."

"It is absurd for feminist advocates to trot out their threadbare grievance of the want of the Suffrage as a serious disability in the face of all the privileges we have been discussing. It may be right, or it may be wrong, for women to have the Suffrage. *Respecting this we say nothing here.* But whether right or wrong, we deny that the lack of it, by an otherwise privileged class, constitutes a grievance."

This strikes us as distinctly feeble, and we are quite satisfied that the label, 'A Reply to the Suffragettes,' was deliberately appended to enhance the book's outward attractiveness, with the hope of ensuring for it a profitable circulation.

The Lioness's Share.

The Man and Woman found one day a treasure on the green
Said Man, "This is the most inestimable thing we've seen."
He turned it over, chuckled, strutted, plumed himself, and soon
Had made ten thousand speeches on this *High and Priceless* Boon.

"This Treasure, I suppose, is partly mine," the Woman cried—
"Of course, you share in everything I have," the Man replied.
"But we must not leave it here, exposed to theft or injury;
So we'll put it in the great Strong Room, of which I keep the key."

Once Woman asked to see her share; she did not ask for much;
But just to have a little look, and just a little touch.
"Well, wait a bit," the Man replied, "some day, perhaps, we'll
see,
Just now I fear you'd damage it, or cut yourself maybe."

At last she lost all patience, and began to make a row,
She bothered him at meetings and disturbed him anyhow;
She rang his front door bell, which made him terribly irate,
And chained herself upon the railings of his area gate.

Then Man said, "This will never do; it's going it too strong;
It upsets my constitution: it's unladylike and wrong;
We can't have Woman bothering the all-important Male."
So he summoned a policeman, and he had her put in jail.

But he could not quite forget her, e'en when under lock and key.
And it worried him a little to illtreat his favoured She.
And he really was so puzzled, he was almost on the brink
Of starting what he hadn't done for centuries—to think.

And some day it may strike him, though I do not trust him much,
That Woman is but Female Man, and has some rights as such.
And as for what this Treasure was—one moment, let me see,
Some of its names are Ballot, Franchise, Freedom, Liberty.

CHAS. M. BEAUMONT.

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