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'Women's Franchise,' and The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

It is with extreme reluctance that we publish the statement herewith, recognizing fully as we do that it will not help towards the gaining of the political or any other enfranchisement for women, but that our supporters have the right to have the facts as to the withdrawal of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies from our paper placed before them so far as we know them. We should have liked not to have been obliged to have taken this space out of the usual twelve pages, as it means the exclusion of other reading matter more conducive to the objects of the paper; but financial considerations preclude our enlarging the paper at present.

When we started *Women's Franchise* in June, 1907, we approached the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies as to whether they would be willing to insert news of their Society in the paper. We were then told that their plans were already far advanced for starting a monthly paper of their own in October. They, however, decided that until their own paper appeared they would contribute officially to *Women's Franchise*. In our issue for September 5th, 1907, on the front page, we were able to make the following satisfactory announcement:—

"That the National Union had decided to pay our work the highest compliment in their power by giving it their full support, instead of issuing a paper themselves, and they at once gave substantial help towards current expenses, their policy being to ensure the continuance of *Women's Franchise* on its present basis—that is to say, as a journal equally representative of the societies supporting the movement with an absolutely independent general editor, the one condition being that, should the present proprietor at any time find it impossible to continue to issue *Women's Franchise* the title should be placed at their disposal. Assurance that the National Society have no desire to take over the title may be found in the specific utterance of their Executive,

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,
13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

and also in the fact that both financial and other help has been promised so long as the present proprietor is enabled to continue his personal conduct of the paper."

This arrangement was embodied in an agreement signed on behalf of the National Union by Mrs. Fawcett and Mr. Walter McLaren, the last clause in which is to the effect "That the National Union will use their best endeavours to increase the circulation of the said journal, and so long as the copyright of the said journal is vested in the said J. E. Francis, the National Union will not publish or be in any way interested in publishing any journal devoted to the question of Women's Suffrage."

In our issue for October 3rd, 1907, in a leading article, we had a less satisfactory announcement to make, from which, as the matter has been alluded to by the National Union, we quote one or two paragraphs:—

"On August 20th we received a letter from the Women's Social and Political Union, informing us that a special Sub-Committee had been appointed to deal with all the matter which goes into the paper under the W.S.P.U. heading. It consists of Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Martyn, Miss Hodgson, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence."

"In our issue of last week we received copy from all four members of this specially appointed sub-committee. Two members wished for the usual heading, and two wished for a new heading. We accepted the heading wished for by the latter, and the other two members kindly consented to the small heading being inserted, without any names, above their two pages of matter. As to the affairs which govern the actions of the above-mentioned members we have absolutely no concern. While regretting that the National Women's Social and Political Union should refuse to give our readers the benefit of their particular news, we may reasonably feel glad that we have been enabled for three months to publish news supplied by their members to thousands entirely free of all cost to themselves, and to know that the receipts from the advertisements inserted by them have been greater than the expenses incurred."

Except for this instance the course of the paper has been free from any great anxiety. On two occasions the proprietors have found themselves at the end of their resources, but having regard to the fact of the existence of the Agreement with the National Union, we have felt assured of support, and an appeal to our readers on both occasions has more than justified our belief.

One or two observations, we think, may be wisely added to the foregoing.

Last July Mrs. Fawcett did the proprietor the honour (accompanied by Miss Harcastle, the Hon. Sec. of the National Union) of calling at the offices of the paper, and a conversation then took place with regard to the National Union being represented in *Women's Franchise*. Miss Harcastle was very anxious that the National Union should have a paper of their own, as she did not think it wise that it should be represented in the same paper with the militant party. Mrs. Fawcett did not share her opinion, and shortly after the interview Miss Harcastle wrote assuring us of the great loyalty they all felt to their President, Mrs. Fawcett, and their wish always to give effect to her judgment, and as she, Miss Harcastle, had now learned that Mrs. Fawcett was desirous that the National Union should continue to be represented in *Women's Franchise*, Miss Harcastle was anxious to give us all the help possible. Mrs. Fawcett was asked to always communicate when she had views to express, and having learned from an influential supporter that there was some dissatisfaction felt, more especially among members of the London Society, we wrote in November to Mrs. Fawcett suggesting that perhaps she would like to see us again with regard to *Women's Franchise*. Apparently, at the same hour that we

were writing to her she was writing to us, and we subsequently learned that she had rather changed her views, and desired an interview. Unfortunately, Mrs. Fawcett was ill at the time that the interview was arranged for, and so it did not take place.

Subsequent proceedings are sufficiently explained by the publication herewith of correspondence.

25, Victoria Street, Westminster,
London, S.W., Dec. 23rd, 1908.

DEAR MR. FRANCIS,—You will remember that I wrote to you on November 25th that our Committee had come to the conclusion that it was no longer in the interest of the paper or the cause that matter should appear in *Women's Franchise* under the official heading of the National Union, and that no more such matter should be supplied after January 31st next. You did not reply to that letter, and on the 9th inst. Messrs. Watson Sons & Room wrote to Mr. McLaren that you of course did not dispute the right of the Union to act thus.

Our Committee have considered the position with regard to *Women's Franchise*, and have instructed me to write to you and point out that the circumstances have altogether changed since the date of the agreement with you, and that it is now no longer advisable that the National Union should share in a paper with a militant society. It is, indeed, impossible for the National Union to continue to do so since its manifesto to the members of Parliament.

The idea when the agreement was entered into was that all the suffrage societies should combine and share in the paper, with you as editor to secure harmony and fair play. The object was the good of the Cause, and not pecuniary profit, the agreement expressly providing that any profits should be devoted to the furtherance of the Cause. The situation was entirely altered when the Women's Social and Political Union broke away and started its own paper. *Women's Franchise* then ceased to represent all the Suffrage Societies. The Women's Freedom League has now announced its intention of starting a new periodical. We feel that the *raison d'être* of the system of publication and editorship which was inaugurated by the agreement has entirely vanished. So long as it was possible for that system to be carried on you played your part as publisher and editor with a zeal for which the Committee desires to express its gratitude. During that time the National Union loyally supported you to the best of its ability by providing matter and contributing subsidies. Now, however, that the system can no longer be carried on the Committee believe that the best course for the Cause would be for the result to follow which the agreement indicated should follow on your deciding to give up publishing the paper, namely, that the copyright and all rights under the agreement should revert to the National Union.

They trust that the proposal will commend itself to you as a friend of the movement, and also as one who wishes to see *Women's Franchise* continue to grow and flourish.

Will you kindly let us have your answer by January 1st, 1909?
Yours faithfully,
MARGERY I. CORBETT, Sec.

January 5th, 1909.

DEAR MISS CORBETT,—I am sorry I have not been able to answer your letter before. A few days rest at Christmas was followed by a big rush of work. I am hopeful that no great inconvenience has been caused as your letter was written at the request of the Executive Committee, and my reply to you herewith is written in order that it may be read to the Executive Committee at the earliest opportunity, which I understand cannot occur before to-morrow or Friday.

I had better answer your letter paragraph by paragraph. I did receive a letter, but it was signed by Miss Harcastle, not by you, in which she says that she has been instructed by the Executive Committee of the National Union to tell me that the Committee has regretfully arrived at the conclusion that it is no longer in the interest either of the paper or of the cause that matter should continue to appear in *Women's Franchise* under the official heading of the National Union, and therefore

no more such matter will be supplied after January 31st next. As Miss Harcastle had previously asked me to see her accompanied by a solicitor, and I had suggested that as she was to be accompanied by a solicitor, I thought my solicitor, who acted for me with regard to the Agreement, had better be present, and as an interview had taken place at which, owing to the day and hour chosen by Miss Harcastle I was not able to be present, but at which no helpful suggestions had been made, in consequence of these previous happenings I handed the letter signed by Miss Harcastle to my solicitor, and I understood that my solicitor replied to the effect that your Executive Committee is not, in his opinion, contravening the letter of our agreement by officially withdrawing news.

With regard to your second paragraph, as Proprietor of *Women's Franchise* I have no opinion as to the manifesto issued by your Committee. It has always been my intention, should there be any profit, to give it to the cause, and my wife and myself have done our best to secure, at least, a balance-sheet profit by managing and editing the paper entirely free of charge. No doubt with such help a profit might have been secured had I kept strictly to the letter of the Agreement—issuing an eight pages paper, assigning only one page to each of the three societies. However such a course, in my opinion, would have been entirely inadequate to the needs of the societies, and as you are aware for an entire year the National Society were allowed three times the number of pages that I was required to give under the agreement, besides placing for many months the back advertisement page, free of any charge, at their disposal for advertising their literature. Latterly the Women's Freedom League (late Women's Social and Political Union as they claim) have been kind enough to undertake to take 500 copies in respect of their third page. The National Union have only seen their way to adopt the same course occasionally. It has been claimed, I believe, that my list of subscribers includes a greater number of members of the National Union than of either of the other societies; whether this is so or not I do not know, and do not propose to investigate the case, as I do not see that it has any bearing on the matter, except in so far as I have been helpful to the National Union in attending to the addressing, posting, and keeping the accounts of such papers as are taken by their members.

Whilst regretting that the National Women's Social and Political Union should not make use of pages which are at their disposal in *Women's Franchise*, I cannot agree that the situation was entirely altered when *Votes for Women* was started. I confess that the calls upon my time have been so great that I have not been able to collect news from all the sources that I should have wished. A scheme is now under consideration which, it is hoped, will repair such omissions. I am, of course, aware from the paragraph in *Women's Franchise* that the Freedom League are about to start "an occasional publication," but I entirely disagree that the *raison d'être* of *Women's Franchise* has quite vanished.

I believe it was never more necessary than now that the differing methods of societies working for the same end should be shown under one cover, so that the public may judge of the whole movement, and not be debarred from joining in it either by the militancy of the militants, or by the constitutionalism of the constitutionalists.

Please thank your Committee for their expressions of opinion as to the way I have filled a most difficult position. I have not decided to give up publishing the paper, when I do I shall place the title at the disposal of the National Union, if the present agreement is not then annulled. Nothing appertaining to the paper can "revert" to the National Union, as your Society's interest was in legal phraseology "in remainder" only. I have reason to hopefully anticipate that *Women's Franchise* will grow and flourish under its present proprietorship.

Having now answered your letter to the best of my ability, may I point out some difficulties which would remain even were I convinced of the utility to the Suffrage Cause of my at once handing over the title to the National Union? Foremost there is my duty to first ask for an expression of opinion from all the present supporters of the paper. Were I to at once agree to do

as you suggest, I should promulgate my schemes for a publication on a much wider basis, in which, anticipating a financial success, I have spent money in protecting certain rights, which publication it had not previously been my intention to issue until after the Parliamentary Franchise had been granted to women. Again, the fact that I have now once more surmounted the difficulties of carrying on the publication through the autumn (when the printing of the work at the low rates by me is unprofitable, and when I myself am extremely pressed in that the time given to the publication has to be taken from rest) would cause me to hesitate before discontinuing it now. It would also mean decreasing my printing staff with almost certainly disastrous results to some workmen. These and other difficulties undoubtedly exist, though I could probably minimize them by thought and care were I convinced that by giving the National Union the title I should be helping a movement for which my wife and myself have gladly given much, and also given up much.

Under these circumstances I do not feel disposed to waive any of my rights under the agreement, but as I have repeatedly stated I do not wish to stand in the way of the interests of your Society, and would consider any proposal which will safeguard the interests of the supporters of the paper.

Yours faithfully,

J. EDWARD FRANCIS.

It is perhaps to be somewhat regretted that the terms of the agreement entered into with the National Union have not been published either by them or by ourselves, as thereby some misconception might undoubtedly have been saved. On our part we have furnished information with regard to it whenever so desired.

We ourselves, waiving our personal rights for the far greater consideration of what may be helpful to the object in view, have offered facilities, in a letter dated 8th Sept., 1908, for a paper conducted by the National Union, for its own members; but we then felt, as we still do, it incumbent upon us to guard the interests of those who have entrusted us with money to maintain a paper containing news of the National Union with that of other societies and persons by insisting that we should still be enabled to publish their news at the same time as it was issued elsewhere.

We do not propose on this occasion to outline our plans further than to say that our intended policy is an amplification of that which has gone before, and that the pages of the paper are, as far as space permits, open to all supporters of the movement, irrespective of membership of any particular Society.

The refusal of the National Union to furnish matter themselves throws an additional burden on our shoulders which other calls upon our time makes it impossible for us to bear without help, and we therefore propose to employ a salaried lady to help us, still retaining to ourselves full and absolute control, and therefore responsibility. We look to this additional help to enormously increase the value of the paper to our readers, and we believe that the increased monetary returns will be our justification if there is no other. At the same time we shall feel grateful to those who, approving our object, will guarantee us, in however small or in however large a way, such guarantee, to be redeemable as need arises, or in periodical instalments, against a recurrence of a similar financial loss which we gladly incurred on starting *Women's Franchise*, and which we would as gladly incur again were we now able to do so. We may say we know many we should welcome as our paid helpers; but suggestions are always thankfully received.

We cannot miss what seems an opportunity to again thank, on behalf of our readers and our editorial and managerial selves, all those who have so splendidly helped us in the past, and to assure them that our energies are still at their disposal. A balance sheet is in preparation, which will show the sure if slow progress we are making, and which we hope will commend itself to our supporters by reason of the economical working of the concern.

Notes.

WE are interested to hear that the Hampstead ladies are organizing a special Suffrage Meeting for the evening of February 17th in the Town Hall. It is quite up to date in its plan. Representatives from all the separate societies for Women's Suffrage are to speak from the same platform, and emphasize the unity in end and aim of all of them, that the "Suffrage should be granted to women on the same terms as it is, or may be granted to men." Seven societies have been invited to co-operate, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the National Women's Social and Political Union, the Women's Freedom League, the advance branch of the Women's Liberal Federation, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, The Conservative Women's Suffrage Association, and the Actresses' League. Six of these have already cordially responded, and we believe only one takes leisure to consider the position. The veteran worker, Mrs. C. C. Stopes, is to be in the chair. She has always worked for the cause alone, keeping herself free from all ties of party, or party-questions.

AT a meeting held last Monday at Caxton Hall, Mr. J. Massie, M.P., in the chair, it was resolved to form a Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. On the motion of Mr. Heber Hart, a constitution for the new league was adopted. It was announced that Lord Cromer had accepted the presidency of the league, and that Lord Welby and Mr. Heber Hart had agreed to act as treasurers.

THE following resolution has been passed by the Humanitarian League (Criminal Law and Prison Reform Committee):—"That in view of the fact that within the past three years, under a Liberal government, more than 700 persons have undergone imprisonment for offences of a non-criminal nature—as in the demand for Woman Suffrage, free speech, religious liberty, and the agitation of the unemployed—this committee of the Humanitarian League strongly urges that in the treatment of prisoners a clear distinction should be made between those who have been convicted of some criminal offence and those who suffer for conscience' sake."

IT has been suggested to us that Anti-Suffragists would be wise to spend some, if not all, of their time in controverting the arguments for the constitutional basis of our demand as set forth by that weighty writer Mrs. Stopes.

If they did so they would take the weapons out of the hands of a great many Suffrage speakers who base their appeals on that lady's writings—we presume wittingly when they acknowledge, unwittingly when they do not. The urgency for the doing of the work is apparent when we state that the 'Sphere of "Man"' is in its sixth thousand, that a fourth edition of 'British Freewomen' has been urgently called for, and that thousands of the reprint from the September *Fortnightly*, of 'The Constitutional Basis of Women's Suffrage,' have already been distributed throughout the country.

MISS DOVE, the recently defeated candidate for the office of mayor, has been elected chairman of the Unemployed Committee of High Wycombe Town Council.

ON Saturday the 9th, Mrs. Johnson Miles entertained at "Cookhams, her charming residence, a party of local friends, in order to hear an account of the present position of the Suffrage question and an explanatory statement of the principle which underlies all the efforts being made to attain the enfranchisement of women. Miss Seymour spoke for nearly an hour, obviously interesting her audience. Miss Cicely

Corbett followed with a bright speech dealing chiefly with the manifesto of the "Anti-Suffrage League." Some questions were put by one of the gentleman guests who, advertising to a remark of Miss Seymour's on the pleasure which would be felt by many women in exercising the vote, said that of course men always liked to give pleasure to ladies when practicable, but for his part he could not understand anyone anticipating pleasure in connection with the vote. He always felt recording his vote to be a disagreeable necessity, an inconvenient duty. A slight, but helpful discussion then took place before the adjournment to the tea-room.

If hospitable gatherings of this kind could be multiplied throughout Sussex, they would enormously increase, and help to organise, interest which is now felt too often vaguely. Owing to the birth, and we may presume, the growth, of the "Anti" League, the subject of the Franchise is in the air more than ever, and there is an increasing opportunity for helping those persons who still remain uncertain, to determine their opinions, if not to acquire a faith.

A DEBATE on Women's Suffrage took place on Monday, the 18th, at the Lyndhurst Road Literary Society. Mr. Graham Mould, Barrister-at-Law, made a clear statement of the justice and right of the cause, and showed the weakness of the arguments against. In spite of that Mr. Newman painted a dreadful picture of the unhappy homes, the national and international disasters which would ensue such an extension of the Suffrage, and asked pathetically if it were just to hand over the lives and liberties of our Indian Empire to ignorant and impulsive women. Mrs. Stopes reminded the speaker that there was no need for prophecy, when we had experience, that in our Australian Colonies it had resulted in the increased domesticity of the men, who now could discuss political affairs with their wives, that in Norway it had already raised the pay of the women, and we know what it has done in Finland. India was made by the East India Company, in which women had votes. The next Anti-Suffragist brought chains and a dog-whip as an illustration of the Suffragists' arguments, but was received with laughter.

MRS. COOKSON desires to see a branch of W. F. League established in West Brompton, and for this purpose to hold an "At Home" on Tuesday, the 26th inst., from 3 to 5 P.M., when she will be glad to see any friends at 82, Richmond Road, Earl's Court.

House of Lords—Scottish Women Graduates' Appeal.

DONATIONS TOWARDS THE DEFICIT OF £150.

Already acknowledged	32 15 6
Miss Royden	2 2 0
Mrs. Rowlette	0 2 6
Miss Nairne	5 0 0
Miss Hogg	0 2 6
Miss Alice Kemp	1 1 0
Dr. Flora Butcher	0 5 0
Miss Scott Moncrieff	0 5 0
Miss Duguid	0 2 6
Fee for Suffrage Article	3 3 0
Miss Ida Thomson	3 0 0
		£47 19 0

This leaves a present deficit of £102 1s. 0d.

Those who sympathize with this constitutional action are asked to send donations to the Secretary at Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian.

CRYSTAL MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec.

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.
Hon. Secretary: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. Organisers: MISS E. M. GARDNER, B.A. MISS MARGARET ROBERTSON, B.A. MRS. COOPER. MISS HELEN FRASER.
Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON." Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON. Telephone: 1900 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 Union, and Subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer. Increased Funds are needed for the growing work of the

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1908.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. McLAREN.
MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT, M.P. MRS. BROADLEY REID
MISS EDITH DIMOCK HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MISS L. O. FORD MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN
MISS MARTINDALE, M.D. (Lond.) MISS LOWNDES
MISS MARGARET ASHTON THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE MRS. ALLAN BRIGHT
MISS WARD LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers, *ex officio*.

Current Topics.

As already announced the London Society's weekly receptions will be continued at the Doré Galleries every Tuesday until Easter, 4.30–7 P.M. Short speeches upon the different aspects of the case for Women's Suffrage will be delivered by distinguished speakers, and we have no doubt that the "At Homes" will continue as popular amongst our friends as in the past. On Jan. 26th Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg, Member of the Finnish Diet, will address the meeting. Cards of admission may be obtained on application to the Secretary, London Society for Women's Suffrage, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.

In connexion with the Annual Council Meeting at Brighton an exhibition of banners will be held in the Hove Town Hall on Jan. 26th, at 3 P.M., when Lady Frances Balfour will open the exhibition; tickets, 2s. 6d.; tea, 6d. In the evening, 8.30, admission will be by payment of 3d. at the door. On Wednesday afternoon, Jan. 27th, the exhibition is open at 3-5.30, when admission will be by payment of 1s., tea, 6d. The tickets can be obtained from Miss Isabel Basden, 21, The Drive, Hove, and Miss F. de G. Merrifield, 14, Clifton Terrace, Brighton, and at the door. Admission free, by ticket, to delegates only.

Parliamentary Secretaries.

THE following ladies have kindly consented to be Parliamentary Secretaries for their divisions:—

Mrs. Davidson, 59, St. Andrews, Uxbridge, for the Uxbridge Division of Middlesex.

Miss Lockwood, Brooke Road, Oakham, Rutland, for Rutland
Miss E. F. McPherson, 16, Newland Drive, Liscard, for the Wirral Division of Cheshire.

Mrs. Minache, 38, Wilbury Road, Hove, for South Wiltshire.
Miss N. Nichalls, Cheriton, Sutton, Surrey, for the Seven-oaks Division of Kent.

Miss M. Williams, 19, Droitwich Road, Worcester, for Worcester.

Local secretaries would greatly assist by finding people in their districts to undertake the work, and sympathizers are urged to persuade friends living in isolated places, where there is no society, to join the National Union and become Parliamentary Secretaries; for it is particularly in these places that our work at election time is put back by the necessity of acquiring accurate information before we can act to the best advantage.

E. M. GARDNER.

Meetings at Portsmouth.

THE Portsmouth Society, taking advantage of my visit, arranged a meeting in Cosham Schoolroom on Wednesday, Jan. 13th. Miss N. O'Shea, Hon. Secretary of the Society occupied the chair, and Mrs. Hawksley and I were the speakers. It was one of the most successful village meetings I have ever attended. Several helpful questions were asked, a good collection was taken up, and two new members joined the society. On Thursday afternoon I was privileged to address a few words to a woman's meeting held at the home of the Misses O'Shea.

On the evening of the 14th a public meeting was held in the Thorngate Hall, Gosport, also arranged by the Portsmouth Society. The local paper says: "There was a crowded attendance, which was both earnest and interested." Mr. Laphorn, from the chair, made a most friendly and encouraging speech. Mrs. Stanbury made an eloquent speech as mover of the resolution, and I followed as seconder. A member of the audience moved an amendment, "to admit no married woman to the franchise under any conditions," which, on being put to the vote was defeated, and on the resolution "to grant the franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men" being put to the meeting it was carried by a large majority. Several questions, some helpful, others otherwise, were put and answered, and although there was a little interjectional interruption to the speeches, it gave an added spice to another of the Portsmouth Society's meetings, resulting in many new members. On Friday, the 15th, I spoke to the No. 5 Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who were pleased also to welcome Mrs. Laphorn. It was highly successful in every way, all these meetings helping to advertise our mass meeting on the 29th, at which Mrs. Hawksley occupies the chair, and Mr. Pete Curran, M.P., Mr. Walter Hudson, M.P., and I speak. F. N. HARRISON BELL.

Edinburgh Society "At Home."

THE Executive Committee of the Edinburgh W.S.S. held their monthly "At Home" in the Café Oak Hall on January 8th.

There was a large attendance presided over by Miss S. E. S. Mair, President of the Society.

Miss E. Scott-Moncrieff, a graduate of London University, opened with a paper on the manifesto of the Anti-Suffrage League, and dealt ably with its several clauses. She mingled her remarks with seriousness and humour, and proved her points satisfactorily to the Suffragists in the audience. She expressed astonishment that there should be any women who would oppose those others who were claiming their right and duty to take part in the making of the nation's laws, seeing that so many of these laws affect the homes of the nation in the closest way possible. She said men and women must legislate together, for one could not legislate for the other. Was it more tragic or comic, she asked, to see the Mother of Parliaments discussing the Children's Bill, surrounded by 5,000 policemen keeping back the natural guardians of those children?

It had been hoped that the members of the Edinburgh Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League would have joined in a debate on this occasion, but they had declined to do so on the ground that the principles of the League did not include taking part in public debate. Miss Mair remarked that in this refusal the anti-suffragists showed that they were wise in their day and generation as they had evidently no intention of courting defeat.

Several speakers afterwards gave expression to their views on the new League, and the general opinion was that the League would do good rather than harm to the Women's Suffrage movement, as it would cause those who had never given thought to the question before to study it for themselves, and there was no doubt as to which side they would then eventually choose. Among those who took part after Miss Mair and Miss Scott-Moncrieff were Dr. Elsie Inglis, Miss Lees, Lady Low, Miss Boyd (London), Mrs. James Ivory, and Mrs. Johnston Denver.

Unsexed Males.

SHRIEKING MOB OF MEN ATTACK THE POLICE.

ALL right-minded people will agree in condemnation of the disgusting scenes by which the men in Dresden, who are professing to want a democratic franchise, proved on Jan. 17th that they are utterly unfit for self-government. They made a rush on the King's Palace, and after a struggle with the police, ending in a fierce melée, we learn that 120 persons were injured though the police, of course, eventually succeeded in subduing them. This pitiful spectacle demonstrates that these men do not understand constitutionalism, and that, if they were granted power, every time they wanted to get a law passed they would rush on the King's Palace, bite and kick the police, and shriek hysterically till they got what they wanted. These unmanly hooligans have not only disgraced their sex, and alienated sympathy from the men's cause all over the world, but they have proved clearly that all men all over the world are, by reason of their sex, incapable of displaying any other qualities, but those of emotionalism and hysteria, are therefore unfit to rule, and always will be from now henceforth and for evermore. On the other hand, this shocking display of male ruffianism has proved beyond doubt that to women alone belong those powers of self-control, and calm, sober reasoning which are indispensable for the proper conduct of political affairs.

I can only add that these men who go about kicking and biting and screaming, and climbing on the backs of the police are "not men, not women, but Monsters." VERITAS.

[We publish the above restrained and logical argument with satisfaction. The writer who modestly withholds her name, is an authority on bees, and therefore understands all about the proper position assigned by Nature to the male sex. She is also a well-known financier, which qualifies her to speak on all other subjects, and entitles her to make statements without troubling to substantiate them. No one is so unreasonable as to require a financier to stop in the middle of balancing her accounts to prove anything she may have said in her leisure moments, because when she has proved that she can make money she has proved that she understands the whole duty of man. Our contributor is a distinguished follower of Lord Avebury.—Ed. W.F.L.]

Correspondence.

"The Outcast of Democracy."

MADAM,—May I be allowed, through the medium of your columns, to deal with some of the points raised by your contributor Mrs. Swiney re the attitude of Socialists towards the sex question. It is perfectly true that Belfort Bax holds reactionary views concerning the position of women in society—views which, in my opinion, cannot be condemned too strongly; but I would point out that he speaks merely for himself, and cannot be said to represent more than a small minority of Socialist opinion, and his action in allying himself with the enemies of labour for the purpose of opposing women's enfranchisement has already been condemned by branches of his party.

Socialists of all sections (I.L.P., Fabian, and S.D.P.) desire universal adult suffrage, to include all men and all women. Some are of opinion that the limited demands of the Suffragists, if granted, would have a reactionary effect; others regard the extension of the Franchise to women on a property basis as a step in the right direction; but as far as the broad principle, that sex should be no bar to political recognition, is concerned, Socialist opinion is practically unanimous. The attempt on the part of your correspondent, therefore, to saddle the party with the extravagant views of one somewhat eccentric member appears to me both unfair and unreasonable. Surely it is not necessary to point out that Blatchford, Grayson, Shaw, Burrows, Keir Hardie, and the majority of the leaders of the movement are feminists of the most pronounced type, all differences of opinion being concerned with the best means of attaining the common end.

Far from advocating a spurious democracy, in which masculine opinion only will be represented, Socialist propagandists are continually emphasizing the fact that sex disabilities are due to economic causes, to remove which the awakening of women is not only desirable, but necessary; and, far from wishing to foster a spirit of sex antagonism, they are constantly urging the necessity for men and women of the working class to stand together for the destruction of the class dominance of which both are victims.

Yours faithfully, FRANK TANNER.

32, Wynne Road, Brixton.

"The U.K."

DEAR MADAM,—I am very chary of criticizing my fellow-workers in our great cause, but I feel sure that you would be the first to acknowledge, after consideration, that your article on page 349 overstepped the bounds of tact and courtesy. Some Scotch Delegates apparently had, at your conference, protested against the misuse of the names "England," "Scotland," and "Britain." I can bear witness that my countrywomen are well grounded in history. They know that in the stormy courtship which preceded the Union, the larger country at times defeated the smaller one, in the southern parts at least, and that sometimes it was the other way about.

But they also know that the Union did not depend on England conquering Scotland, but on Scotland inheriting England. It is just because the Scotch are so keenly aware that, as too frequently occurs in matrimony, the predominant partner forgets pre-nuptial contracts and absorbs more and more of the joint privileges, that they make a stand before incorrect nomenclature. A wife takes her husband's name unless she has some special inheritance. It was an article of the Union that Scotland should not take England's name, but that together should have a new name, "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

I remain, yours faithfully, C. C. STOPES.

[We assure Mrs. Stopes that nothing discourteous or unkind was intended. The article entitled "The U.K." was not meant to be taken seriously, it was merely a foolish but friendly "dig" at our own Scotch members. However, as it has been misunderstood by others, and sooner than hurt the national feelings of a single Briton in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, we hereby withdraw every word of it. For our own part, and in all seriousness, we cannot but feel that it matters very little, under present conditions, whether these countries are nationally united or disunited. As long as the institutions of all three are based—as they are—upon injustice, and upheld by the domination of a powerful minority over a subordinate and subservient majority, by the tyranny of class over class, capital over labour, men over women, it is at best but a union in iniquity.—Ed. W. F. L.]

Branch Notes.

Battersea Branch.—Owing to the illness of Mrs. Duval the gathering in the Lower Town Hall on Saturday last was smaller than had been anticipated. Those who did come, however, thoroughly enjoyed the evening.

Mrs. Despard said a few kind words of New Year's greeting. Miss Hodgson and Mr. Victor Duval again performed their amusing duologue 'Lodgings for Single Ladies'; great applause and an encore greeted Miss Elsie Willis and Miss Winnie Jury after their delightful and clever performance of a coon song and dance. Miss Emily Busche gave great pleasure by singing, and an excellent band provided dance music. In thanking all those who helped, the members of the Branch wish to offer special thanks to Miss Bremner, who underwent voluntary confinement (in the Second Division) in the Holloway Cell for the entire evening. Miss Bremner's little lectures on prison life proved of such interest that some difficulty was experienced in inducing the visitors to leave the cell to make room for others; so although she was shamefully overworked and incidentally starved, she may feel that it was an evening profitably spent.

Welcome to the Finnish Ladies.

Edinburgh Branch.—Our first meeting for 1909 was the public meeting held to welcome the Finnish ladies to our northern capital. The hall was crowded in every part—over 800 being present—and keen interest and great enthusiasm were shown by every member of the large audience.

Sex equality was the dominant note of the addresses, and even the "Antis" present seemed so inspired by the earnestness and reasonableness of the "Concrete Examples" set before them, that not even from these opponents was a question forthcoming.

To our workers the meeting has proved itself an inspiration of courage to go forward, and a good omen of success in the labours of the year just begun and the comment of every one is: "A memorable and altogether delightful meeting."

ALEXIA B. JACK, Hon. Sec.

Sale Branch.—On Monday afternoon the ladies of Sale showed their interest in the progress of the Women's Movement and incidentally in the Women's Freedom League, by coming in such numbers to hear the Finnish lady M.P. and her colleague that the room originally taken for the meeting proved much too small to accommodate them, and (at the kind invitation of Mrs. Johnston) an adjournment was made to the neighbouring schoolroom, where the large audience listened with evident interest and appreciation to the two distinguished visitors.

Mrs. Manning occupied the chair in her accustomed graceful manner, and was able to give some particulars of the careers of the two Finnish ladies, in the course of which she remarked that the solitary confinement of Holloway compared favourably with the want of privacy which Madame Malmberg had had to endure during her imprisonment in St. Petersburg.

Perhaps the most surprising thing about Madame Malmberg's description of the history of the Enfranchisement of Finnish women was her wonderful command of the English language, spoken almost entirely without any foreign accent; but one could not but be aware of the note of tragedy underlying the story, in spite of the evident restraint put upon herself by the speaker in referring to the troublous times they had undergone.

Dr. Tekla Hultin, who had a tremendous reception, laid stress upon her conviction that no women in the world could be so ready for or more worthy of enfranchisement than English women. Privately to the writer she afterwards declared her amazement and admiration at the extraordinary talent for public speaking which the Suffragists she had met had displayed. An enthusiastic vote of thanks was accorded the two ladies, to which Madame Malmberg responded. New members joined the League as a result of the meeting, and a large collection was contributed by the appreciative audience. Q. N.

Cash Received, January 1st to 14th.

Table with columns for £ s. d., Balance from 1908, Bought forward, and various names with amounts. Total £370 5 0.

Caxton Hall.

ON Thursday, the 14th inst. the afternoon "At Home" at Caxton Hall was held as usual. Miss Fitzherbert and Miss Matters spoke before tea, and Countess Russell and Mrs. Holmes gave excellent speeches later on. Mrs. Cope from the chair appealed for helpers and money, both of which are so necessary for carrying on the good work of the Freedom League. Members of the Actresses' Suffrage League will at future "At Homes" help in serving tea, and will be distinguished by their colours, pink and white.

Special Notices.

The Horticultural Hall, Westminster, must be full on February 10th, when the Rev. R. J. Campbell delivers his lecture to aid our cause. It is very large, and we cannot begin too soon selling tickets and advertising it in every way. More helpers for this work are still required.

Any members who can dispose of them are asked to send for handbills, and tickets "on sale or return"—the prices are 2s. 6d. (reserved), 1s., and 6d.

The Hour and the Woman.—Volunteers are urgently needed to sell the Hour and the Woman in the streets. Will any members who can spare an hour or so once a week kindly send in their names to the office.

Members' Meeting.—The meeting of Branch Secretaries held on Tuesday evening proved so helpful that it was unanimously agreed to hold a meeting for members only on Saturday evening, January 30th. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and other members of the N.E.C. will be present. Notice of time and place will be sent later.

We have arranged to hold a "White Sale" at Caxton Hall on April 16th and 17th, 1909. So will the branches please press all their needlewomen into the service and send us white goods of every description for sale? Blouses, tea and tray cloths, children's articles of clothing, cushions—the choice is practically unlimited. We shall have all kinds of other attractions to coax money into our coffers: the Holloway Cell, entertainments, wax works; but white goods are wanted in large quantities, so please set to work at once.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS. January 21th to February 12th.

Table listing events from Thurs. 21 to Fri. 19, including locations like Caxton Hall, Battersea Rise, and venues like the Council School Hall and St. James's Hall.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

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

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Chairman of Executive Committee: HERBERT JACOBS.
Hon. Secretary: J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

Hon. Treasurers: GOLDFINCH BATE, H. G. CHANCELLOR.
Hon. Literature Secretary: A. I. G. JAYNE.

Notes and Comments.

Members are once again most earnestly asked to send reports of meetings which they address. They must remember that we cannot send representatives to meetings to report, and that we prefer as a general rule not to draw upon our imagination. Several times we have been asked why no notice was taken of such and such a speech; we have been constrained to reply, like Sam Weller, "being only eyes, our vision's limited." We report what we know of, and our speakers must adopt the motto "every speaker his own reporter." Such notices must be in our hands not later than Monday morning first post, preferably by midday on Saturday.

Queen's Hall Meeting.

JUST one more remark about the Queen's Hall meeting on Tuesday, the 26th inst. The tickets are going splendidly, and if all the members of the League do their best, we ought to have the Hall filled to overflowing. Mrs. Philip Snowden is alone worth going to hear, and with the experiences of her American tour to tell, she ought to be even more attractive than she invariably is. Mr. Stanger, K.C., M.P., is always welcome. Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., and the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., are not often seen on a Women's Suffrage platform.

The criticism is often heard that men actively supporting the movement are only faddists, but if those holding such views could only be induced to attend this meeting, we think they would be convinced that criticism of this sort is both unfair and unfounded, and that is a point we want to emphasize. We think every member of the League might do a good deal to help the movement if he would not only sell all the tickets he could to supporters, but also try and induce those holding opposite views, however hostile, to attend. Sooner or later these latter must be won over to the cause, for their opposition rests to a great extent upon ignorance or indifference. We feel sure that they would leave the Hall with their views on this question, at any rate, greatly modified, and Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., would be able to allay their misgivings as to the fearful consequences that would happen if the franchise were given to women.

Tickets may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 38, Museum Street, W.C. Prices 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s. (Sofa Stalls); 2s. 6d., 1s. (Grand Circle); 1s. (Orchestra); 6d. Balcony and Area. All reserved and numbered except the 6d. seats. It will greatly help if friends will kindly order tickets, if possible, not later than Saturday.

Will those who have tickets on sale or return make a point of returning unsold tickets by Friday night?

We still need stewards. Special tickets will be issued on Saturday. We shall welcome the help of women in showing tickets-holders to their seats, and hereby thank most heartily those who have already offered their services.

For speakers, see the advertisement on the back page of this issue.

The Liverpool Meeting.

MRS. BILLINGTON-GREGG, Miss Manning, and Mr. H. Baillie-Weaver, one of the most energetic and successful of the Men's League speakers, addressed a well-attended meeting in the Picton Hall, Liverpool, on Friday last. The meeting was under the joint auspices of the Women's Freedom League and the Men's

League, and the chair was taken by one of our Liverpool members, the Rev. J. Mathieson Forson. We greatly regret that our local representative, Mr. A. R. Allerton, to whom is due so much of the success which has attended our Liverpool branch, was unable to be present owing to a domestic bereavement. The speeches were listened to with careful attention, and the meeting passed off without any interruption.

Perhaps the most striking event connected with the meeting was the leading article which appeared in the chief Conservative organ, *The Liverpool Daily Courier*, entitled 'The Disadvantage of Justice.' "To tell the truth," it runs, "yesterday's Woman Suffrage meeting was rather a dull affair... nor, when we say that the meeting was dull, do we mean for an instant to imply that the speakers were not as eloquent as they should have been. The dullness was simply a natural and inevitable consequence of the character of this campaign. How can there be intellectual excitement in listening to a series of arguments which never have been, and never will be, seriously impugned?... When a cause is opposed, as Woman Suffrage is, by nothing more than unintelligent sluggishness and mere blockish wilfulness, its advancement cannot afford much high entertainment. There is nothing so dull as a weight-lifting competition."

We have rarely seen a critique which shows a deeper insight into the facts of the case.

Potter's Bar Meeting.

UNFORTUNATELY Miss Cicely Hamilton was unable to speak at our meeting at Potter's Bar on the 12th. A further piece of ill-luck was that the same night was fixed for an inter-village tournament in the same building, oratory being at a discount as compared with billiards and bridge. None the less for a first attempt in a comparatively small village the meeting organized by Mr. F. A. Carlton-Smith, LL.B., was very successful. About a hundred people came, and the collection covered the cost of the hall.

Mr. Herbert Jacobs took the chair, and the chief speakers were Mr. Carlton-Smith and our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. H. G. Chancellor. Mr. Carlton-Smith gave a very able summary of the economic and social significance of the franchise question. Mr. Chancellor based his remarks on the text 'Why Not,' and urged his hearers not to pay too much heed to those who on little, if any, evidence forbode all sorts of disaster from the enfranchisement of women. Brief speeches were also delivered by Mr. Theedam and the Hon. Sec.

The thanks of the League are due to Mr. Carlton-Smith, who undertook all the work connected with the meeting, and to Mr. Hopkins, who kindly came from Hampstead to help with the arrangements.

On the Relation of Women to War.

WAR, whether right or wrong, implicit in or accidental to human relations, profitable or wasteful, is at any rate the gravest act which man, collectively or individually, resolves and undertakes, and it cannot therefore be ignored in any discussion of the relation of half the human race to the other half. But a partial consideration of the subject of war in relation to woman is bound to lead to results that are well wide of the truth, for in nothing so much as in the science of war is a half-truth so completely and so fatally misleading. Such a half-truth is the alleged disability of women in matters of war.

The relation between women and war cannot be judged merely by the capacity of woman for wielding weapons, any

more than the fighting power of six hundred savages—fearless and skilful swordsmen, let us say, like the Mahrattas—can be set beside that of a well-led regiment of European line cavalry. It is this that vitiates the argument of those who deny citizen rights to women on the ground that when universal service comes—if it does—it will not be obligatory on all citizens, but only on the male citizens, to serve the country as soldiers. It may be true that to take a year or two years out of a man's industrial life is to give his woman competitor an unfair start—but that is a question that concerns not the principle but the detailed provisions of the potential statute of universal service, and at worst is easily adjusted by a military tax, such as is levied in various foreign countries on those citizens exempted from military service. It does not really affect the question of "Votes for Women."

The soldier of to-day, now that armies are no longer small professional bodies, specially adapted and trained and kept practically for life in the private service of kings and princes, is a citizen soldier. In the British regulars, the soldier may, and practically does, outweigh the citizen, in the great Continental armies the two are almost equally balanced, in our Territorial Force and in the various national militias the citizen considerably outweighs the soldier. But the two co-exist in practically every case, and the reason is that war is both a function of the citizen and a function of the soldier.

The function of the soldier in war is of course to execute the national purpose. Equally, of course, it is the function of the citizen to engender and to bring to maturity this national purpose. The soldier is the machinery, the citizen the driving force, and the conduct of all modern wars is based on this fact. Before the French Revolution a nation was expected to display no more than a decent platonic interest in the achievements of the army, because wars were waged for purposes that interested the Cabinets concerned far more than the people; and that being so, and armies being on their best behaviour when invading each other's territories, the private citizen had neither any part in the formation and execution of a warlike purpose, nor, as a rule, any private grievance to redress. The limit of civilian non-interference was reached when Berlin organized a civic welcome for Napoleon after he had destroyed the Prussian army in 1806, and the limit of military good behaviour when a body of Austrian infantry, pursued by the French to the edge of the Rhine, surrendered because they had no ready cash to pay the ferryman's toll. Those armies of soldiers who were not citizens were in fact bailiffs, set to obtain what their employers wanted by a dexterous combination of threats and expedients. When they came to blows they fought with the utmost desperation, but the sum they were ordered to distract for was generally too small to justify a serious loss of expert men, and they were carefully kept from fighting unnecessarily.

If the premises could be seized while the occupant was out, well and good; if not, lures were set to draw him out, devices of all sorts tried, and only at the last was he expelled by force. Very often, indeed, it was decided that the game was not worth the candle. It was only when war became again the affair of the people that it regained its true meaning as an act of force to compel the enemy to unreserved submission.

Necessities of corporate existence, and not territories and dowries unjustly withheld, were and are the objects of war, as war has been understood since the French Revolution, and are attained by the application of force to destroy, not by chicane to outmanoeuvre the obstacle. The male citizen, the actual or potential soldier, is the instrument that transmits the force; the citizen, man or woman, is the dynamo.

In Joan of Arc's day, the existing military machine was anything but a fit instrument for securing the complete victory that the need of the French people demanded, and thus it was part of the heroine's task to produce a decision-compelling army and a new and vigorous art of war. But she saw more clearly than the soldiers of her own and subsequent ages the duality, and with it the interdependence, of the two factors that go to make war. "Les gendarmes batailleront, et Dieu donnera la victoire," was her reply to those who asked her

why, if France was to be delivered, God did not, in the exercise of omnipotence, deliver her without more ado. The gendarmes are as essential to her art of war as heavenly assistance, and she herself, in spite of her sex, represents the execution as well as the conception of her task. In virtue of a young virgin's prestige she was able, as no man would have been able, to impose the nation's will on the roughest and least national bands of professional soldiers and on the most insolent of feudal nobles.

In the then conditions she had need of every form of prestige to prevail, but the conditions no longer apply, and later heroines, such as Philis de la Tour du Pin or Agostina of Saragossa, are, as executants, of no more than local and temporary significance. It will be observed, too, by those curious enough to examine the different cases, that such heroines almost invariably come to the front, as executants, only when the existing military machinery is inadequate to the call made upon it, and only in the intense momentary effort of re-creating it. To-day, however, the nations' military machines are designed and built principally to work at full pressure, and it is to be hoped that the need for a single personal Joan of Arc has passed away with the death of feudal separatism and the birth and growth of nations that have no need to be convinced of their solidarity by miracles.

Turning now to the consideration of what "driving force" means and does, it is Schopenhauer, I think, who defines the principal needs of the human race as the need to live and the need to reproduce.

These primary needs are felt by each individual member of the human race, irrespective of sex, and induce secondary needs of the most varied character, which all, however, contain the seeds of two ideas, "gaining" and "preserving." Thence, strictly in accordance with the sex-division and its purpose, women tend to become specialized for those needs which involve "preserving," men for those which involve "gaining"—as executants that is, for both needs exist for man and woman alike, and the driving force required to realize them comes from both sexes almost indifferently. War, then, being the extremity of human effort directed to an end, offensive war is the climax of the acquisitive instinct to which man is predestined, defensive the climax of woman's instinct to preserve. Very generally, it may be laid down that a war for life and death is fought, as a matter of will power, between the men and the women of the aggressor, and the women and the men of the defending nation. But in all cases where war is necessary, women support men and men women. To the "preserving" instinct, of course, the necessity for fresh acquisition is not so pressing, and wars of aggression are, by reason of woman's specialization, the more unlikely to be undertaken in proportion as the ill will of women is to be feared by the responsible government. But if and when the need of the proposed gain has penetrated deep enough—when, in fact, it has become impossible to keep what we have without acquiring the wherewithal to do so—the women not only support the men, but incite them to the last extreme of effort. In "preserving," women do even more; as we know, they appear, at times and places, as executants on the field of battle, and, if this extreme of individual devotion is not often called for, the solid background of their women's defiance is always the chief moral support of the armed men in the ranks.

To recapitulate: driving force is absolutely essential to the modern military machine, which in turn is admirably framed for the effective and economical application of this force. The driving force is supplied for all vital needs by men and women alike.

The spirit breathes everywhere, and sets in vibration those whose activities are predestined to fulfil the need. The tendency of acquisition has specialized the function of combat in man, and man is the natural executant in all that concerns fighting. And if we remember that the soldier takes all the individual risk of death and suffering that is involved, we remember too that woman is the executant in meeting, also at all costs, the need of the race to reproduce. Individual life counts only as an expression of the universal life, and it pays in person for the needs of that life. The form in which this sacrifice is demanded matters nothing at all.

C. F. ATKINSON.

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

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Great Demonstration

WILL BE HELD IN

THE QUEEN'S HALL,

ON

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26th,

At 8 o'clock.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

SPEAKERS:

Sir JOHN COCKBURN, K.C.M.G. <i>(Ex-Premier of South Australia)</i>	Sir VICTOR HORSLEY, F.R.S. F.R.C.S.
Rev. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A.	H. W. NEVINSON
Mrs. PHILIP SNOWDEN	H. YORKE STANGER, K.C. M.P.

TICKETS—Sofa Stalls, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. ; Grand Circle, 2s. 6d., 1s. ;
 Orchestra, 1s. ; Area and Balcony (unreserved), 6d.

APPLY EARLY to the Hon. Secretary, 38, Museum Street, W.C.