

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 2/-, post free.

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No. 49.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1ST, 1912.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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MEETINGS FOR NOVEMBER.

NOVEMBER 1ST, GLASGOW.—Mass Meeting, St. Andrew's Hall. Chair: Lord Glenconner. Speakers: Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Lady Tullibardine, Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P.

NOVEMBER 4TH.—Y.M.C.A. Lecture Hall, Kingsland Road, 8 p.m. Debate. Mr. Herbert G. Williams.

NOVEMBER 6TH, ACTON.—Mrs. Harold Norris.

NOVEMBER 8TH, MIDDLESBROUGH.—Town Hall, 8 p.m. Chair, Sir Hugh Bell; Miss Gladys Pott, Colonel Chaloner, M.P.

NOVEMBER 13TH, BOURNEMOUTH.—St. Peter's Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Colquhoun, Earl Winterton, M.P.

NOVEMBER 14TH, HAMPSTEAD CONSERVATOIRE, 8.30 p.m.—Chair: Lord George Hamilton. Speakers: The Countess of Jersey, Mr. A. Wenyon-Samuel.

NOVEMBER 15TH, SHEFFIELD.—Albert Hall, 8 p.m. Chair, The Duke of Norfolk; Lady Tree, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mr. Fred Maddison.

NOVEMBER 19TH, TAUNTON.—Municipal Hall, 8 p.m. Debate: Miss Gladys Pott *v.* Miss Fraser.

NOVEMBER 20TH.—Holloway Congregational Church, L.S.U. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith.

NOVEMBER 26TH, SEAFORD.—Debate. Anti-Suffrage speakers: Mrs. Colquhoun, Miss Chambers.

NOVEMBER 27TH, RICHMOND.—8.30. Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. Arthur Pott.

NOVEMBER 28TH, SOUTHSEA.—8 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott.

NOVEMBER 29TH, CHELTENHAM.—Mr. A. Maconachie.

THE Girls' Anti-Suffrage League

WILL GIVE A

Private Subscription Dance

AT

THE GRAFTON GALLERIES,

On Friday, November 29th, 1912.

TICKETS (INCLUDING SUPPER) 12s. 6d. EACH.

Dancing 9.30 to 2.30. Herr Moritz Wurm's Band.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

Mrs. Moberly Bell.	The Dowager Countess of Limerick.
Mrs. O'Brien.	Mrs. Harry Low.
Lady Bruce.	Edith, Lady Playfair.
Lady Burrows.	Miss Gladys Pott.
Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.	Mrs. Percival Ridout.
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Miss Phyllis Bruce, 25, Egerton Terrace, S.W.
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Miss Ermine Taylor, 30, Hyde Park Street, W.

AND FROM

Miss ELSIE HIRD MORGAN, 15, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held at

THE CONSERVATOIRE,

ETON AVENUE, N.W.,

On Thursday, November 14th, at 8.30.

Chairman:

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.

Speakers:

THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY.

MR. A. WENYON-SAMUEL.

TICKETS:

Numbered and Reserved, 2/-; Reserved only, 1/-; and Free Admission Tickets.

May be obtained at the Conservatoire, from Mrs. Blomfield, 51, Frogna; Miss Gunning, 43, Belsize Park Gardens, and Miss Duncan, Penarth, North End Road, Golder's Green.

SUFFRAGE TROUBLES.

THE Suffragist world for the time being is given over entirely to the discussion of its domestic affairs. Labour appears to like its alliance with Mrs. Fawcett as little as Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence relish the Pankhurst yoke, and there is much heart-searching throughout the heterogeneous camp. It is symptomatic of a factitious agitation that mere adherence to a principle should have proved an inadequate bond of union for Suffragists. The pursuit of the Parliamentary vote has required the superposition of other interests to attract and spur on its devotees. For these it is the excitement of breaking or encouraging the breaking of windows, for those the glory of resisting taxes; some can only be attracted by the flutter of the conversazione, others ask for clerical direction and follow it even when it blesses violence. Artists take up the Suffrage as they might auction bridge; it is also sought to link the vote to the stage, to the professions of teaching and writing. By far the greater number of Suffragists, however, seem actuated merely by hero-worship; they rally to the standard of this or that leader, and blindly follow wherever led. As the leaders become compelled to resort to fresh devices for fanning the Suffrage flame, they quarrel with one another, and one more fence is erected within the Suffragist camp. First a trench was dug to divide militants and constitutionalists, but it was narrow enough to allow the two parties to step across for the purposes of banquets, meetings and processions. In course of time part of the trench is filled in by the Church League for Woman Suffrage, which welcomes to its fold the militants whom the constitutionalists exclude. Among the militants the first split came in 1907, when the Freedom League was formed; this League has in turn experienced a further schism. The active militants, as they must be called in contradistinction to the Freedom League, who became passive militants, have once more experienced a cleavage in their ranks, and now active militancy is to display some subtle gradation. Everything is

arranged by the leaders, and the rank and file dutifully take up their place within the new fences.

For the present we may leave the militants to decide whether two of their recent leaders are to be abandoned with only a weekly paper for a following or whether they will assist them in yet another organisation. Of wider interest than this clash of personalities are the fate and consequences of the Suffragist-Labour alliance. The by-elections are over, and the Suffragists have performed their share of the compact: not very successfully as far as the Labour candidates were concerned, but the work stipulated was done. With the reappearance in the House of Commons of the Franchise Bill, Labour will have an opportunity of performing its share of the compact, and Suffragists are beginning to ask what was precisely the share allotted by Mrs. Fawcett, the leader of the constitutionalists, to the Labour Party. It is at this point that trouble rears its head. In the first place, Labour, as a party, denies the existence of any compact, and Mrs. Fawcett awakes to the fact that, although she may complacently bind her faithful followers to any policy, the leaders of less autocratic organisations are not so happily situated. In the second place, although the Labour Party, true to Socialistic doctrines, advocates Woman Suffrage for its own party ends, it has indicated very clearly that those ends are ultimately distinct from Mrs. Fawcett's particular obsession. Accordingly, it will support and demand Woman Suffrage in season and out of season; but it has not the least intention of destroying the Government coalition for the purpose of gratifying Suffragist spite. For that it is this passion which dominates the Suffragists' attitude is abundantly clear. They make a demand which is not supported by the voice of the country and which does not have the adherence of either of the great parties of the State. When the Government refuses to pass this measure over the heads of the electorate, the Suffragists announce their intention of "turning the Government out." They have the sure knowledge that their cause will fare still worse under the next Government, but spite over-rides all other considerations.

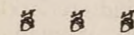
As far as can be gathered the alliance between Mrs. Fawcett's organisation and the Labour Party was based on a single word uttered by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in reply to a question

shouted from the audience at a meeting in the Albert Hall on February 13th. Mr. Macdonald was asked whether in his support of Woman Suffrage he would "turn out the Government." He ejaculated "Certainly." This incident is responsible for the Suffragist policy of supporting Labour candidates to the exclusion of all others. Mr. Macdonald's "pledge" did not apparently mislead his own party, for at the time Mr. Lansbury recorded his opinion that it was "a politician's pledge, and had been withdrawn in the same breath as that in which it had been uttered." Whatever the merits or demerits of Mr. Macdonald's "certainly," the whole matter is decided by the resolution of the Labour members not to vote against the Franchise Bill, if it does not include Woman Suffrage. Mr. Macdonald, in a letter to the Women's Labour League, has dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" of this decision, by writing: "The Labour Party will take what action circumstances may impose upon it when it sees what exactly is to happen. It will not be dragged into a policy of impossibility by any excited factions outside." When in due course the real nature of the Suffragist-Labour alliance stands revealed to Suffragist intelligence, what is likely to be the effect on the minds of the constitutionalists? Already, as the report of the recent Council meeting at Manchester shows, the policy of supporting Labour members does not command the unanimous approval of the National Union. It has required all Mrs. Fawcett's oratory and dialectical powers these last three months to persuade her followers that an organisation that gives unreserved support to a parliamentary party is still "non-party." Not without significance is the statement in the official report of the Council meeting that "it was made quite clear that in matters connected with the fighting fund policy the Council remains the ultimate authority, as it does in all questions of the policy of the Union." In this way are warnings conveyed to leaders who tend to become too despotic. But the stalwarts still hold the field, for the "non-party" attitude is to be still further extended to the continued support of a Labour candidate, even "if the Liberals put forward a 'tried friend' to contest the seat." Thus the next few months of the Suffrage movement are likely to be full of interest, and Anti-Suffragists have plenty of work before them.

NOTES AND NEWS.

November Meetings.

THE present month will witness renewed activity in the ranks of Anti-Suffragists. A number of large public demonstrations against Woman Suffrage will be held in various parts of Great Britain, while many other centres will voice the same sentiment in equally emphatic terms. Among the bigger meetings are Glasgow on November 1st, Middlesbrough on the 8th, Bournemouth on the 13th, Hampstead on the 14th, and Sheffield on the 15th. In this issue will be found the photographs of the President and Vice-President of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, and of the speakers at the Glasgow meeting.



Rules of Debate.

THE practice of holding debates in public is an interesting feature of the controversy between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, and, we believe, popular with British audiences. Anti-Suffragists are anxious to do everything in their power to promote the free discussion of the subject of Woman Suffrage, and have hitherto been met half-way by their opponents. Recently, however, a confusion seems to have arisen in Suffragist minds between the rules of debate and the principles of a public discussion. There are three kinds of meeting: (1) a Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist meeting, at which the one side only is represented among the speakers, and a resolution is naturally put; (2) a debate, in which speakers from both sides take part, under an impartial chairman, and tickets of admission are divided equally between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. At such a debate a resolution will be put; (3) a discussion, at which all the arrangements of the meeting will be in the hands of one party, but a representative of the other side attends to discuss the question. In the latter case, it is obvious that no resolution should be

put to the meeting, for the gathering is admittedly Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist, as the case may be, and the voting would bear no relation to the merits or demerits of the discussion. It is hoped that Suffragist societies will see the wisdom of accepting these elementary principles of joint meetings.

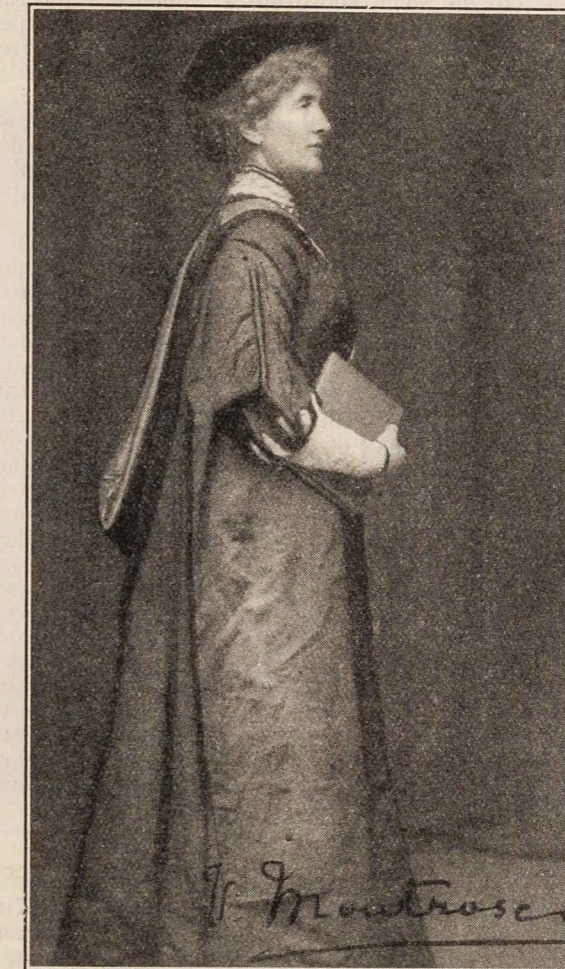
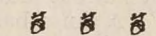


Photo by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow.
HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF MONTROSE, LL.D.,
President of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League.

A Domestic Preoccupation.

So far from the Suffrage movement having carried the nation with it, the world is now informed that Suffragists have not even been able to impress the members of their own households with the utility of their cause. This fact certainly helps to reduce the agitation to truer proportions. Probably the noise of the movement is at the root

of the trouble. People who give money to German bands are more often actuated by feelings of charity than by unbounded admiration for the quality of the music. So it is with Woman Suffrage. A goodly number are forced to listen and pay up, but, apparently, the Suffragists find that they are no nearer their goal than the musicians are to returning to their Fatherland. On Christmas night all this is to be changed. No more noise or racket; no haranguing on platforms; no flag wagging to provide material for sneers or witticisms in the domestic circle. Instead, there is to pass through the Suffrage homes of Great Britain the gaunt, silent, voteless spectre of Starvation. Suffragists are being invited to indulge in a hunger strike. It is to begin at midnight on the 25th day of December, 1912. The particular object of the strike has to do with some legislative measure that the Suffragists desire, which, if introduced on the morning of Boxing Day, might possibly become law towards the end of March. The summons to the hunger strike reads:—"It will be the duty of men, friends, sympathisers and relatives to help in the fight with tongues, brains, hearts, pens, and with all the usual weapons in the political warrior's armoury." There must be much behind this which the ordinary non-Suffragist cannot grasp. The majority of people know so little about hunger strikes that they would imagine that while the male portion of each Suffragist household is running about with tongues, brains, &c., &c., for the better part of three months, the sole reason for the Parliamentary vote would have passed away, and the world would be left with only the women who object to having the vote thrust upon them.



Mr. Hobhouse's "Taunt."

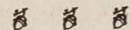
We regret to see that Mrs. Fawcett, who for the last few months has been absorbed in a laboured defence of her Union's alliance with a political party, has abandoned this role to join the W.S.P.U. in a misrepresentation

of Mr. C. Hobhouse's references last February to the burning of Nottingham Castle. In an article in the press (the *Standard*, October 13th), Mrs. Fawcett writes:—"With regard to the desire on the part of anti-Suffrage members of the Government to provoke militant outrages, surely no one has forgotten that last spring, in his own constituency, Mr. Hobhouse taunted the Suffragists with the fact that in the course of their agitation they had never done anything comparable with burning down Nottingham Castle or throwing down Hyde Park railings." Certainly no one has forgotten the way in which militant Suffragists have twisted Mr. Hobhouse's words in order to excuse a prearranged policy of militancy; but it will come as a surprise to many to find that Mrs. Fawcett is now lending herself to the W.S.P.U. campaign of misrepresentation. Mr. Hobhouse's words at Bristol on February 16th, 1912, as reported in the press, were as follows:—

Previous demands for an extension of the franchise were accompanied by demonstrations on the part of the public. In the present days of cheap railway travelling people could easily arrange numerous deputations and demonstrations, as noisy as funds permitted, but in the case of the Suffrage demand there had not been the kind of popular, sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park railings in 1867. There had been no great ebullition of popular feeling, but skilfully directed noise. These noisy demonstrations were not evidence of what was working in the minds of the people.

We are prepared to admit that in the hands of a certain class of opponents from whom neither reasoning nor fairplay can be expected, Mr. Hobhouse's words would lend themselves to misrepresentation. But, again, many people will be found to regret that Mrs. Fawcett is now to be reckoned among their number. (Lady Aberconway, it may be mentioned in passing, still further improves upon even the W.S.P.U. version of Mr. Hobhouse's words. Speaking in September at Aberdeen, she is reported to have said; "Mr. Hobhouse said, 'You can't have votes, until you show us you want them by burning down Nottingham Castle.'" A cause based on such misrepresentation can never succeed.) Mr. Hobhouse was pointing out that the Suffrage demand was not a popular demand, and that noisy interruptions at meetings did not necessarily imply a popular movement. Despite all the Suffragists' efforts the people—the great mass

of the country—remained aloof and indifferent. Of course, to the mentality of the W.S.P.U., these words suggested the following line of thought: You will not be convinced until you have popular excesses? Very good, we will provide them." And a few women set out to throw stones and burn theatres, in the fond belief that what a few members of the W.S.P.U. chose to do would constitute a "popular" movement. Mrs. Fawcett endorses this special line of reasoning, but regrets the logical sequence. "The folly from the Suffrage point of view is, to my mind, to walk into the trap openly displayed by our opponents." The writer of those words well knows, however, that no trap was set or intended.

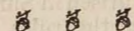


The Reductio ad Absurdum.

ELSEWHERE in this issue will be found a report of the speech made by Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., in reply to a deputation that waited upon him on behalf of the Highgate Branch of National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mr. Dickinson is an out-and-out Suffragist, and he was good enough to set forth his views on the subject very fully. It is of interest, therefore, to follow him in his Suffrage creed. The vote, we are told, ought to be looked upon "as the right of every person who is governed by which he or she can direct the Government." Right, no doubt, is a potent shibboleth; but in what sense does Mr. Dickinson use it? A man is standing in the street; his neighbour has a right to stand on exactly the same spot, but if he chose to exercise that right, he would find that it did not exist. Mr. Dickinson cannot mean a "right" in that sense. If his argument is to have any force, he can only be thinking of a right that is a gift from nature, inherent, absolute. But that is precisely what a vote is not; for the State has it in its keeping and carefully hedges it around with qualifications and restrictions. Even an adult Suffragist would withhold the vote from minors, lunatics and criminals. But a man is no less "governed" at twenty than he is at twenty-one; and a month or two cannot affect his qualifications to "direct" the Government. The arbitrary restrictions imply that a vote is the State's to grant and the State's to withhold. A moment's consideration shows that a vote is not,

and can never be a right of the individual in the sense that Suffragists contend. It exists not for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the State.

Mr. Dickinson is a "whole-hogger." He is prepared to see with complacency women in Parliament and in the Cabinet. Suffragists who pretend that they are only asking for the permission to put a mark on a ballot paper will do well to note this point. Wiser heads than theirs know that the movement cannot stop there. Mr. Dickinson knows it, and is not afraid. He would conjure up the millennium at least for Great Britain, and with what might happen in the rest of the world he is not concerned. It all depends, as he declared, upon the point of view. If one cannot appreciate any distinction between Imperial affairs and local government, nor any distinction between the achievements of a few women and the natural bent of womankind, it is easy to be enthusiastic over Woman Suffrage. In regard to details, Mr. Dickinson is shrewd enough not to be led away by hollow arguments. For the theory that votes can affect wages he has "profound contempt." This expression is unkind to a certain Suffrage pamphlet. Yes, it all depends upon the point of view, and Mr. Dickinson's point of view is that a Member of Parliament should deal with questions that arise "as he thinks best." He does not believe in ascertaining the views of his constituents on a point on which they have not been able to record a clear vote. That is Mr. Dickinson's point of view of democracy.



Accuracy in Argument.

THE current number of the *Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review* takes to task an Anti-Suffragist speaker at Wimbledon, who is reported to have said that "In those countries where Women's Suffrage already obtains, there is greater resort to repressive legislation than elsewhere and, as official statistics already demonstrate, this has the effect of increasing crime, drink and gambling." After referring the speaker to a recent address of the Chief Justice of New Zealand, the *C.U.W.F. Review* proceeds:—"With regard to the 'increase' of drunkenness and crime in Australia, the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth (p. 922) gives the

convictions for drunkenness per 10,000 inhabitants in 1901 as 133.4 and in 1906 as 119.1. Crime has also decreased. We read on p. 920 that the convictions for serious crime in the Commonwealth per 10,000 persons in 1881 was 69.3, and in 1906 the numbers had fallen to 29.5." In its last number the *C.U.W.F. Review* published an article urging its readers to be accurate in their arguments, and stating that the Suffrage movement "rests upon truth." The precise extent to which this admirable foundation has been

but the totals of summary convictions for these years have been respectively per thousand: 30.29, 33.14, 32.06, 31.59, 32.21.

Convictions for drunkenness during the same years have been per thousand of the population: 10.52, 11.08, 11.23, 11.01, 11.70.

As far as New Zealand is concerned, official statistics, as has been shown in previous issues of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, amply confirm the statement of the Wimbledon speaker.

prisoners, at first by private organisation, and subsequently by each State. It adds: "Improvements in the means of communication and identification have been responsible for some of the falling off noticeable in the criminal returns, the introduction of the Bertillon system having contributed to certainty of identification. Part of the improvement may, no doubt, be referred also to the general amelioration in social conditions that has taken place during the last fifty years." With regard to drunkenness, we read



MRS. WAUCHOPE OF NIDDRIE.



LORD GLENCONNER.
(Chairman of the Glasgow Meeting.)

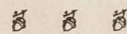
requisitioned may be gauged in some small measure from the analysis, which is appearing in our columns of the famous Suffragist pamphlet, "Votes and Wages." Moreover, this refutation of the Wimbledon speaker is also instructive. In the first place there is no indication as to what class of crime the Chief Justice of New Zealand was referring. The official statistics show that "offences against the person" have decreased of recent years, the proportion per thousand of the mean population being in 1906, 0.71; 1907, 0.82; 1908, 0.78; 1909, 0.79; 1910, 0.66;

Australia and the Suffrage.

IN regard to the experience of the Commonwealth it is true that the Official Year Book gives the figures quoted by the *C.U.W.F. Review*; but it makes certain interesting commentaries on the figures which hardly justify the bald application of two years' statistics as a refutation of the speaker's main line of argument. The Year Book discusses the gratifying decrease in crime, and is inclined to lay special stress on the efforts made to look after the welfare of discharged

that in the State of Victoria the discrepancy between convictions and cases (nearly 50 per cent.) is explained by the fact that "offenders are generally discharged on a first appearance, and no conviction is recorded, a similar procedure being also adopted in the case of those arrested on Saturday and detained in custody till Monday." The Year Book refers again to the "increasing leniency in dealing with the offence" in Victoria, and, in view of the great differences between the proportions (convictions per 10,000 inhabitants) in the various

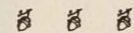
States, is at pains to point out the "important factors" that have to be taken into consideration. Indeed, but for the returns of Victoria, where the remarkable fall is accounted for, every State shows a marked increase in the number of convictions for drunkenness in the five years' period between 1905 and 1909, e.g., New South Wales, 162.8 to 170.4; Queensland, 125.4 to 161.1; South Australia, 60.2 to 84.1; Western Australia, 136.8 to 146.0; Tasmania, 29.5 to 37.5. As the Year Book points out, "the avocations of the people affect the result . . . the distribution of the population is also a factor." These and other considerations militate against the value of the comparisons that Suffragists try to make between the overseas Dominions and the Mother Country. When they abandon vague generalities and try to prove their case by statistics, they can be shown to be on still more treacherous ground.



The Suffrage and Progress.

THE truth is that the Overseas Dominions are sharing with the rest of the world where Woman Suffrage is not in vogue the normal progress of the age, to which women and men contribute regardless of the circumstance whether they vote or do not vote for parliamentary candidates. As the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth indicates, the improvement in various aspects of the public life has to be referred to "the general amelioration in social conditions that has taken place during the last fifty years." Fifty years, be it remembered, and in only two States has Woman Suffrage been in existence for more than ten years, and in one only has it been exercised for sixteen years. Suffragists are apt to imagine that because the commonwealth has granted Woman Suffrage, then every good feature in the affairs of the Continent must be due to women having the vote, and for confirmation of this extravagant theory they point triumphantly to resolutions passed in Australia avowing the success of Woman Suffrage. Quite so. We have not the least doubt that a Senate of waiters would acclaim the practice of tipping and pass a hundred resolutions affirming the benefits to be derived from it. There is no desire in this country to deprive Australia and New Zealand of their Woman Suffrage,

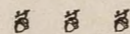
but no manner of resolution from a body of politicians elected by such means will persuade the people of Great Britain that the conditions in the two countries are alike, or that what may have done little or no harm in Australia must of necessity be advantageous to the Mother Country. Too much, as we have said, is apt to be attributed to Woman Suffrage in the Dominions of the southern seas, and for this reason we would commend to Suffragists the perusal of the table that we publish elsewhere in this issue, showing the dates at which certain "ameliorating" legislation was introduced, and its relation to the period when Woman Suffrage was granted.



Unsuspected Tragedies.

It is high time that a visitor came from Mars to tell our Suffragist friends how their agitation strikes him. The sense of proportion, the sense of humour, both are gone; Suffragist brushes are being dipped into pails of the most lurid concoctions, and the colour is laid on as thickly as possible. At least in a so-called Church Magazine we should expect a little discrimination, some evidence, if not of actual Christian charity, at least of the milk, however diluted, of ordinary human kindness. But no; the Church League for Woman Suffrage, having welcomed the militants into its fold, finds itself obliged to match their deeds with the intensity of its own words. "The brutal lust of male domination" is the edifying expression with which the League's organ, in its October issue, explains away the defeat of Woman Suffrage in Ohio. It may have a particular knowledge of this American State not available to other people; but we should have thought that Ohio included some honest and honourable citizens among its electors. Certainly the self-same electors, at the very moment when they rejected Woman Suffrage, provided their State with what is admitted on all sides to be an excellent up-to-date constitution, and we know that the women of Ohio worked hard themselves to defeat Woman Suffrage. "The brutal lust of male domination." Our visitor from Mars would wonder whether these terrestrial males of Ohio (and inferentially of Church League households) are the same people who, after voting, return to the ordinary everyday companionship of mothers,

wives, sisters or daughters. It is, perhaps, possible that we are catching a glimpse of the skeleton in the Suffragist cupboard. The Church League's organ is dominated by this idea of "sex rule." We are asked to believe, in the words of an article on "Sex dominion and Genesis," that the conventional status of woman in marriage is "merely the outcome of human selfishness and wrong." It is an "inferior status." Truly the Martian after reading Suffragist literature, would be justified in stopping the first member of the Church League he met and saying, "Madam, my sympathy goes out to you in your brutal enslavement. Allow me to kill your husband, or brother, as the case may be." For it must be remembered that Suffragists, as they have had to admit that they cannot speak for the majority of women, are now speaking for themselves.



The London Teachers.

IN our last issue reference was made to the attempt to chain the London Teachers' Association to the Suffrage coach by means of a snatch vote. Not only was the attempt defeated, but at the same meeting it was decided that a plebiscite on the question of Woman Suffrage should be taken among the 18,000 teachers belonging to the Association. The resolution put to the members was as follows:—"Do you consider that the question of Woman Suffrage is such a subject as should be included within the scope of this Association?" It was defeated by the overwhelming majority of 10,691 against, to 2,567 in favour. Suffragists from all sides have scrambled for the crumbs of comfort to be picked up from the reflection that the members of the Association were not asked whether they were in favour of Woman Suffrage, but merely whether the Association should include within the scope of its objects the question of Woman Suffrage. They are welcome to their consolation feast. The rest of the world will reflect: (1) that no Suffragist likely to be of any value to the movement has ever been known to subordinate his or her obsession to any other consideration; (2) that the whole object of the Suffragists was to force the Association to include Woman Suffrage within the scope of its objects; and (3) not one of the 6,000 members who did not vote can be claimed as

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

**GLASGOW MEETING,
November 1st, 1912.**



Photo by Lafayette.

THE RT. HON. THE COUNTESS OF GLASGOW.
(President of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League.)



Photo by Lafayette.

THE MARCHONESS OF TULLIBARDINE.
(Who will speak at the Glasgow Meeting.)



LORD CURZON
will move the Resolution at the Glasgow Meeting.

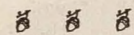


MISS H. RUTHERFURD, M.A.
(Vice-President of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League.)



A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, ESQ., M.P.
(Who will speak at the Glasgow Meeting.)

being favourable to the movement; otherwise they would have voted. But in spite of the overwhelming expression of opinion in favour of excluding the Suffrage question from the affairs of the Association, the Suffragist minority seems determined to try to force its will on the majority. An attempt to "capture" the new committee of the Association by securing the election of Suffragists failed signally, as no candidate whose name figured on the Suffragist "ticket" alone secured election, and some of the leaders of the movement appeared at the bottom of the poll. Subsequently, however, at the annual meeting of the Association, held on October 19th, the Suffragists returned to the charge, and endeavoured to pass an amendment to the rules of the Association according support to "the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex." When the amendment was ruled out of order from the chair, the usual "scene" ensued, and the Suffragists moved and carried the adjournment of the meeting before all the agenda could be dealt with. It is to be hoped that the Association will continue to stand firm in its resolve to have nothing to do with the Suffrage movement, both in its own interests and in the interests of those whose education is entrusted to them.



Equal Pay for Equal Work.*

MUCH has been written, and more said, on this subject of equal pay for equal work, and it is worth while to repeat the warning given by Miss Constance Smith, herself a Suffragist, that "the cry may be—sometimes is—misleading." Recently she wrote in the Press:—

There is a tendency to assert principle in cases to which it does not really apply; with the result that grievance is created, or a persuasion of grievance, where no genuine grievance is. There is much talk of men and women doing the same work, when what is really meant is the same kind of work. In many trades which employ both men and women—in the lighter metal trades, for instance, or in tailoring—the departments or the processes allotted to the two sexes are different, and the rates of wages obtaining in connection with the men's operations and the women's bear no relation to one another.

Actual industrial rivalry between men and women engaged in the same process

* This subject has been discussed at length in a pamphlet entitled "Equal Pay for Equal Work," by Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.

is not the common, everyday occurrence that people who know little or nothing of the organisation of industry suppose it to be; it is, in fact, extremely rare. Where it does occur, the lower rate of payment to the woman, which at first sight suggests ungenerous treatment of the weak, will not infrequently be found, on investigation, to be paid for work which is not, in any true sense, "equal." Women compositors may be in some instances as skilful as men, but if they must have the formes lifted for them, the wages of the man who does the lifting will be taken into account in calculating their own.

The case of the woman who succeeds to a man's job at a lower rate of pay is not necessarily one of unrighteous oppression, even though she may be turning out, in a day or hour, as much work as her predecessor. For, in the majority of instances of this kind, her power to do the work at all depends on the newly introduced machine which has enabled her employer to dispense with the man's greater strength; not she, but she and the machine together, are his equivalent.

In the last issue of the REVIEW, we showed that in Australia—where all is of the best in the best of all possible Suffragist worlds—equality in salaries for men and women teachers was only recognised in one class of school, where the average attendance was below fifteen. Is it possible that careful investigation may prove that Miss Constance Smith's warning is applicable to the circumstances in which the London teachers carry out their profession? Yet another point in connection with this "equal work, equal pay" shibboleth was brought out by Miss Dorothy Zimmern, M.A., in the August number of *Women's Industrial News*. She pointed out that "nearly one-third of the women returned as occupied in the Census of 1901 were under twenty years of age, and over one-half of them were under twenty-five." Miss Zimmern went on to state that "as many girls look on their wage-earning period merely as 'marking time,' they are not only content to accept low wages, but it is not worth while, either to their employers or to themselves, to render themselves efficient and highly trained workwomen." Here we come back to the great line of demarcation—that for a man, his work, be it trade or profession, is his life: for a woman—in the vast majority of cases, but not in all, we admit—her work is only half her life, for her life-work, whether done or left undone, is at home.

"THE HOUSE OF THE SUFFRAGETTE."—This excellent little booklet, by Mrs. Simmonds, may be obtained on application to the Head Offices. Price 6d.

"VOTES AND WAGES."

CRITICISM—No. 4.
BY MISS GLADYS POTT.
OF THE
GENERAL
SOCIETY OF
WOMEN

ON page 40 of "Votes and Wages," is printed the following paragraph:—"Men decide by their votes under what conditions women shall be allowed to work, and these conditions are sometimes made so stringent that it is not worth an employer's while to take women on at all. This may be done in ignorance or it may be done deliberately. In either case, the demand for women's work is cut off to without their advice being asked or their wishes consulted." (The italics are mine.) In the *Common Cause* for August 22nd, Miss Royden, referring to my speech on July 22nd, writes: "Miss Pott sets up a straw man and knocks him down. She says in effect, 'Miss Royden says women are not consulted with regard to legislation about their interests. . . . What I really said was that M.P.'s would lose their seats if they did not take the trouble to understand their constituents' interests. That the figure set up by the above extract from "Votes and Wages" is composed of worthless material, I acknowledge; but who is responsible for its erection? Not I, but Miss Royden herself, who now tries to deny its existence. The reason of her refusal to meet criticism openly, and her preference for a series of explanatory articles in a Suffrage paper, becomes more obvious as each article appears.

With regard to the "stringent conditions" mentioned in her pamphlet, we are not informed as to which regulations Miss Royden disapproves of—whether she desires women to be allowed to work in a factory longer than 12 hours out of the 24 hours, or to be employed within a month of childbirth, or in white lead packing, &c. It is therefore impossible, even if it had been my purpose, which it is not, to offer comment upon this expression of opinion. (By the by, where is the "evidence for every statement" which she claims for her writings?) But inasmuch as we are told that such regulations have been decided by votes, we are, I think, justified in assuming that the charge brought is identical with that

conveyed by the picture found upon the cover of "Votes and Wages," in which a woman is represented as saying that her sex has "never been asked" about the Factory Acts. We come then to a statement of fact, and inquire whether it is true, as asserted by Miss Royden, that women's advice and wishes have not been consulted upon questions of legislation, especially as regards laws relating to their work in factories and workshops. Space does not permit me to go into the detailed examination of our factory laws which has been carried out by abler women than myself, such as Miss Abraham (Mrs. H. J. Tennant), in "Factories and Workshops," and the Misses Hutchins and Harrison, in their "History of Factory Legislation"; but to mention only a few of the enactments referred to as of chief importance by the former, we find that the 1878 Factory Act was preceded by a Royal Commission appointed to consider the consolidation of existing laws, and that 16 women, representing operatives from almost every important trade in which women were employed, were called upon to give evidence before the Commissioners. (See Report C. 1443.) The well-known Factory Act of 1891 (which forbade women to be employed within four weeks of childbirth and obliged factory and workshop employers to keep lists of outworkers) and the Fair Wages Resolution of the same year were preceded by the House of Lords Commission upon sweating, appointed in 1888, before whom 19 women (including Miss B. Potter, now Mrs. Sidney Webb) gave evidence as to the special needs of women; and the Commissioners further appointed a woman, Miss Entwistle, to conduct a personal inquiry into the conditions of women outworkers under the Government clothing contracts at Chatham. The important Labour Commission which sat from 1891 to 1894 appointed four lady Assistant Commissioners, namely, Miss Abraham, Miss Orme, Miss Irwin, and Miss Collet, to travel all over the United Kingdom and visit the women operatives of every industry in order to collect first-hand information concerning their special conditions and necessities. (See Report C. 7421.) These ladies examined and interviewed workers and employers from every industry in which females were employed, and drew up 19 separate reports, which were presented by the Commissioners to the public with the general report already

referred to. The following year, 1895, witnessed the passage of a new Factory Act; in 1896 a fresh Truck Act became law; and in 1901, after a Departmental Committee had sat in 1896 and 1897 to examine conditions of work in factories as affecting the health of operatives, the great consolidating Act was passed which comprises the chief laws and regulations by which all factories and workshops are ruled to-day. (See "The Law relating to Factories and Workshops" p. 8.) The Fair Wages Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1907 and 1908, invited and heard evidence concerning women's industries from Miss Irwin, Miss Collet, Miss C. Black and others. (See Cd. 4423.) In the same year, another Select Committee was appointed to inquire into Home Work; it examined 25 men witnesses and 30 women, amongst the latter being Miss MacArthur, Miss G. Tuckwell, Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, Miss Squire, Miss Looker and Miss C. Black. (See Reports of these Committees 290 and 246.) It should be noticed, in view of the charge often made (without knowledge of facts), to the effect that the women operatives before these Commissions are specially selected by employers or others interested in obscuring the real needs of the woman worker, that Miss MacArthur herself selected seven women home-worker witnesses, whose names were not made public in order that employers should not be able to identify them. (See page 85 of 1908 Report on Home Work.) I observe that in the *Common Cause* Miss Royden states that the evidence of women as embodied in this Committee's Report was treated with considerable contempt. By whom? The only evidence given for the assertion is (as usual) an anonymous quotation from an article in the *Englishwoman*. Let us look at facts. Two legislative proposals were put before the Committee (see page xi. of Report 1908), viz., Licensing of Outworkers and Wages Boards. The members of the Committee in their Report advised against certain forms of licensing in accordance with the opinions of Miss Collet, Miss Vynne and Miss MacArthur, on the ground of the "obstacles which it would place in the way of an exceptionally poor and helpless section of the female community who are earning a living" (see page xii. of above Report), but in favour of wages boards in accordance with the recommendations of

Miss MacArthur, Miss Irwin, Miss Tuckwell, Miss Looker, Miss Coppock, and others, including Sir Charles Dilke. Mr. Ernest Aves, who was sent by the Home Office to Australia and New Zealand to investigate the conditions and results of the various systems of wages boards in existence in those countries, and upon whose detailed report the specific recommendations of the above Committee were based (see pages viii., ix., and xvii., &c. of above Report), specially mentions in his Report (Cd. 4167) that he was accompanied and helped throughout his work by his wife. One year later, in 1909, the Trades Boards Bill was introduced into the House of Commons and passed into law, of which Miss Tuckwell at the Conference of the National Federation of Women Workers in July last spoke as "the finest piece of machinery created to abolish sweating."

Miss Royden's assertion that the Home Workers' Committee's Report was treated with contempt is wholly contrary to the above facts, for which I have given official evidence. Her extraordinary idea that to quote the opinion expressed in a periodical is to give proof of the truth of a like opinion is without a shadow of reason.

Turning from actual Factory and Workshops Acts to other legislation specially affecting women, we find that the framers of the Midwives Bill of 1902, consulted and obtained the support of "not only doctors . . . but also the Women's National Association, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Women's Industrial Council and representatives of Boards of Guardians. (See Egerton's speech in seconding the Bill, House of Commons, February 2nd, 1902—*Hansard*.) The Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1903-04 examined 14 women witnesses, including Hon. Maud Stanley, Miss Garnett and others, some of whom held official positions in connection with schools and factories, and at the request of the Committee, Miss Anderson, principal Lady Inspector of Factories, drew up a special memorandum upon the employment of women in industry. (See Cd. 2175.) The Committee on Inspection and Feeding of School Children in 1906 examined 12 women expert witnesses, and upon the recommendations of these two Committees, together with the advice of the S.P.C.C. and the British Medical Society, the Children's Bill of 1908 was based. (See H. Samuel's speech of

February 10th, 1908—*Hansard.*) This Bill was, in the opinion of Lord Lytton, "regarded as the reward of long years of labour by those who have been toiling laboriously in schools, courts and slums . . . and also by individual men and women who have built up the Bill for years past. (See Lord Lytton's speech in House of Lords October 28th, 1908.) The suggested Barmails' Bill, referred to in a former article, was urged by its upholders as having been framed upon the report of a woman, Miss Orme (one of the Assistant Commissioners on Labour, 1891-94), and supported by women's associations, such as the National Union of Women Workers, Women's Liberal Federation and Women's Liberal Metropolitan Union. (See Report Joint Committee on Barmails' Bill.) The Poor Law Commission of 1906-1909 examined numberless women as well as men, and the Divorce Commission of 1910 invited women's views to be placed before them, one lady to take advantage of the opportunity being Mrs. Swanwick, late Editor of the *Common Cause*. And yet we are assured by Miss Royden that women are not consulted nor their advice asked! On the above enumerated facts, I say that the statement is untrue. In the *Common Cause*, August 22nd, Miss Royden writes, "Miss Pott cites instances of Commissions which examined women; on how many of those Commissions did women sit? I am practically certain (and Miss Pott's silence on this point confirms me) that there were none." Once again I would draw attention to Miss Royden's remarkable system of logic. Had it been true—which it is not—that I did not mention in my speech of July 22nd that women sat upon any of the bodies referred to, what possible evidence could be found in that omission that as a matter of fact they did not so sit? Is it any wonder that the conclusions offered to the public by Miss Royden, formed upon such reasoning as this, prove to be erroneous? Of course, women cannot sit upon Select Committees of the Houses of Parliament, as they do not happen to be M.P.'s; but of the bodies already mentioned which were not such Committees, I have already pointed out that the most important of all recent Labour Commissions included four women expert Assistant Commissioners, and that the Commission on Sweating appointed a woman to examine women's industries. In addition to these instances, women

sat upon the Departmental Committees on Health in Factories, 1896, and upon Feeding of School Children, 1906, and upon the recent Divorce Commission. Moreover, as is well known, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Octavia Hill and Mrs. Bosanquet were amongst the Commissioners appointed in 1906 to examine into the Poor Laws, and that body selected five other women, including a lady doctor, Miss Ethel Williams (see Cd. 4499), to assist them as "Special Investigators."

With regard to the Trades Boards Act resulting from the inquiry into home work, it is to be observed that by its provisions women are not only eligible as members, but "in the case of a Board for a trade in which women are largely employed, at least one of the appointed members acting shall be a woman." (Section 13 of Trades Boards Act, 1909.) Under the National Insurance Act, 1911, "at least two" of the Advisory Committee appointed "for the purpose of giving the Commissioners advice and assistance" must be women. (Section 58 of the Insurance Act.) By the Children's Act of 1908 women are recommended for appointment as "infant protection visitors" (Section 2 of Act), and are specially mentioned as desirable "home visitors" (Section 25). Under the Education Act of 1902 the scheme of Education Committees must provide "for the inclusion of women as members of the Committee." (Section 17, Part IV. of Education Act, 1902.)

I must again remind my readers that I am offering no opinion upon the desirability of extending or decreasing the representation of women on official bodies, nor upon the wisdom of any specific piece of factory or social legislation. Nor do I intend to be drawn into any controversy upon such questions. The only point at issue is the truth or falsity of certain statements in "Votes and Wages"; but as Miss Royden's article in the *Common Cause*, above referred to, contains a criticism of my remarks upon the extract given in "Votes and Wages" from a speech of Mr. Burns', I take this opportunity of commending to the notice of my readers the extreme inaccuracy of the account and quotations given by her from my speech of July 22nd. As I do not propose to deal with issues raised by this method, I will merely here observe that I did not say, as quoted by Miss Royden with reference to Mr. Burns' remarks, that "men had a better ground of complaint"

against him, but "as good" ground.

I am, of course, again credited with want of sense and knowledge; this reiteration on the part of Miss Royden seems to be based upon the "Bellman's" principle that "what I tell you three times is true." With regard to the point now raised, viz., Mr. Burns' wish to decasualise (*sic*) men's work, I need only reply that her interpretation of his desires towards the work of women does not appear to me to be founded upon anything but her own opinion. The suggestion that casual work is an evil and tends to keep wages low is not peculiar to Mr. Burns, whose remarks upon this point seem to apply to men and women equally. Home work must always partake of the nature of casual work, and the large majority of home workers, as Miss Royden tells us herself, are women. I express no opinion as to how far it is wise to stop home work, but I find that some women experts desire that it should be heavily curtailed. (See Miss MacArthur's and Miss Tuckwell's evidence before the Home Workers' Committee, 1907.)

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

On page 8 of "Votes and Wages" we read, "Facts show that men have succeeded in putting an end to the sweating of men by Government by means of their votes. Their representatives in the House of Commons secured the passage of a Resolution by which Government was bound to pay to all men employed under it directly or by contract the Trade Union rate of wages. If there is no Union in the industry in question a 'fair' or 'standard' wage must be given." And on page 10 we find, "Thus it will be seen that the power of the vote has made Government a model employer for men."

The two Fair Wages Resolutions passed in the House of Commons in February, 1891, and in March, 1909, respectively, run as follows:—February, 1891: "That in the opinion of this House it is the duty of the Government in all Government contracts to make provision against the evils recently disclosed before the Sweating Committee, to insert such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from subletting, and to make every effort to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen"; March 10th, 1909: "That in the opinion of this House the Fair Wages Clause in Government contracts shall

provide that the contractor shall under the penalty of a fine or otherwise, pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or in the absence of such recognised wages and hours, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. Where there are no such wages and hours recognised or prevailing in the district, those recognised or prevailing in the nearest district in which the general industrial circumstances are similar shall be adopted. Further, the conditions of employment generally accepted in the district in the trade concerned shall be taken into account in considering how far the terms of the Fair Wages Clauses are being observed. The contractor shall be prohibited from transferring or assigning directly or indirectly to any person or persons whatever any portion of his contract without the written permission of that Department. Subletting other than that which may be customary in the trade concerned shall be prohibited." In the sentence as quoted from "Votes and Wages," Miss Royden places the words "fair" and "standard" in inverted commas, as though to imply that they are taken directly from the Resolution referred to. It will be seen that no such terms are used in either Resolution; and her statement and quotation are therefore inaccurate.

She then tells us that the result of these Resolutions has been to make Government a "model" employer for men. "Model" means that which is copied; what proof is adduced that Government wages are copied by other employers? In what industry is this the case? The Resolution distinctly says that Government contractors are to follow the wages fixed by the custom of other firms or by trade societies, *e.g.*, to copy, not to be copied. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1908 to consider the working of the Fair Wages Clause, and before these Commissioners 36 out of 39 witnesses alleged that it had not raised wages in their respective trades, and in their Report the Commissioners observe that "the Resolution was not intended to set up new standards of wages, but to secure that the wages paid for Government work were those ordinarily paid by good employers." At the time of the passing of the second Resolution, Mr. S. Buxton said, "No one proposes that Government should fix the rate

of wages. All that is asked is that it should accept the rate which prevails in any particular trade." (*Hansard*, March 10th, 1912.) The only proof offered by Miss Royden that Government sets the standard of wages is that the Local Government Board has issued a circular recommending that a Fair Wages Clause should be included in contracts given out by local authorities. She gives us no information as to where or in what measure local authorities were formerly in the habit of paying employees at a lower rate of wage than is customary in their respective districts, but I learn from evidence given before the Home Workers Committee, 1908 (Question 2534) that the L.C.C. and several borough councils in London had, prior to 1908, started the practice of fixing the rate of wage to be paid to workers under their contracts. This custom is mentioned in the circular sent to local authorities; but I fail to see how those bodies, even by following the advice contained in the circular, will set the standard of wages. They will follow the standard already set by others.

I observe in the *Common Cause* for August 29th Miss Royden accuses me of saying "that Government pay does not affect the standard of wages generally."

I did not and do not say anything of the kind. I say that the statement that the Fair Wages Resolution has made Government a "model" employer is unproved and inaccurate. Miss Royden appears to take offence at my having quoted the wording of the Resolutions on July 22nd. I find it a good plan to mention the subject under discussion when I speak; and, at the risk of hurting Miss Royden's very susceptible feelings, fear I must continue the habit of so doing.

(To be concluded.)

THE BARGAIN THAT FAILED.

ONE of the resolutions passed at the recent Council meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was to the effect "that all friends of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons be urged to support the inclusion of women in the Irish electorate under the Home Rule Bill." Thus the bargain which Mrs. Fawcett sought to drive with Mr. Redmond for the throwing over of Irish Suffragists is relegated to the limbo of political failures. How long will it be before Suffragists write the same words over the Suffragist-Labour alliance?

WOMEN IN POLITICS.—II.*

BY ONE OF THEM.

It is so pleasant to find common ground. Our Suffragist friends are always talking to us of woman's ideals and woman's influence, and what they might do for the uplifting and purifying of politics. We quite agree; and we are equally at one in recognising that the gift that a woman brings to the service of her country, and the influence that she introduces into political life are something quite separate and distinct from the gifts and the influence of a man.

One of the biggest political organizers of her day told me a few years ago that in all her experience she had never known any division where women had taken up political work remain exactly as they found it. For better or for worse, it always underwent a distinct change. And this is only natural when we remember that, in politics, perhaps more than anywhere else, the work is the woman. A man can think and feel in sections; just as he can keep his business life apart from his life at home, so he distinguishes between private friendships and political opponents, and occasionally between political convictions and private beliefs. But a woman is different; what she is, she is to the core; in looking at women in politics we are looking at one aspect of womanhood.

I have always rather envied the eighteenth-century writers who analysed character by the simple expedient of imagining a ruling passion and then constructing accordingly. It is difficult to find the ruling passion of a sex. We are always told that the dominant characteristic of a woman is her instinct for self-sacrifice; but that is a very wide quality; it ranges from pity at one end to worship at the other, and all that is best in womanhood lies between.

A curious feature of this passion in women is the complete isolation of its object. A woman sees one person or one thing and it blots out everything else. Women are altering in that respect—they have grown wider, though not less intense; but the tendency is always there, and it lies at the root of both the strength and weakness of women in politics.

I remember once, on going into some committee rooms during an election

* The first part of this article appeared in the September issue of the REVIEW.

with an offer of help, being accosted by a well-dressed woman, overflowing with the intelligence that Mr. G., our opponent, was the landlord of some insanitary cottages recently condemned by the L.C.C. "If only this could be spread about," she said, "it would get us such a lot of votes." Wouldn't I do it; her husband would not let her. From personal experience, I should say that there are very few women, and these, an ever diminishing number, who, in their anxiety for one object, the triumph of their cause, would stoop to compass it by such means. I have no doubt that long ago that particular lady has learned to be thoroughly grateful for the man's sense of honour and fair-play that saved her from disgracing herself and her party. But this is, undoubtedly, the weak side of a woman's isolation of idea.

NO SENSE OF COMPROMISE.

On the other hand, if a woman sees only one thing, she sees it very clearly. It stands out to her in the clear, high light of an absolute conviction. To a woman, everything is either black or white; there is no grey on her palette, just as there is no compromise in her vocabulary. The thing is right, and it must be done; it is true, and it must be said. There is no question of expediency, and there is no room for doubt.

And herein lies the great secret of a woman's success as a canvasser. She will go to a working-man and talk to him less of prices than of principles—not of the wages in his particular trade, but of his responsibility as a citizen. She will take it for granted that her standard of right and wrong will be his, that the ideal that is so clear to her cannot be veiled to him, and because she expects so much, she is seldom disappointed. But it is with a poor man that a woman is at her best. She has an infinite patience for the man who sees too little, she has none for the man who sees too much. Subtler intellectual difficulties she cannot appreciate, she is incredulous of convictions that are slow in the coming, while a longer policy she will frankly write down as "shuffling." I have sometimes wondered, if the great Cunctator had commanded an army of women, whether they would have allowed him to save Rome.

But if tolerance and breadth are a man's gift to political life, a woman brings her quality of pity. I will

remember, the first time I ever canvassed at a Parliamentary election, a poor woman in Shoreditch bursting into tears and kissing me, because she "wasn't used to people being sorry for her." There is enough of lonely trouble in London, Heaven knows, for such a thing to be only too common, but what a world of opportunity it opens to the woman in politics! After all, pity comes so naturally to a woman; she is used to every-day things, and is less shy and more understanding than a man when her work brings her up against one of those common, little every-day tragedies that seem to make up the lives of the poor. I wonder how many women in London to-day have blessings breathed after them even when they go about the sordid business of vote-catching. They are not always the clever women—not the women who can argue like a man—only the ordinary women with just the ordinary woman's pity, who are not ashamed of being themselves. The sudden, quick sympathy that springs unbidden into a woman's look and voice is doing more than reams of argument to show to that section of the community to whom political issues matter so much and who understand them so little that politics are something more than a squabble between two sets of rich men as to which of them shall line their pockets at the public expense.

And it is just this same touch of simple pity and sympathy with the little every-day facts of life that is the distinctive strength of the woman speaker.

PUBLIC SPEAKING.

A woman has neither the physical nor mental endowments of a man for public speaking, and if she is wise she will understand this, and will not lose her own gifts in straining after the things that can never be hers. "Grip" and mastery are not for her, but none the less she has her message if she will talk of what she knows and will realise that it is the homely note that goes home.

After listening to a man, an audience will exclaim, "Good, I never thought of that before." After a woman, they will simply say, "It's quite true. It's what I've always felt myself."

And they will be perfectly right. The woman had had no new thought; she has only said what everybody else has felt, and she has said it in the

every-day words used by everybody every day. She has only seen the common things that everyone else has seen—the men out of work on the Embankment, the woman who has not enough to pay her rent. But she has seen these things with a woman's passion of pity, the sudden, hot need of stooping down to those who have gone under in the battle of life, and helping them to their feet once more. She can see the dingy, battered, disappointed world, and see it new and clean and radiant in the light of the dim, long-worshipped ideal that is never quite realised in any political party, but which alone makes either parties or politics worth going on with. The ideal is to her the great reality, and because it is so real she is not afraid of saying so.

A middle-aged, middle-class man once said to me, after listening to a woman speaker, "The tears were in my eyes as I heard her; I knew she meant it."

IN POLITICS, BUT NOT OF THEM.

And, at this point, I can almost hear some of my Suffragist friends saying: "You can believe all this of women, and yet you don't want them to have the vote." My answer is twofold. I spoke in my first article of the freedom of choice that women enjoy now and that Suffragists want to take from them. At this moment the woman who has time and capacity for political work is free to give of her best to it without let or hindrance; and if, or when, her life calls her to other and higher service, she can turn her back on the whirl of politics and give herself wholly and entirely to those duties which for all time must be woman's and woman's alone. And the country is the gainer at both ends.

And my other answer was given by Lady Selborne last October, when she said that "the work with which Anti-Suffragists have been most prominently connected is politics of an Imperial kind." It is just these women whose ideas of the vote are based, not upon academic ideals of representation, but upon close personal contact with the voter and the way the vote is given—it is the women who go and do the work at election times instead of reading about it by the drawing-room fire, who, in my own humble experience, as well as in that of Lady Selborne, make the most grim and determined opponents of "Votes for Women." We see at first hand not

ANTI-SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

A GREAT ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION

WILL BE HELD IN THE

ALBERT HALL, SHEFFIELD,

On Friday, November 15th, at 8 p.m.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK will take the Chair,

AND AMONG THE SPEAKERS WILL BE

LADY TREE, MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN, and MR. FRED MADDISON.

Applications for Tickets should be made without delay to the Assistant Secretary, Sheffield Branch, N.L.O.W.S., 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.

Each Ticket must be signed by the User, who undertakes on his or her honour not to disturb the Meeting.

A GREAT ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION

WILL BE HELD IN THE

TOWN HALL, MIDDLESBROUGH,

On Friday, November 8th, at 8 p.m.

SIR HUGH BELL in the Chair,

SPEAKERS:

COLONEL R. G. W. CHALONER, M.P., and MISS GLADYS POTT.

Tickets may be obtained from Messrs. Woolston, 22, Wilson Street, Middlesbrough.

Each Ticket must be signed by the User, who undertakes on his or her honour not to disturb the Meeting.

only the perils of an ignorant vote, but also the good work that is being daily carried on by voteless women in the field of politics. It is useless to tell us that if we had the vote we could do more. We know too much.

Before my eyes, as I write, there rise up the figures of some of the women with whom it has been my privilege to work, not only the busy society woman, slaving like a paid hack for the good of her country, not only the young girl sacrificing her afternoon at tennis or hockey, but the little dressmaker and the tired shop assistant, cheerfully giving their hard-won evening leisure to doing clerical work in a committee room. No one who had known these things could ever dare to say that women's ideals and women's devotion have no place in political life.

And I go further. I do not say: "What more could these women do if they had the vote?" I say, advisedly, that we could do less.

THE STRENGTH OF DETACHMENT.

Until our privilege was threatened, I think a great many of us had never realised how much women in politics owe to their present position of disinterested detachment. The man who gives up his evenings to canvassing a poor street is no less disinterested and patriotic than a woman, but he does not get the credit of it with an elector. Unless a woman happens to be the candidate's wife, she is supposed to have no personal interest in the matter; it is known that she is not paid for what she does; the presumption, then, is that if she comes, it is because she cares and she is believed accordingly. It is for that reason that a woman can go to the roughest men in the poorest streets and always find the best side of them. If I had the vote to-morrow, I should be afraid to go to many of the places where I have been, and I know that in this matter I do not stand alone.

And knowing and valuing the earnestness and zeal of so many of our opponents, it is with real regret that I point out how terribly the work of women in politics is being hampered and thrown back by the action of certain Suffragists. Women who can talk vaguely and publicly about "sex war" can have little idea of what they inflict upon quiet and ordinary women who only wish to work side by side with men in unobtrusive service of the country which is the heritage of both.

And I should like to say personally, as a practical woman in politics, that I have owed far too much to men—to men's strength and men's judgment, and men's sheer, silent, hard work; to men with collars and men without, not to regret rather particularly that, at a time when a national crisis is calling upon both men and women for all that is best in ourselves and in each other, any of us should be wasting our strength and energy in a futile controversy as to which shall be accounted the greater.

I remember being struck by this very thought a year or two ago in Florence, standing in the little, chill white sacristy that Michael Angelo has made famous throughout the whole world, before that vision in inspired marble which we almost darken by the name of "Dawn." We all know it—that Titanic figure transfixed in the moment between sleeping and waking, when the body has stirred before the brain. The force has come back into those mighty limbs, but it is blind; the eyes are still holden. Another minute and the soul will return from the veiled places of sleep and make its human habitation once again a thing conscious and creative, but in that moment of suspense you knew that it could wreck a world.

That is the condition to-day of our giant Imperial democracy. It is stirring, stirring very much of late, but only in its sleep. It is only a love and pity that are very strong, and a patience that is very long, and an ideal that is very pure that can ever draw near to that dim figure and open the veiled eyes that it may see.

To that work, in different guises and along different roads, by ways that are of politics and ways that are not, are coming to-day all that is best in the manhood and womanhood of this country. They come together, but each brings a separate gift; and a wise world, instead of loudly appraising the relative merits of either, will take of both in a grateful silence.

SUFFRAGIST SLAVERY.

"I do not agree that an Englishwoman's present position is one of slavery. The withholding from women of the benefits of political representation is injurious to them and to the community, but it does not constitute either economic or political slavery."—Mrs. Henry Fawcett ("Economic Journal," September, 1907).

THE GREAT WAR OF 1913.

ὄρα γε μὲν δὴ κὰν γυναικῶν ὡς Ἄρης ἐνεστίν.
—Sophocles, *Electra*.

I HAD been sitting up late over a new copy of the *Suffragette*. Two things especially fixed themselves in my mind. Some canon, resident at Oxford, had been saying that all the work of the world was getting to be done by women. And there was another threat in the editorial columns—humanity was to be staggered once more in the year that was coming in. For it was the last night of 1912.

"I think you'd better get up quick, dear," said my wife. "It's a little late already, and you'll have to forage for breakfast."

"Forage for breakfast! What do you mean?" I said, looking hurriedly at my watch. It was already ten minutes to eight.

"I don't think you'll find any breakfast," she said in a somewhat ominous tone. "Cook's gone."

"Bolted!" I said. "Well, this is rather sudden." However, I dare say Sarah can manage for us.

"It's not us. I'm all right. It's you I'm thinking of. And Sarah's gone. They're all gone."

"Why, what's this?" said I, starting up, now fully aroused.

"I may as well tell you," she replied. "It's the great strike of 1913—the STRIKE OF WOMEN. It begins this morning. All women have struck work from this morning until they are free."

"I think it's quite free enough of them to leave my service without the notice required by the law." ("Man-made law," interposed my wife in parentheses.) "But what you'll do here I can't think."

"Oh, I'm arranged for," she said reassuringly. "It's only the women who work for men who are obliged to strike. But as I suppose husbands wouldn't let their cooks cook only for their wives, the W.S.P.U. have arranged for wives like me. I'm going down to the country to stay with some other ladies for the present. It won't be long."

My anger boiled over. "It won't be long! Well, of all the deceitful conspiracies I ever heard of! And how long have you been keeping this secret from me?" I added, dropping on to a sarcastic note. "I didn't know even that you belonged to the W.S.P.U."

"Women can keep secrets sometimes, you see," said my wife. "It was arranged ten days ago."

"You made up your minds pretty quick."

"Yes."

"And you're sure they're all going to go out?"

"Oh, you'll see," she said.

Well, it was as true as ever that it was useless to argue with a woman. I got my cue now and kept it. I determined to be magnanimous. I forced a laugh, though the thought of breakfast made it feel rather like a surgical operation. "All right, my dear," I said. "I hope you'll enjoy your trip in the country. It'll be rather a cold one." Some sleet was falling.

I hastened off to dress and breakfast. It was a cold and rather cheerless business, but the cook had left the kitchen fire alight, and I managed to secure some food.

I got upstairs from the kitchen (now my dining-room as well), just in time to meet my wife dressed and prepared for a journey.

"I've had my breakfast," I said. "I had to begin. Do you want anything?"

"Oh, no! I shall go to Pinton's," said my wife.

"Pinton's" was a large restaurant business with branches. "Pinton" had recently died, and it had passed into the hands of his widow, a woman with a Frenchwoman's business gifts. She avowed considerable enthusiasm for "the cause," and, as I afterwards found, she had—for a consideration—placed all her establishments at the disposal of the W.S.P.U. for the strike. No men would be served, only women; and all male employees—even the commissionaires—were dismissed.

When I reached the office I found some confusion. My head clerk, an unhelpful sort of man, informed me with tears in his eyes that he had had no breakfast, that the post office was not open, that he had been ringing up the exchange for some minutes with no result, and that Miss Duckaway had thrown up her job. Miss Duckaway was our typist.

"Then you must put one of the clerks on," I said; "and that boy can lend a hand when he is free. I know he knows how to do it."

The day went on much as usual. The chief trouble I had was from the postal and telephone service, which were thrown into a disorder which continued until, two or three days later, the female employees were gradually replaced by male.

I took my way home by Oxford Street, as I wished to make some purchases in an emporium in that neighbourhood. I found a huge crowd at Oxford Circus, which a nearer view revealed to me as both mainly female and altogether angry. "It's a shame!" "We never thought they'd do this!" "Not a fur to be had!" "Not a single shop where one can buy anything!"—were among the cries I heard. I soon found out what it was. The girls who served for those innumerable purveyors of feminine requisites who cluster around that part of London had loyally obeyed the mandate of the W.S.P.U. (enforced, as I heard, earlier in the morning by feminine pickets). Their occupation was gone, and the sight of all these closed shops provided a very effective demonstration. But if their occupation was gone, so was that of, as it appeared to me, many hundreds of their own sex who had no other use for the afternoon than to keep them busy. I went on, and carried out my own purchases without any difficulty. They included some warm underclothing, which the day's cold snap most feelingly reminded me that I needed. As I turned to go, a resolute female passed me. The shopman met her with the usual formula. "Why should I not be served as well as this gentleman," said she. "What do you require, madam?" he inquired with admirable urbanity. The recitation of her requirements brought—at least, I thought so—some tinge even to her resolute cheek. "Impossible, madam," he said. "I am afraid it is impossible. We have strict orders not to go near the ladies' departments. The young ladies who serve there have complete control."

"But there are no young women serving there," she retorted bitterly.

"I can't help it, madam. They've struck."

"And yet you serve this gentleman!" she rejoined with scorn.

"I do, madam," he said.

"Enfranchised brute!" she hurled at me as she passed out.

I went home, dressed, and dined at the club. I never knew it so lively.

Next morning I had to "forage" as before. The most unpleasant part of the whole strike was this rising at seven to light the kitchen fire before I dressed. But enjoying as I did the inestimable advantages of a public school education—as a fag—I was able to give myself a good enough breakfast.

The evenings fully made up for it. I used to dress at the club and live there entirely after five o'clock. In spite of the fact that the music halls soon contrived a first-rate programme with only male turns, and that Pélissier, in his "Wild Workless Woman," fully rose to the occasion, my club maintained the gaiety of the first night throughout the strike.

On this 2nd of January I bought a copy of the *Suffragette*. The editorial was by the usual well-known hand: "The hour is come—and the Woman. From brave Plymouth, from black Manchester, from Scotland, nursery of the free, from Erin, home of the oppressed, there is but one voice: 'We must be free or die.' 'We are the captains of our souls.' Man is trembling." Here followed some quotations from the papers of yesterday, with triumphant comments. Indeed, I gathered that the strike had been a complete success. In the factory districts, employers of women were at their wits' end, and notices were already given regarding the closing of numbers of mills. As I had already seen with my own eyes, hundreds of shops were closed.

There were blacklegs, of course, and of this no concealment was made. But the first days sufficed to show the watchful officials of the W.S.P.U. what their strength was and where pickets were most required. The pickets were forthcoming. I passed several that morning.

By Monday, which was the 6th, success seemed, at least to the organisers of the strike, to be assured. The cotton industry alone was losing scores of thousands of pounds a week, and there was a general belief that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce would send a deputation to the Prime Minister to insist on the immediate grant of the women's demands.

But it was in the Midlands and the North that the tide first turned. It was soon found that, though the men who had been locked out owing to the refusal of the women to work would get lock-out pay, the women who had struck without consulting the trades union officials would get nothing. And the men declared their inability to support them. They even went to the employers and arranged to do the work hitherto performed by women in the spinning mills, a number of which were reopened.

The W.S.P.U. could do nothing. They were already deeply pledged. The demands of employers such as Mrs. Pinton, who had taken care to be on the safe side, had to be satisfied. Actresses had to be indemnified against the results of expected lawsuits arising from breach of contract. No calls could be made on individual members, who had already been put to heavy expense; and most of them depended upon men for a large portion of their income.

Even could the W.S.P.U. have provided 700,000 female textile workers with strike pay, it would have been no use. To get them to join the general strike, it had published an appeal to them, showing what they might expect as a class from the success of the

movement. The result had been to stiffen the backs of the employers.

The factory women quickly gauged the position. They were never enthusiastic. They began to break away. The W.S.P.U. at once took steps to convert the *sauve-qui-peut* into an orderly retreat. A communication was made to the Press. The workers had, so it ran, shown that it was in the power of women to paralyse the principal industries in the country. Now their work was done. It would not be necessary for them to continue on strike for the few days remaining. But man was still to remain deprived of the woman who cooked his food, cleaned his rooms, made his bed, mended and washed his clothes, and amused him. Many amusing stories were told of his helplessness. I can only say that I found no instances of it in my own experience. We were inconvenienced in the morning, it is true. But then we had our evenings to ourselves.

Indeed, the attempts of the ladies to make fun of us very soon began to recoil upon themselves. A larkly humour began to prevail everywhere, and it was not confined to one sex alone. For example, there was a regular series of conversations, chiefly musical, held nightly at the Queen's Hall by the W.S.P.U. to provide amusement for the women who had broken loose from their mankind. One night, after the performance, there was not a conveyance of any kind to be had. Worse still, it was a freezing night; a quantity of water, which must have been accidentally upset on the adjoining pavements, had been converted into a miniature skating rink. There were some accidents that night, and it happened the next and the next. And yet, as a cabby said to me, how can a man keep out so late when he has so much to do when he gets home?

Another little joke started in the docks. A number of packages containing provisions, which had been lying on a wharf, addressed to "Pinton's," for immediate delivery, were carried into a warehouse by mistake, lost, and only discovered days later under a lot of old barrels. Somehow, this got into the papers; and history showed a tendency to repeat itself. Nothing seemed to arrive at "Pinton's," or any similar establishment, though it was not easy to see why. Not only did packages of all kind go remarkably astray, but the shops began to make difficulties. Bakers found that they had so little time to spare (having so much to do at home) that they could only bake a limited number of loaves. And it was only their male customers whom they were able to satisfy. It was the same with the butchers and the whole body of male tradesmen. Female shopkeepers could not get in their own supplies owing to the mistakes of the transport workers.

The women complained loudly, but could get no redress. There was no violence. If it was a conspiracy, it was a conspiracy of stupidity only. They complained bitterly of the inefficiency of the telephone service, in particular, as no woman could get a message through. This had had to be entirely reorganised, only men being employed. I was surprised myself to read of their complaints, as I never knew both my home and office telephone work so satisfactorily as it did after the exchange girl had been removed. But this only by the way.

At last the crisis came. Not a single woman householder, hotel-keeper or shopkeeper could get coals, meat, bread, milk or vegetables. By Friday and Saturday they

began to crowd the restaurants, which had hitherto been left to men. But there were no tables for them. Starvation threatened. A hasty meeting was held of the leaders of the movement. They decided to break off the strike, without even waiting two more days till the opening of Parliament. The decision was conveyed to the world through the Neutral News Agency, and also, more fully, in special editions of *Votes for Women*, the *Suffragette*, and the *Common Cause*, which were cried in the streets at three o'clock in the afternoon. It took the form of an "advice" to women to go back to work. I remember some parts of it:—

"For the past three days the Joint Woman's Rights Committee have had the present situation under their most careful consideration. It is now the eleventh day since the banner of the cause has been advanced in a constant career of victory. Even victorious armies must cry a halt some time, and at the council of war which has just been held it has been decided to do so now. The Committee can no longer accept the responsibility of advising the brave women of England to add further to the sufferings of this inclement season. We have reconnoitred the enemy in force. We have penetrated his screen, driven in his patrols, and thrown him back upon his defences. We grant him grace—due not to him, but to the sacred call of humanity. The first act of the new session of Parliament which opens on Monday must and shall be the concession of our demands in full."

What Parliament did I never heard, for at that moment—

"I think you'd better get up quick, dear," said my wife. "It's a little late already."

"I've had a curious dream," I said. And I told it to her at breakfast. I pointed out that, unlike most dreams, it had a moral—two morals, in fact. One was that men were, economically speaking, indispensable. The other was that women were not.

"Scarcely a probable dream," she said a little coldly.

I shrank off to the office, where at least I am not exposed to snubs. I would tell it there. As I went I thought over some details of it. It was an interesting dream. Suddenly a cold thought struck me.

"It's not real about the telephone, either," I thought. "It'll all be just as it was before Christmas." And I went on to my New Year's labours with a heavier heart.

A. F. F.

WAGES.

"SHOULD wages be raised to the same extent as the cost of living? Yes. But Trade Unionism is the only way to get it done."—*Portia*, in the "*Labour Leader*," March 29th.

CONSISTENCY.

MR. MALCOLM MITCHELL, at Reading, after contending "as a democrat" that the women of Ireland should be consulted on Home Rule and that the women of Wales should be referred to on Disestablishment, said in answer to a question that he was not in favour of consulting Englishwomen on *Woman Suffrage*.

DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ACTIVITY.

THE tenets of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage are making very satisfactory headway here. Dublin Suffragists, accustomed as they have been to the contemptuous tolerance of the public, except when their outrages provoked the public into spasmodically active hostility, are clearly alarmed at the progress of a logical, persistent and organised opposition. Not very many weeks ago they pretended to have made a surprising discovery—namely, that there was a branch of the N.L.O.W.S. in Dublin. They made this announcement only for the purpose of emphasising their intention of ignoring the fact. The Branch of the Anti-Suffrage organisation in Dublin is, of course, not chronically clamant before the public. But activity cannot be reckoned in terms of spectacular self-advertisement, as Suffragists here have begun to realise. To-day they are fulminating against the opposition which they hitherto affected to ignore. In a recent issue of their official organ I find copious extracts from the *ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW*. Mrs. Starkie's article in your September issue, this correspondence, and other features are singled out for attention and reply. I do not propose to weary your readers with the subject-matter of these replies; they are the class of "argument" to which Anti-Suffragists are well enough accustomed. But their appearance shows that Irish Suffragists appreciate the worth of the fighting force against them, and realise that it is a force which they dare not ignore, but against which they must try to defend themselves. I think I may speak for the rapidly growing body of Anti-Suffragists in Dublin (only a relatively small percentage of whom are attached to the N.L.O.W.S.) when I say that we are grateful to the Suffragists for giving us that advertisement which it is not our method to seek for ourselves. While on the subject of the Dublin Suffragists' official organ, I may mention that Suffragists here seem to be slow to back their opinions with their money; their organ informs them that, unless they make haste to do so, it will soon be in financial difficulties. Meanwhile it is endeavouring to assist itself by means of what I may, I think, fairly describe as an indirect boycott of tradespeople, when I read that "a scheme is on foot to push its special claims as a means of bringing commodities under the direct notice of readers who are specially interested in supporting such firms as support the organ of the Suffrage movement in Ireland." I have asked several leading Dublin tradesmen their opinions of this extraordinary manœuvre. They tell me that its value for influencing their public in favour of the Suffragists is on a par with the policy of smashing their windows.

SUFFRAGIST "LITERATURE."

At this juncture Dublin Suffragists have a particular reason to be angry with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The Secretary of the Dublin Branch has done a useful service by writing to the Press in order to call attention to a little-known aspect of the Suffrage movement—the distribution among young girls of literature dealing with

the sex question. In London there have recently been some ugly revelations of the extent of this traffic, but very few people have suspected the wide growth of this essential factor of the Suffrage movement. Political agitation is the atmosphere of Ireland, and many people have been under the erroneous impression that the movement is solely political, and have treated it with a certain measure of respect in consequence. Such people adopt a very different attitude towards the Suffragists now that they realise the methods by which Suffragists in Dublin attempt to make proselytes. The dissemination of this "literature" has been carefully concealed from the general public; there is a vigilance committee here which gives short shrift to such stuff. The knowledge that Dublin Suffragists have not hesitated to bring into the hands of children of fifteen or sixteen even the particularly unclean organ of neo-feminism, has caused a pronounced revulsion of feeling even among sympathisers with "the cause."

THE MOUNTJOY RELEASE.

Last month, writing of the release of Mrs. Leigh from Mountjoy Prison, I indicated that the release of her fellow-prisoner, Miss Gladys Evans, might be expected. Miss Evans served about two weeks more of her sentence than Mrs. Leigh. She was, in fact, in prison for two months out of her term of five years. I learn that she did not attempt to resist forcible feeding, and that in her case, unlike that of Mrs. Leigh, who was very seriously ill when she was released, "medical grounds" for release was little more than a legal fiction. Suffragists here threatened the Lord Lieutenant with a course of public persecution; they initiated that campaign; Miss Evans was immediately released. Both the authors of the Theatre Royal outrage are now at liberty. Suffragists have an apt quotation—"The law's an ass." Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans were released on ticket-of-leave. They have complied with none of the formalities which such a release demands; the condition of weekly report has been altogether ignored. Their release might, therefore, be revoked immediately, if the law is not to fall into still deeper contempt. However, their re-imprisonment would be a farcical proceeding, unless the authorities are prepared to obey popular opinion—endorsed now by legal authority—and follow Mr. Bernard Shaw's historic advice. Of that there appears to be no immediate prospect.

THE HOME RULE BILL AMENDMENT.

The Suffragist campaign in support of the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill is growing more vigorous as the date of discussion on Clause 9 draws nearer. I learn on substantial Nationalist authority that Mr. Crawshaw Williams' blocking amendment was put down by arrangement with the Nationalist Party. It is extremely probable that the original Suffrage amendment will be jumped by the "Kangaroo." A prominent Nationalist assures me that, in any case, the amendment is certain to be defeated. There are hints here that, in such an event, there will be more Suffragist outrages in Dublin. When I remember what the streets of Dublin were like at the time of the Theatre Royal outrage, I can only hope that Irish Suffragists will not be mad enough to provoke again to retaliation the lowest elements of a Dublin crowd.



"ALL THAT WAS LEFT OF THEM—
NOBLE SIX (HUNDRED)!"

A DEPUTATION.

THE SUFFRAGIST POINT OF VIEW.

A DEPUTATION from the Highgate Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage waited on Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. for North St. Pancras, at his chambers, 41, Parliament Street, S.W., on Thursday, October 3rd. The deputation was introduced by the Rev. D. R. Fotheringham, and consisted of Colonel Cowley, Hon. Treasurer of the Branch, Mrs. Cowley, acting President and Secretary.

Mr. Fotheringham, in introducing the deputation, said that they were aware of the fact that the Member was a Suffragist, but at the same time they wished to put before him the reasons for which they were opposed to the granting of the Suffrage to women. These, he said, might be regarded as a matter of general principle, or they could be looked at from a detailed point of view with reference to particular measures before Parliament. Mr. Fotheringham dealt with the latter

aspect. He paid a high tribute to the useful work done by women, but emphasised their limitations in political life. In conclusion, he pointed out that there is no indication that *Woman Suffrage* is wanted or desired by the majority of the people.

Mrs. Cowley then said she would like to be allowed to put certain questions. On Mr. Dickinson's assurance that he would be very pleased to answer such questions, she asked him:—

- (1) What he intended to propose giving to women?
- (2) Would he be prepared to have a referendum on the question of *Woman Suffrage*, or put it before the electors as a definite issue?
- (3) Did he think it fair, the Anti-Suffragists in St. Pancras being in the majority, that *Woman Suffrage* should be brought forward without so much as consulting the Anti-Suffrage women and letting them have a say in the matter?

Mrs. Cowley said she had approached Mr. Cassel (M.P. for West St. Pancras), and he had replied that he is making arrangements for a referendum on the question.

Continuing, Mrs. Cowley said that she had herself been a Suffragist for seventeen years; that she knew women's work, and how important it is, being herself a great worker for women and amongst women, and having a Branch of 85 girls under her care. She worked, moreover, in the schools, and was a manager of a L.C.C. school. She had taken a canvass in Hampstead, and found quite the majority of women against the Suffrage. She thought it very wrong to bring in the Suffrage question without consulting the women.

Mrs. Cowley then spoke of the law as at present in force. She pointed out the work open to women at present without the Parliamentary vote, saying that she could give a hundred women work in her own district alone, if only they wanted it. This work would be more useful than going into politics.

Colonel Cowley asked Mr. Dickinson whether he was in favour of the Norwegian system. Also whether Mr. Dickinson would let the members of the deputation know if he was in favour of all women getting votes by Adult Suffrage.

Mr. Dickinson said: I have listened very carefully to Mr. Fotheringham, and quite appreciate the points he made. But to my mind the whole thing depends upon the point of view from which you look upon the vote. A great many of these questions, which I will answer in detail presently, depend upon the point of view. Now I look upon the vote as the right of every person who is governed by which he or she can direct the Government. That being so, it seems to me a point of absolute justice, quite apart from expediency. For women, with every adult person, should have that right, and I have always failed to see what reason there was, if there are any reasons, sufficiently grave to entitle men to refuse what I say is the right of every governed woman as well as man in any State which is governed on a constitutional basis. Another principle, which governs at any rate my action with regard to this, arises somewhat in connection with what Mr. Fotheringham said in regard to the attitude of women in other work. Church work, for instance, or social work. Now, I have all my life been connected with ladies who have taken a great and active part in work of a social kind. Not only education, guardians, and so forth, but all kinds. My experience has led me to believe that women are quite as efficient as men for a great deal of that work. I believe that, far from disadvantageously affecting politics by including women, you will improve them immensely. I am so convinced of that that it is the reason why I have always been a whole-hearted supporter of Woman Suffrage. I have a most firm belief myself that politics, with which I have had a great deal to do (I have stood for about 15 or 16 elections of different kinds), I believe that politics will be improved by bringing in what is undoubtedly the softening influence of women. Now this seems to be the experience of some of the American States. And I am informed also that in Australia the conduct of elections has been improved since women had the vote. I look upon giving the vote to women as something which will, in my opinion at any rate, very much raise the status of politics. The question in my mind, if I may say so, is far above the mere criticism of detail.

As to detail: Mr. Fotheringham has drawn attention to the objection which will arise from putting women into competition with men. No one wants to see them in competition with men. But as the condition of affairs is now all over the world, such a state of things arises. I do not think that any political arrangement could stop it now. The march of affairs has brought women into competition in all walks of life with men. I cannot help believing that the introduction of women in the various professions and business has been generally good. I cannot see that it should not be good in the field of politics. Another point often made, but I do not know if it is of very great weight. Mr. Fotheringham said we should not put women in the forefront of battle, and politics resemble the field of battle. It is because I look upon politics as the field of battle, and inasmuch as the constitution of force in politics has undoubtedly changed, and ought to point to the abolition of force as a political weapon,

my view is that the introduction of women will do still more to bring this about.

With regard to another point made by Mr. Fotheringham, that this will be an important constitutional change, and that there is no demand for it. I do not think you can say that there is no demand, or only a little demand, for it. We can only judge this by what we know to be the opinion of the people who represent the country. Somehow or another, during the last few Parliaments, there has been undoubtedly a majority, and during the last Parliament a very considerable majority indeed, of men who have expressed themselves in favour of giving votes to women. Well now, I must say I do not believe with you that you can find 400 or 500 Members of Parliament who have this opinion, and have expressed it, when there is nothing behind it. They have no practical reason to express it. I think for many reasons the members who are in favour of Woman Suffrage might jeopardise their position rather than improve it. Yet a large number of them say they are in favour of it. This, in my mind, shows there is a very large demand for it.

To answer Mrs. Cowley's questions. To the first, No, at once. Not because I am afraid of it, but because in the first place I have always been of opinion that the referendum is not a reasonable system to adopt in this country, and not a successful system in any country. In particular in regard to this it is difficult to see to whom you would make the referendum.

Col. Cowley: What would you do if you had the majority of your constituents opposed to the Bill?

Mr. Dickinson: In our system members are not sent to Parliament with direct instructions upon a particular point. We do not refer one single question to the electors, but when Parliament is elected the members are at liberty to deal with these questions as they think best. I think the best thing is to elect your member and leave him to deal with the questions which arise in the best way he can. Under any circumstances I think under the present system the Members of Parliament are entitled to do what they think themselves justified in doing. I feel myself absolutely justified. I have always put in my election address that I am in favour of Adult Suffrage. I have stood for Parliament five times. I am in favour of giving all men votes, even if it means giving all women votes. Every individual who is governed by the laws has a right to the vote. I do not think that any limiting of the women to be enfranchised will exclude what might be called "undesirable women." In the municipal vote all that is required is the occupation of a room. Therefore that does not necessarily mean that only strictly desirable women get the vote.

The amendment I have put down is to meet the objection that this is a more sudden enfranchisement of women than has ever been given to men. This is the reason of the proposal, which, as you know, Lord Robert Cecil has made, that the present municipal voters should have the vote. That would be one woman out of every thirteen. My problem is to recognise that the women who are heads of families should have the vote, about one in every two.

Col. Cowley: Are you in favour of women being admitted to Parliament and the

Cabinet, and having control of foreign affairs?

Mr. Dickinson: I am not afraid of women being in Parliament, or anything. The question as to whether women shall go into Parliament is a question for the electors themselves. To judge from other countries, very few women will get into Parliament. As things are at present arranged, the strain of Parliament is so heavy that it is a work that very few women would be able to undertake. Also it deals with a good many subjects, other than municipal subjects, which the voters would not think women fit to deal with.

Mrs. Cowley: What is going to happen to the home?

Mr. Dickinson: I cannot believe that many women will get into Parliament. A woman of considerable ability whom I know has been trying for many years (in another country) to get into Parliament, but has not been able. I do not believe that the distinction which exists between men and women is of such a difference that it would affect the question of their taking part in political work. I am sure it has not affected the question of municipal matters.

Mrs. Cowley: But that is quite different. Those are merely domestic matters.

Mr. Dickinson: I think that there are many women who can and do give a great deal of attention to municipal work. I think there is as much objection to a Parliament completely composed of men as there would be to a Parliament completely composed of women.

Mrs. Cowley then asked about the Suffragist agitation regarding the vote raising the wages of women. Mr. Dickinson said that he had a profound contempt for such an argument; there was nothing in it; but he thought there would be a tendency of M.P.'s to give more attention to women's work and wages.

After some little discussion, the deputation withdrew after thanking Mr. Dickinson for his courtesy in receiving them.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE HOUSE AT "SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND."

CLOSED AFTER A SUCCESSFUL SEASON.

WITH the close of the season at Earl's Court Exhibition came the conclusion of our five months' entirely successful tenancy of 56, Staples Inn, "Shakespeare's England." On October 12th the bright little house which has been the scene all the summer of such an interesting Anti-Suffrage campaign, was dismantled, and we are contemplating with delighted satisfaction the results of the work which has been done.

At the sign of "Ye Folke Guild to Withstand Ye Rule of Feminye" we have entertained visitors—sympathisers—from all corners of the globe. India and Ceylon, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, China, Japan, North and South America, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Italy were all represented, and it is a significant fact that we should have received so much support from the Overseas Dominions, especially from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. English residents from all over the Continent enrolled themselves as members, and a large percentage of foreigners and Americans who were not qualified to join the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage

expressed warm sympathy with its objects, and gave contributions to the collecting box.

We have enrolled between two and three thousand yearly subscribers to the League, and obtained between thirty and forty thousand signatures to the Anti-Suffrage petition. In addition to this, of course, there has been the brisk sale of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, literature, post-cards of well-known Anti-Suffragists, badges, ribbons and decorations in our colours.

A glance at the petition forms reveals the astonishingly varied walks in life of our supporters, and it is particularly interesting to note the "infinite variety" of the professions of woman Anti-Suffragists.

The Services have proved to be our hearty supporters, and for the curious it may be recorded that the Bandmaster and each musician of all the bands that have performed at the Exhibition during the season signed our petition!

We wish to thank most heartily all the voluntary helpers from the Branches who have given such devoted work at the house all through the season. Their enthusiasm has been thoroughly appreciated, and they rendered most valuable assistance to our Organiser-in-Charge, Mrs. Bray, to whose arduous labours so much of the success of 56, Staples Inn is due.

THE BEEHIVE.

THREE interesting meetings were held in St. Andrews during September by the Beehive. They were all addressed by Mrs. Pierson, of Tunbridge Wells. At the first, which took place in the Council Chamber on September 12th, the proceedings were, in accordance with the custom of the Society, opened with prayer by Lady Griselda Cheape; and Mrs. Pierson dwelt on the wide field of work open to women. She advocated Mrs. Humphry Ward's scheme of service on Local Government Boards, which provided the necessary scope—in a way that the Parliamentary vote would not—for those who really wished for the good of humanity.

The Beehive was formed to show women how much good they could do by quiet, loving

service. Dr. Maltier said that he was glad they had asked him to speak in support of the Cottage Hospital, which was a great boon to the people of the place. A collection was taken.

On the 13th a meeting was held at the Steam Laundry, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Milne. The proceedings were opened with prayer by Lady Griselda Cheape. Mrs. Pierson spoke on the pros and cons of Woman Suffrage. It was an enthusiastic meeting. A collection was taken, and many joined the Society.

On September 17th a third meeting was held in the Institute. Mrs. Pierson discussed Woman Suffrage from the working woman's point of view, and found her audience enthusiastic. A collection was taken for the Cottage Hospital, and tea was served. At the conclusion, a hearty vote of thanks was given to Mrs. Pierson for her excellent speech.

In all, twenty-nine new members joined, and £3 12s. 3d. was given to the Cottage Hospital.

THE VOTE IN AUSTRALIA.

SUFFRAGISTS are continually claiming for Woman Suffrage that it has achieved marvels in Australia and New Zealand, and that any superiority in the conditions of these countries over those of the United Kingdom is to be attributed to their wisdom in giving women the vote. In former issues of the REVIEW we have shown that conditions in our overseas Dominions are not necessarily as perfect as our Suffragist friends like to believe, although climate, absence of overcrowding, and other circumstances contribute to making life there healthier and easier and free the inhabitants from many of the problems that vex us. But a detailed investigation of the legislation that Suffragists set such store upon as the basis of Australia's happy lot, indicates that another fallacy underlies the Suffragist contention.

There are certain lines on which the influence of women's votes is supposed to

make itself particularly effective in bringing about the amelioration of the common weal. These have to do with the many aspects of social legislation, and it is claimed for the women's vote that it will do in the United Kingdom just what it has done in Australia and New Zealand to bring about the desirable state of affairs that prevails there. But we find that the greater portion of Australia's remedial or social reform legislation was introduced before the respective States had Woman Suffrage. Not all, it is true, but more than enough to prove that the spirit of reform was strongly established in the legislators before women were able to exercise the Parliamentary vote. Naturally, too, some of this legislation will have been revised and brought up to date, as is continually done in all States, non-Suffrage or Suffrage.

In the accompanying table we set out some of the principal Acts of a remedial nature, with the dates at which they were introduced and the dates when Woman Suffrage was first exercised. A comparison of these dates will show how much had been done with only just that influence which women exercise the world over because they are women, without any reference to the Parliamentary vote.

It will be noticed that South Australia, which was the first State to introduce Woman Suffrage, was the last, with the exception of Tasmania, to adopt a Shops and Factories Act and Old Age Pensions, and quite the last to pass a Dairies Supervision Act. Prison Reform in New South Wales dates from 1896, eight years before Woman Suffrage came, and has set a model for most of the other States.

Finally, in this connection, we may recall the interesting fact that New Zealand which, owing to climatic and other conditions, can lay claim to the lowest mortality among infants, only adopted in 1907, on the model of the English Act, a Notification of Births Act. The New Zealand Official Year Book quotes the opinion of the Registrar-General of England that this system, in conjunction with other forces, will serve "as a most effective and lasting barrier with which to stem the tide of infant mortality." In this case, England gave the lead.

	Woman Suffrage first exercised.	Public Health Act.	Dairies Supervision Act.	Infant Life Protection Act.	State Children's Relief Act.	Neglected Children's and Juvenile Offenders' Act.	First Offenders Treatment Act.	Remedial Treatment of Inebriates Act.	Shops and Factories Acts.	Old Age Pensions†.
South Australia ..	1896	1898	Under Food and Drugs Act of 1909	Under State Children's Act of 1895	1895	Dealt with under State Children's Act, 1895	1887	1881	1907	1909
West Australia ..	1900	1898	Under Agricultural Department 1901	Under State Children's, 1907	1907	1907	1892	1903	1904	1909
New South Wales ..	1904	1902	1901	1904	1901	1905	1894	1900	1896	1901
Tasmania ..	1906	1903	Comprehensive By-Laws 1904-5	1907	*	—	1886	1885	1910	1909
Queensland ..	1907	1900	1904-5	1905	—	—	1887	1896	1900	1908
Victoria ..	1909	1890	1905	1907	Included in Crimes Act and Neglected Children's, 1890	(Children's Courts in 1906) 1890	1890	1904	1905	1901

* "The credit of being the first State in the Commonwealth to provide for the Medical Inspection of Schools and School Children rests with Tasmania."—Year Book" p. 1132, par. 8. Began 1906.

† "While Pension age for men is sixty-five, it is for women, sixty."—Year Book," p. 1174, par. 5.

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

A SIGNIFICANT contribution to the controversy on this subject was made by Miss Gladys Pott in the course of a speech at Tunbridge Wells on October 22nd. Suffragists, Miss Pott pointed out, often said that the downfall of many women was due to "sweated wages." Against this contention she quoted Mr. Coote, of the National Vigilance Association, as having told her that he had never had an instance of a girl or woman whose fall was attributable to sweated wages. It was quite a false assumption.

There should be no need to point out that Anti-Suffragists and Suffragists have the same interest in the suppression of this traffic, and are equally desirous of bringing it about. They are working individually to this end. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill has been introduced by an Anti-Suffragist. It has undergone modifications in Committee, but these are attributable to the inherent difficulties of the problem, and not, as Suffragists would have us believe, to the wickedness of male legislators. In due course the Bill will become law, and we trust that its final form will correspond with the interests of the nation as a whole.

In regard to the public attention that has been drawn to this special measure, Anti-Suffragists will be the first to give full credit to Suffragists for their efforts in this direction, for their success abundantly confirms the Anti-Suffragist contention that women are always able to make their influence felt in legislation, without recourse to the parliamentary vote. At the same time, every right-minded woman and man must deprecate the pernicious attempt made by numbers of Suffragists to poison immature minds by agitating a subject in circles where no practical effect can be achieved. This has been done, not to advance the cause of morality or the passage of the particular Bill before Parliament, but merely to win over adherents to the Woman Suffrage movement by misrepresenting the true facts of the case.

In this connection we would draw attention to the following letter in the *Surrey Advertiser* :—

"A PROTEST.
To the Editor.

"SIR,—Yesterday I attended a meeting in the Christ Church Hall, Woking, held in support of the National Vigilance Association. The meeting was a large one, and very successful from every point of view, as it well deserved to be. There was, however, one jarring note, to which I think it right to call public attention. An attempt was made to hitch on the meeting to the Female Suffrage question, in order to support the suggestion (as I suppose) that the white slave traffic is due to the fact that English women do not possess the Parliamentary vote, and that this infamous traffic will never be suppressed until the vote is given to them.

"The meeting itself, and the work of the Association, as described by Mr. Nye, is, I think, a complete answer to any suggestion, for the following reasons :—

"(1) That the National Vigilance Association is composed not of women only, but of men as well as women.

"(2) That it has been in existence for nearly twenty-eight years, and was founded by the late Mr. W. T. Stead, to whom some facts relating to the traffic as it then existed

were related by a lady (Mrs. Josephine Butler).

"(3) That it has attained a position of national and international importance.

"(4) That a Bill framed by the Association is now before the House of Commons, having for its object certain amendments in the criminal law which will make it easier to lay hands on the persons (men and women) who are engaged in carrying on the white slave traffic, and that it will not be the fault of the members of the present Government if that Bill is not very shortly passed into law in exact accordance with the wishes of the Association.

"(5) That the work done by the Association in the direction of rescue and prevention in the past twenty-eight years, both at home and abroad, has been of incalculable public importance, and makes it possible to hope that the most horrible phases of the white slave traffic will ere long be put an end to.

"If this hope should be realised in the near future, the good results will not be due to Parliamentary votes given to or withheld from either women or men, but will be due to honest hard work on the part of both sexes acting in concert with one another, and creating a public opinion in all parts of the world that will no longer tolerate the shameful cruelty and wickedness which has been practised almost with impunity for many years past. If the cause of Female Suffrage is dependent on suggestions of the kind with which I have endeavoured to deal in this letter, I venture to think that it is not likely to make much progress in the minds of those persons who can grasp the true meaning of the work already accomplished by the National Vigilance Association.

"Yours, &c.,
"RICHARD C. GROSVENOR,
"Morrisburne House, Woking."

FOR LITTLE SUFFS.

TEN little militants tried to march in line, Scantlebury stopped one—and then there were nine.

Nine little militants tried to spoil debate, One met a chucker out—and then there were eight.

Eight little militants, full of Suffrage leaven, One "rose" too quickly—and then there were seven.

Seven little militants collared throwing bricks, One went to Holloway—and then there were six.

Six little militants, the quietest alive, One fired a pillar-box—and then there were five.

Five little militants out of half a score, One broke the Ballot Act—and then there were four.

Four little militants couldn't quite agree, So they expelled one—and then there were three.

Three little militants of the S.P.U. One couldn't stand the pace—and then there were two.

Two little militants tiring of the "fun," *Both turned sensible and now there is none.
*A hope rather than a prophecy.

PATRIOTISM UP TO DATE.

"We have reached the position where we are not really called upon to fight for our country, but are called upon to vote for it."—Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., at Oldham.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUFFRAGISTS IN WALES.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—I hope that you will allow me a little space in your columns to state a few facts supplementary to those in "Onlooker's" letter in your October number. He and I are agreed in feeling that "it is only fair to the general public that the following facts should be known" :—

(1) The placing of boulders in the river at Llanystumdwy with the object of damming it does not necessarily prove, as your correspondent seems to hold, that the intent of the crowd was not "murderous," but merely that it preferred to injure or to kill its

(Continued on page 271.)

THE SECRET OF DAINY FROCKS.

MUCH of a woman's charm depends upon the daintiness of her dress. Of course, with an unlimited purse at one's command it is comparatively easy to maintain this daintiness, but the woman of moderate means must have the gift of knowing how and where to economise if she is to keep up her appearance. A frock which looks "a perfect dream" on its arrival from the *modiste's* will lose its freshness in a very short time unless care is taken. It may get soiled so slightly and gradually that its owner scarcely notices it, but critics will not be wanting in her circle of friends who will see what, owing to daily familiarity, has escaped her own observation. It is a good plan, then, to examine one's wardrobe periodically—to scrutinise the dresses which are not being worn, because spots and stains upon a dress are frequently invisible to the wearer. So soon as one finds the original spruceness disappearing no time should be lost in enlisting the aid of a reliable firm of dry-cleaners. The cost of cleaning is slight indeed when one remembers the new lease of life which it gives to a dress which might otherwise be unwearable or at least dowdy in appearance. In selecting the cleaners it is necessary to make sure that they are a firm who can be trusted to do the work thoroughly without harming the fabric. Ordinary dry-cleaning will have no effect upon spots or stains caused by anything but grease. All other marks require special treatment, such as that adopted by Messrs. Achille Serre, Ltd., of Oxford Street. This treatment is so thorough that it removes stains and marks of every description, restores the shape and appearance of the garments, and by means of a special "finish," keeps them clean longer than is usual when cleaned by ordinary methods. The prices charged by this firm are exceptionally moderate, and the time taken to renovate a soiled gown or costume is only four days. All interested in dress economy should write for the little book "The Achille Serre Way." It gives prices, addresses of branches throughout the country, and much information of great value to the woman who would dress well on a limited allowance. All inquiries sent to Achille Serre, Ltd., 263, Oxford Street, W., receive immediate attention.

victims by drowning, rather than by dashing them on the rocks.

(2) With regard to the alleged "escape from the temporary prison" and recapture by the police of two of the women, I think that your correspondent is in error. The police, as they were well aware, were the women's best and almost only friends. Possibly, those women seen running across a field (not by your correspondent himself, but by his friend) were not Suffragettes. After all, women are much alike when seen at a distance.

(3) I myself was the woman whom "Onlooker" saw depart in the motor car. I did not attempt either to address or to threaten the crowd, for the simple reason that my voice could not possibly have been heard. Had I done so, however, I fail to see how it could account for or excuse the previous action of the crowd (I being the last of the interrupters). I raised my arm once—to salute our colours, which were waved by a man in the crowd.

(4) I was also the woman reported as "flung over a hedge" and "caught" by a policeman. The report was incorrect—there was no hedge left by the time I got there, and no policeman "caught" me, because the whole available force was by that time engaged in protecting earlier interrupters.

(5) I was correctly described as "half-stripped," but I bit no one. I should not have cared to bite any of the hands that tore my clothing off me.

(6) To my certain knowledge no Suffragette interrupter wore "a leather belt spiked with pins"; but had any one of them done so, I think the treatment of the women at Wrexham, where their breasts were seized and twisted, would have more than justified such protection.

(7) I can confidently state that no woman interrupter on this or on any other occasion received any sort of payment or reward for her action.

I am, &c.,

EMILY SHARP.

Red Cottage,
Cavendish Road, Redhill.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—In view of the exceedingly grave statement made by your correspondent "Onlooker" in the current number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, I feel justified in asking you to insert this letter in the next issue of your paper.

I was the only woman to be driven into Portmadoc, I held no conversation of any sort with the driver, and I certainly did not tell him or anyone else that I had and that I was to be paid for making my protest.

The two men, strangers to me, who drove with me into Portmadoc will be able to bear witness to this statement.

Neither I nor any one of the women who protested was paid.

And on no occasion has there been any question of payment and reward for service of this kind.

I feel sure that, having given prominence in your last issue to this mis-statement, you will give equal prominence to my correction.

I am, &c.,

ELIZABETH JORDAN.

84, King Henry's Road,
Chalk Farm, N.W.

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EVENING GOWN, as sketch, in soft satin, with draped tunic of ninon and bugle embroidery. Bodice of fine lace veiled crêpe ninon. In ivory, black and various colourings.

98/6

EVENING GOWN, as sketch, in satin charmeuse, with tunic of crêpe chiffon edged pearl trimming. Bodice of chiffon and fine lace finished at waist with rose and satin band. In ivory, black and newest shades.

6½ Gns.

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Miss Showell, 56, Jasper Street, Bedminster.
Miss Bull, St. Vincent's Lodge, Bristol.

WALES.

Towyn.

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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. W. Jones, ("Brydir.")
Hon. Secretary:

Carnarvon.

Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Lloyd Jones, "Bryn Seiont," Twthill, Carnarvon.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Wednesday, November 13th, at 11.30 a.m. These meetings are open to all the Presidents and Branch Secretaries of the League, and it is much hoped that all those who are able to do so will attend, regardless of special invitations. Due notice of all these meetings is always given in the REVIEW. We are anxious that they should be regarded as affording common ground for discussions and as a medium for mutual help and sympathy among the Branches. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Blaenau Festiniog.—A most promising Branch has been started here with a nucleus of seventy members and associates. The first public meeting was held on September 26th in the Town Hall, the audience numbering nearly 1,000, and showing great

enthusiasm. The chair was taken by Mr. W. Jones (known by his bardic name of "Brydir"). Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave a most interesting address.

Bristol.—The increase in membership of the Bristol Branch goes on steadily. Ninety-four new members have joined during the last month, and the total membership now stands at 2,618. Sub-committees have been formed at Bristol East, Bristol North and Bristol South. The Bedminster members have sent a petition to the Member for Bristol South, Sir William Howell Davies, praying him to oppose any measure which includes, or may be amended to include, provision for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country.

Chelsea.—We very much regret to announce the death of two of our most important supporters in the work of this Branch, Mrs. Furneaux and Mrs. Odell. Their help and sympathy will be very much missed.

Chelsea is extending its borders rapidly, and has doubled its membership within the last twelve months.

Criccieth.—A very successful meeting was held in the Town Hall, Criccieth, on October 4th, the chair being taken by Mr. Hugh Gryffydd. Speeches were made by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Hughes, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with only three dissentients.

Cupar.—A very successful meeting in connection with the Cupar Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League was held in the Duncan Institute on October 4th. Lady Anstruther (Balcaskie) was in the chair, and made a brief speech on the real prestige of women in the world; and said that they intended to go round and talk to people, hold meetings, distribute literature, and generally stir up the people of Cupar to give expression to their feelings on the question of Woman Suffrage.

Miss Gemmill explained the object and constitution of the S.N.A.S.L., and said that the League must prove by their numbers that they were the stronger party.

Dr. Douglas, in a long and well-reasoned speech, moved the resolution that a Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League be formed for active work in Cupar.

Mrs. D. Wallace seconded the resolution, and the meeting agreed.

The office-bearers of the Cupar Branch now stand as: President, Lady Anstruther, Balcaskie; Vice-President, Lady Lowe, Kilmaron; Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. A. Lamond, Southview; Assistant Secretary, Mrs. D. Wallace.

Arrangements were made for the circulation (for signatures) of a petition against Woman Suffrage, to be presented to Major Anstruther-Gray, M.P. for the St. Andrews Burghs. Dr. Douglas mentioned that a copy of the petition had been left in the Cupar Conservative Club, and had been freely signed. On the motion of Lady Griselda Cheape, a vote of thanks to Lady Anstruther was passed.

East Berks.—A deputation from the East Berks Branch waited on Mr. Ernest Gardner, the Unionist M.P., at his residence, "Spencers," Maidenhead, on October 4th.

The deputation, which was headed by Lord George Pratt, included Colonel Van de Weyer and Mr. Robert Watson, of Ascot.

Lord George Pratt urged Mr. Gardner to do all in his power to resist any amendment to the Franchise Bill that was to be introduced

in the Autumn Session which would extend the franchise to women.

Mr. Gardner said, in reply, that he held the opinion that if a woman were a householder and also the head of the household and paid rates and taxes she should have the vote. But the deputation could be perfectly satisfied that he would not vote for the proposed amendment of the Bill. However, if it were made to contain the limits he had expressed, he would feel bound to support it. He would not vote for any Bill that carried with it Suffrage to married women.

Guildford.—A very successful campaign was held in the Surrey villages in and around Guildford during the first week in October, the result of which has been that a decided impetus has been given to Anti-Suffrage work in this part of the country.

The first meeting was held at Shalford on the last day of September, where, in spite of torrential rain, there was a very large gathering in the village hall.

Rear-Admiral Tudor presided, and an address was given by Miss Helen Page. Mr. J. W. Ford also spoke briefly; and, at the conclusion of the addresses, a number of written questions were handed up from the body of the hall and successfully answered in every case.

A good number of new members of the League were enrolled before the meeting dispersed.

Mr. Dalton presided over a well-attended meeting in the Constitutional Hall, Bramley, on October 1st, when the speaker again was Miss Helen Page. It is gratifying to note that, in spite of the tempestuous weather which again prevailed there was a satisfactorily large audience. Questionings from the Suffragist element in the hall were dealt with in a thoroughly able manner, and a vote of thanks to the speaker was passed on the motion of Miss Onslow, President of the Guildford Branch.

There was an interesting meeting on October 3rd in Mr. Wood's Club Reading Room at West Clendon. Mr. R. Pearce was in the chair, and Miss Helen Page spoke for some time. A resolution that the admission of women to the franchise would be a danger to the welfare of the community was carried with only two dissentients in a large audience.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was also carried at a meeting in Merrow Village Hall on October 4th. Sir Arthur Martindale presided over a good audience, and Miss Page was again the speaker. Miss Onslow, President of the Guildford Branch, also gave a brief address. The speakers were supported on the platform by several local influential residents.

A public meeting that had been arranged for October 2nd for Albury had to be abandoned because a public hall was not available; but a very successful, though informal, drawing-room meeting was held, by the kind invitation of Admiral and Mrs. Tudor, at Burnham, Shalford. Miss Helen Page gave an interesting address, and a number of new members were enrolled.

Hackney.—Amongst recent interesting debates on the subject of Woman Suffrage was one which took place on September 30th at the Y.M.C.A., Stamford Hill. The attendance was large, and Mr. Porter, Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., was in the chair.

Miss Fielding, of the L.S.W.S., who was supported by a number of local Suffragists,

put a resolution in favour of women's votes. Mr. Maurice Liverman, Hon. Secretary of our Hackney Branch, made an excellent speech in opposition, and most successfully answered a number of questions that were put to him. An interesting general discussion followed. Through the efforts of the Suffragists present, their resolution was carried, but there was nevertheless a strong Anti-Suffrage element in the audience.

Hackney (South).—By the unanimous desire of the members of the South Hackney Victoria Conservative Club (who earlier in the year had been addressed on separate occasions by both ladies), a debate took place on October 15th between Miss Mabel Smith and Mrs. Mustard, of the Women's Freedom League. Miss Smith received hearty support from many members of the audience, but no resolution was put.

Lincolnshire.—New ground has been broken in Lincolnshire, and the result of a most successful campaign there is that a strong Branch has been formed for the Horncastle Division, with four flourishing sub-branches—Spilsby, Spalding, East Kirkby and Alford.

A drawing-room meeting was held on October 1st, at Hagnaby Priory, by kind invitation of Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman. The Rev. C. Davenport was in the chair, and Mrs. Lane gave an address on the aims and object of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

Captain Weigall, M.P., made an interesting speech, saying that he was glad of the opportunity of expressing his views. He was against the whole principle of Woman Suffrage, and that, after much thought and consideration. He had stated his views quite clearly at the time of his election to all the Suffragists who had approached him.

Votes of thanks to Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman and Mrs. Lane were proposed by the Rev. C. Basset and seconded by Rev. Y. Hales. Many of those present were enrolled as members of the League at the conclusion of the meeting.

Another very successful drawing-room meeting took place on September 30th at the residence of Mrs. Richardson, Halton House, Spilsby. General Richardson was in the chair, and after hearing an address from Mrs. Lane it was decided to form a sub-branch at Spilsby, Dr. Dean consenting to act as Treasurer.

A Branch was formed at East Kirkby on October 2nd at a drawing-room meeting held by the kind invitation of Mrs. Robinson, Manor House, East Kirkby. The Rev. C. Basset presided over an excellent attendance, and very interesting addresses were given by Mrs. Lane and Mrs. Richardson of Halton House. At the conclusion of the meeting nearly all those present were enrolled as members of the League.

The inaugural meeting of the Alford Branch was held in the Windmill Hotel, Mr. C. Loy presiding over a good audience. Mrs. Lane put the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and was seconded by Dr. E. Sandall in a very able speech. The resolution was carried unanimously, and a number of members were enrolled to form the nucleus of what is hoped will be a very successful Branch.

At an informal meeting held on October 7th at the Y.M.C.A., Spalding, it was decided to form a Branch here. A number of ladies heard an address from Mrs. Lane, and nearly every member of the audience joined as members.

Llanystumdwy.—A great deal of comment has appeared in the Press on the significant fact that the first public meeting held in the Lloyd George Institute at Llanystumdwy, since its formal opening, was a gathering of Anti-Suffragists! In view of recent events at Llanystumdwy, it is certainly very interesting to record that the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried, almost unanimously, at the conclusion of our meeting which took place on October 2nd. The Rev. Wyn Williams presided over a crowded attendance, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon delivered a capital speech on the ideals of Anti-Suffragists. Miss Hughes very much interested the audience by a fluent speech, delivered in Welsh, which was received most enthusiastically.

Manchester.—The Rev. Canon Paige Cox presided over a crowded meeting at the White City, Manchester, on October 5th, and delivered a striking address on the present aspect of the Woman Suffrage question.

Mrs. Harold Norris, in her speech, emphasised the fact that during the last year or so the Woman Suffrage movement had considerably lost ground, and that the main reason for this lay in the action of the militants.

Canon Paige Cox said that it might appear that opposing the Suffrage movement savoured of a want of chivalry, but opposition did not mean that they thought so little about women, but that they thought so much. His opinion was—let men give attention to the comparatively inferior work of legislation, and let women give the lead, as they had in the past, towards the things that were pure, and noble, and of good report.

The result of the last month's work in Manchester has been very gratifying, and a number of outdoor meetings have been held. On September 24th, Miss C. Moir addressed the Alexandra Park Parliament, and much enthusiasm was shown for the Anti-Suffrage movement.

The few Suffragist speakers who took part in the debate suffered frequent interruption. A very attentive hearing was given to our speakers by a crowd of about five hundred workmen at Old Trafford on September 26th, and on September 30th an open-air meeting, chiefly composed of working women, was very successful at Withington. On October 2nd Mr. F. O. Arnold made a very able speech at a large open-air meeting, held in the evening at Tib Street, City. Further open-air meetings were held on October 3rd and 4th, and addressed by Mrs. Harrison and Mr. W. M. C. Martin.

An open-air meeting of the Burnage Garden Village Debating Society took place on October 17th. Miss Janet Heyes, Secretary of the Women's Freedom League, moved a resolution that the franchise should be given to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men. Miss Moir opposed, and a very interesting discussion took place. The Suffrage resolution was defeated, and this result is all the more significant in regard to the fact that the Garden Village is reputed to be a stronghold of the Suffragist, there being a large membership of the Women's Freedom League, but no members of our League, resident there.

Newport.—The annual meeting of the Newport Branch took place on October 2nd in St. Mark's Room, Newport, when a large gathering of members came to hear the general reports of the Branch's work.

Mrs. Bircham was in the chair, and proved

both by balance sheet and the immense increase of the names in the subscribers' register that the Newport Branch has made gratifying progress during 1911-1912.

Miss Frothero, Hon. Secretary, read the general report and recorded the successful results achieved by a large number of meetings held throughout the town and district.

Mr. W. Gould moved, and Captain C. Harding seconded, the adoption of the report.

Later in the evening the guests of the Committee took part in a general meeting and enjoyed an excellent variety programme. Addresses were given by Mr. P. R. Gibbs and Mrs. Edgar Fennell.

Miss Limbrick, Miss Dorothy Phillips, Mrs. McFarlane and Mr. L. S. Davies contributed songs and sketches to a most interesting programme. Between thirty and forty new members joined the Branch at the conclusion of the meeting.

An interesting debate took place in the Y.M.C.A. Hall on October 3rd, Mr. D. E. Jackson in the chair. Miss Helen Fraser, of Cardiff, affirmed that "The Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women," and Mr. H. B. Samuels opposed. After Mr. Samuels had put an excellent case for Anti-Suffragism, a lively general discussion took place. Opponents were equally matched, and Miss Fraser's resolution was carried.

North Berks.—A social tea and meeting of members of the North Berkshire Branch, residing in and near Hagbourne and Didcot, was held in East Hagbourne on September 27th. A most interesting evening was spent by the gathering of over eighty members who were present. After tea, which was hospitably provided by Mrs. Fulford, of North Hagbourne, Miss Gladys Iott (Hon. Secretary of North Berks.) gave an address on the Anti-Suffrage movement, and announced that their membership in the constituency now numbered nearly 500.

A resolution thanking Major Henderson, M.P., for his support, and asking him to continue his opposition to all proposals for Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons, was passed. Through the kindness of Lady Wantage, President of North Berks, an interesting entertainment was given by a professional conjurer after the speeches.

North Hants.—Fine weather throughout the week enabled Mr. H. B. Samuels to carry out the full programme prepared for him by the North Hants Branch for his out-door campaign from October 14th to October 18th. Beginning at 5.30 on Monday with a good outdoor meeting at Minley, he proceeded later in the evening to Yateley, where he addressed another large audience, and finally had a splendid meeting at Blackwater.

On Tuesday, an informal meeting of about 100 men was addressed in the dinner-hour at the Government Factory at Farnborough, and in the evening 300 or 400 people heard Mr. Samuels at Cove. Thence he proceeded to North Camp, and spoke again. On Wednesday, at mid-day, the Wellington Printing Works, at Aldershot, were visited, and in the evening a very well-attended meeting was held in the High Street of the same town.

On Thursday, there was another workmen's meeting, and a drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. A. C. Matthew, Church Brookham, near Fleet. The chair was taken by Canon Pepys.

Later in the day, Mr. Samuels proceeded to

Fleet, and spoke to a large gathering outside the Oatsheaf Inn. On Friday, Mr. Samuels spoke at the "Reformer's Tree," and again in the evening at the Market Square, when there were about 300 present. There was some questioning from Suffragists, and when the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put it was carried by a show of 100 hands, the Suffragists having only eight adherents.

The week's campaign closed by a very successful meeting in the High Street, at Odiham, on Saturday.

Reading.—A most successful series of open-air meetings have been held in Reading by Mrs. Stocks and Mr. H. B. Samuels, and have aroused a good deal of local interest. A large amount of our literature was distributed at the gatherings, as well as at various works and factories during the dinner hour. The men and women workers at three of the large works expressed sympathy for and agreement with the objects of the N.L.O.W.S.

Salisbury.—On October 12th a deputation from the Salisbury and South Wilts Branch was received at Salisbury by Mr. Charles Bathurst (Unionist Member for South Wilts).

Lady Muriel Herbert (President) introduced the deputation, which consisted of the Countess of Radnor, Lady Stephenson, Mrs. Ralph Paget, Mrs. Swanston, Miss Olivier, Mrs. Clutterbuck, Colonel Tatham, Major Fisher, Captain Dubourg, Mr. C. Penruddocke, Mr. Henry Newbolt, Mr. F. S. Bradbeer, Mrs. Macan (Vice-President Alderbury Sub-Branch), Miss R. J. Stephenson (Vice-President Chalke Valley Sub-Branch), Miss E. M. Cripps (Salisbury Hon. Secretary), Mrs. Richardson (South Wilts. Hon. Secretary), and Miss Q. Carse (Hon. Secretary Wilton Sub-Branch).

Lady Muriel Herbert said that the deputation included both political parties, as well as women ratepayers. They thought Mr. Bathurst would like to know how large a proportion of his constituents were very strongly opposed to Woman Suffrage. Mr. Henry Newbolt then put the Anti-Suffrage case very clearly and fluently, and Mr. F. S. Bradbeer also spoke.

Mr. Newbolt said, stripped of its absurdities and also of its very violent arguments, the case for the women might be fairly put under three heads. They desired the vote, because, first of all, they said they were unrepresented; secondly, they said they were the equals of men, and as such had the same rights that men had; and, thirdly, that it would be to the good of the country that they should exercise the vote. The first point revealed at once a fundamental misconception under which they were labouring. Women were by no means unrepresented under our present system of Parliamentary government. While it might be admitted that women were men's equals, that did not say they were the equivalent of men. They had, he hoped it would be conceded, all the rights which men had, but those rights were not necessarily the right to a vote. A vote in England, unless he completely misunderstood the Constitution, was not a right, it was a function. It was obvious that women might have equal rights to men, but they could not possibly have the same functions. He was not concerned to argue that women would not exercise the vote as well as men, but he would point out that the State had conferred the vote in order to secure the

representation of the community. It did not give the vote to any person of any age or sex; it selected. It might be possible to have a principle of selection by which only those best fitted should receive the vote, but that was not our system. It might be impossible in practice to decide how many women and men should on that principle have the vote or should not have it. The logical conclusion of the present agitation would be the granting of the vote to every woman. In his opinion that would be a leap in the dark, and a serious loss without any corresponding gain. He believed that women would not gain more consideration by having the vote, but that the nation would lose a very valuable body of opinion which was brought to bear in a particular way. Men to a certain extent might be said to take one view of life, and women to a large extent might be said to take the other view. Women at present contributed an enormous body of powerful opinion, which was concerned very largely with the idealist view, the religious view, the moral view, and the poetical view. Men took a very practical and forcible view of life. If women were endowed with the vote, and induced to exercise it, they would insensibly adopt the point of view of men, to a very large extent, and to that extent the view of which he spoke would be lost to the community.

Mr. Bathurst, in replying, said that every chivalrous man in the House of Commons deemed it to be his proper and natural duty to speak for women, with the result that if there was a bias in the House of Commons he had no doubt that it was a bias in favour of the woman's standpoint. He was particularly conscious of the enormous political influence which women possessed. On the question whether there was or not a preponderance of opinion in favour of Woman Suffrage, he was going to suggest to them that the time had arrived when it might be desirable to get some exact facts. He noticed that there had been a Referendum on Woman Suffrage in various parts of the country, and in 102 out of 103 districts where women had been asked to state their opinion, the preponderating vote had been against Female Suffrage. It was a little remarkable that only about half of the women asked to vote vouchsafed a reply. It was unsatisfactory to himself not to know whether the claim of the Suffragists to be a predominating number of the women and electors in the constituency was well founded. Could they not set the issue at rest by having a Referendum to ascertain what every elector or every adult woman, or both, in the constituency felt on the subject? If they considered the suggestion worthy of adoption, he would be glad to contribute half of the cost of carrying it out.

After the Countess of Radnor had thanked Mr. Bathurst, the deputation withdrew.

Sheffield.—Mr. Arthur Balfour (ex-Master Cutler) presided at the annual meeting of the Sheffield Branch on October 7th. In moving the adoption of the annual report Mr. Balfour congratulated the Branch upon a gratifying progress disclosed. He remarked that he welcomed as a significant sign the adverse vote of so many thousands passed by the National Union of Teachers—formerly erroneously regarded as a stronghold of the Suffragists. Mrs. Arthur Balfour (ex-Mistress Cutler) made an interesting speech, and said that it was proposed that the Sheffield

Branch should commence a roll of working class sympathisers, to whom, in return for a nominal donation for a penny or a halfpenny, they might supply a card in the League colours, with information as to its object, and in other ways keep these members interested. She hoped that the idea would be well supported and worked by members of the Sheffield Branch.

Miss Watson seconded the adoption of the report and the balance sheet, and Mrs. Munns appealed to those present for some more active help in the work of the Branch.

It is gratifying to note that the balance sheet was a very satisfactory one, and that the membership of this Branch has steadily increased during the past year.

South Berks.—A debate arranged on behalf of the South Berks Branch by Mrs. Dickenson (late Hon. Secretary) was held on October 19th in the Constitutional Club, Pangbourne, between Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Margaret Robertson. The chair was taken by Dr. G. B. S. Hawes, and the hall, which holds about 250, was quite full. The resolution in favour of extending the franchise to qualified women, proposed by Miss Robertson and opposed by Miss Pott, was not put to the vote.

Southwold.—The first public meeting of this Branch was held on October 18th at the Constitutional Club, the chair being taken by Mr. Walter Heape. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Wenyon-Samuel addressed a large and interested audience from Southwold and the neighbourhood. Some discussion followed the speeches, and questions put by the opposition were admirably answered. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority, and votes of thanks to the speakers and the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

Toxteth (East and West), Liverpool.—An excellent new Branch has just been formed at East and West Toxteth (Liverpool). The inaugural meeting was held at 12, Bertram Road (by kind invitation of Mrs. Coventry and Miss Whiteway), on October 3rd, when a large audience of well known local residents was present. Miss Platt, who was in the chair, gave a very interesting address, and Miss Gostenhofer, Secretary of the Liverpool and Birkenhead and Wirral Branch, also spoke. At the conclusion of the meeting, a large number of members were enrolled, and the following officials were enrolled: Hon. Treasurer, Miss Crossfield; Hon. Secretary, Mrs. R. H. Case, 7, West Albert Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.

Worthing.—One of the most successful and interesting meetings of the past month was that held in St. James' Hall, Worthing, on October 15th, when impressive speeches were made by Mr. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., from the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott, who proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution.

There was a very large audience, and the questions asked by a number of Suffragists present served to add interest to the proceedings by reason of the very effective way in which they were answered.

Many members of our Worthing Branch were present to support the speakers. Miss Pott's proposal of the resolution was given in a characteristically quiet and well-reasoned address, and the keen argument of Mr. Mitchell-Innes's speech appealed strongly to the audience.

The resolution was put to the vote, and carried amid great enthusiasm by a good majority.