

# 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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LONDON, OCTOBER 1ST, 1912.

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### OCTOBER MEETINGS.

OCTOBER 1ST TO 4TH, GUILDFORD CAMPAIGN.—Speaker, Miss Helen Page. Meetings: October 1st, Bramley, 8 p.m.; October 2nd, Albury, 8 p.m.; October 3rd, West Clevedon, 8 p.m.; October 4th, Merrow, 8 p.m.

OCTOBER 1ST TO 10TH, NEWPORT (MON.) OUTDOOR CAMPAIGN.—Mr. H. B. Samuels.

OCTOBER 5TH, MANCHESTER.—White City. Mrs. Harold Norris.

OCTOBER 8TH, CHINGFORD.—3 p.m. Debate. Women's Liberal Association. Spicer Memorial Hall. Miss Mabel Smith.

OCTOBER 9TH, BRISTOL.—8 p.m. Day's Training College. Debate.

OCTOBER 14TH TO 21ST, NORTH HANTS. OUTDOOR CAMPAIGN.—Mr. H. B. Samuels.

OCTOBER 15TH, WORTHING.—8 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott, Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C.

OCTOBER 18TH, SOUTHWOLD.—8 p.m.

OCTOBER 19TH, PANGBOURNE.—Debate. Miss G. Pott v. Miss Robertson.

OCTOBER 21ST, HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM GROUP C.S.U., AGATE ROAD.—8.15. Debate. Miss M. Smith v. Member L.S.W.S.

OCTOBER 22ND, TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—Miss Gladys Pott.

OCTOBER 23RD, DULWICH.—8 p.m. Debate. Miss Gladys Pott v. Miss Helen Ward.

OCTOBER 24TH, DEAL.—5 p.m. Chair, Lord George Hamilton. Speakers: Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Mr. Arthur Page.

OCTOBER 25TH, BROCKHAM (DORKING).—8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

OCTOBER 29TH, RUGBY.—Debate. Miss Gladys Pott.

OCTOBER 31ST, GREAT MISSENDEN.—Miss G. Pott v. Lady Frances Balfour.

### POSTAGE ON THE "REVIEW."

It has been found impossible to keep the weight of "The Anti-Suffrage Review" below 2 ozs., and Subscribers are reminded that the postage on each number is now 1d. The price of the annual subscription, with postage, will in future be 2s.

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### A GREAT

## Anti-Suffrage Demonstration

will be held in

**St. Andrew's Hall,  
GLASGOW,**

on

**Friday, November 1st, 1912.**

**Lord Glenconner**

will be in the Chair.

Among the Speakers will be:—

**Lord Curzon,**

**Lady Tullibardine.**



## A CRITICAL STAGE.

THERE is no reason to dispute the Suffragists' view that their cause has reached a critical stage. It is the fashion to speak of Woman Suffrage as having been before the British public for forty or sixty years—"the forty years," as one writer expresses it, "in which women toiled hopelessly, uncomplainingly, for the vote." But in regard to the period during which the public mind has actually been exercised on the subject, the question is purely of mushroom growth. For a few years only has the British public taken cognizance of the movement for extending the parliamentary vote to women. At first it maintained a dispassionate attitude; there was a distinct inclination to allow the movement the fullest scope in order that the real meaning of it might be discovered; a hearing was always accorded to Suffragists, and with the knowledge that no definite result was likely to follow, Parliament itself offered the theory of Women's Franchise its platonic approval. The action of the House of Commons, however, bore no relation to public opinion on the subject; Woman Suffrage came under the same category as, say, the Daylight Saving Bill, only with a certain amount of additional annoyance attaching to it. At the time when the public, after quietly examining the Suffrage movement, was making up its mind that it had, in common parlance, "no use for it," the Suffragists appear, with unerring instinct, to have anticipated the verdict, and to have decided upon a change of tactics. If the enfranchisement of women could not be won on its own merits, it must be wrested from an unwilling public by other methods. Persuasion having failed, more melodramatic arguments had to be used. Then began the era of militancy on the one hand and demonstrative appeals on the other. While one section of the Suffragists sought to gain the vote by breaking windows and the personal baiting of Ministers, the remainder trusted to processions and plays, to garden parties and caravanning, and—at the climax of their

despair—the advertised road march to Edinburgh. The leaders in the meantime have vainly sought for a short cut to the vote: Mrs. Pankhurst, by militancy; Mrs. Fawcett, by political bargaining and financing the Labour Party; Mrs. Despard, by the boycott; Lady Selborne, by social ostracism. No movement could survive the condemning futility of such expedients.

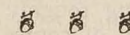
As far, then, as popular inclination is concerned, the country has at no time been within measurable distance of Woman Suffrage. Anyone can confirm this statement by watching the attitude of a chance audience at half-a-dozen open-air meetings for or against Woman's Franchise. That Suffragists have realised this aspect is shown by the fact that, apart from the unwillingness to submit the question to a referendum, there is no longer the same confidence in the tone of either leaders or followers. Suffrage energies, as exemplified in its Press, are now directed towards side issues—a quarrel over militancy, the justice of forcible feeding, the value of forced promises—or where some excuse for the demand for the vote has to be given, stale and inaccurate assertions are repeated. In order to overcome one of the most glaring of the weaknesses of the Suffrage movement—that it failed entirely to appeal to the majority of women themselves—the fiction was started that the Parliamentary vote is an industrial factor with direct influence on wages. The theory, in one form or another, is never absent from a Suffragist platform. Some one suggested that five million women were engaged in industry, and received on an average 7s. 6d. a week. The statement has been disproved by official publications; but it is reiterated at one time or another by practically every Suffragist speaker. Not one is troubled by its inaccuracy, nor do they pause to think that at this very moment Labour, as far as the men are concerned, is showing that it places far more reliance on economic power than on the political vote, to which it attaches comparatively little significance. But, although the country

may not feel drawn to Woman Suffrage, that is no reason in the eyes of Suffragists why the vote should not be thrust upon it. Popular indifference or hostility has caused them to redouble their efforts to obtain the franchise over the heads of the electorate. Autocracy is the soul of the Suffrage Societies, and the leaders have no thought to spare for public opinion. By hook or by crook, Woman Suffrage has to be wrung from a harassed Government and a distracted House of Commons. The Franchise Bill in the coming session supplies the Suffragists' opportunity. If they fail in this Parliament, they know that they can expect no mercy from the electorate. Hence the crisis in the Suffrage movement.

For Anti-Suffragists, therefore, the situation is also critical, for it is necessary to drive home the advantages we have already gained. While there can be no doubt of the reserve of strength that we have in the country at large, we have to realise that our opponents will not risk a straightforward contest, but have transferred the fight to the narrow precincts of Parliament, where they hope to benefit from conflicting interests and immoral bargains. From the attitude of the man in the street, who may be openly hostile to Woman Suffrage, or, good-humouredly indifferent, we may derive all possible encouragement; but we cannot leave the matter to his passive resistance. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was called into existence, not to create antagonism to the vote—an unnecessary step—but to give expression to the widespread opposition to the Suffrage movement. It has enabled the people of Great Britain to show that they have no sympathy with an artificial agitation, but it has not yet inflicted a final defeat on those who are carrying on a guerilla warfare in Parliament. This can only be achieved by the rejection of all Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise and Registration Bill. During the course of the next few months, therefore, Anti-Suffragists cannot afford to relax their efforts. Members of Parliament must be given no excuse for supposing that, if they vote in favour of any Woman Suffrage amendment, they are carrying out the wishes of a majority of their constituents; the Government must be made to feel that in giving the Suffrage movement its quietus they have the active support of the country behind them.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

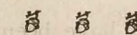
DURING the absence of Mrs. Moberly Bell, who is shortly leaving for a visit to India, Miss Gladys Pott has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary of the League. Miss Pott will take over her duties on November 1st.



## Mr. Gladstone and the Suffrage.

THE attitude of the late Mr. Gladstone on the subject of Woman Suffrage is well known, and his opinion that the vote must inevitably carry with it a seat in the House of Commons is often quoted, as well as the memorable words: "I have no fear lest the woman should encroach upon the power of the man. The fear I have is lest we should invite her unwittingly to trespass upon the delicacy, the purity, the refinement, the elevation of her own nature, which are the present sources of its power." There are, however, many other passages in a letter that the great Liberal leader wrote in 1892, which may well be commended to the attention of his Party at the present day. The introduction of Woman Suffrage he characterised as "a change which obviously, and apart from disputable matter, ought not to be made without the fullest consideration and the most deliberate assent of the nation as well as of Parliament. . . . The subject has occupied a large place in the minds of many thoughtful persons, and of these a portion have become its zealous adherents. . . . but the subject is as yet only sectional, and has not really been taken into view by the public mind at large." If in the intervening years any progress on these lines has been made, it is in the direction of a public repudiation of the movement, although the "zealous adherents" may still be there and may have increased in numbers. Mr. Gladstone continued: "There are very special reasons for circumspection in this particular case. There has never within my knowledge been a case in which the franchise has been extended to a large body of persons generally indifferent about receiving it. But here, in addition to a widespread indifference, there is on the part of large numbers of women who have considered the matter for themselves the most positive objection and strong disapprobation." The proposed change is spoken of as being a fundamental change in the whole social function of woman in view not only of

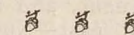
what a Suffrage measure enacts, but also of what it involves. What a Bill enacts, the letter goes on to say, "is simply to place the individual woman on the same footing in regard to Parliamentary elections as the individual man. She is to vote, she is to propose or nominate, she is to be designated by the law as competent to use and to direct, with advantage not only to the community but to herself, all those public agencies which belong to our system of Parliamentary representation. She, not the individual woman, marked by special tastes, possessed of special gifts, but the woman as such, is by this change to be plenary launched into the whirlpool of public life, such as it is in the nineteenth and such as it is to be in the twentieth century." Mr. Gladstone thought it "impossible to deny that there have been and are women individually fit for any public office, however masculine in character; just as there are persons under the age of twenty-one better fitted than many of those beyond it for the discharge of the duties of full citizenship. In neither case does the argument derived from exceptional instances seem to justify the abolition of the general rule." He added: "A permanent and vast difference of type has been impressed upon women and men respectively by the Maker of both. Their differences of social office rest mainly upon causes, not flexible and elastic like most mental qualities, but physical, and in their nature unchangeable. . . . I recognise the subtle and profound character of the differences between them (the sexes), and I must again, and again, and again deliberate before aiding in the issue of what seems an invitation by public authority to the one to renounce as far as possible its own office, in order to assume that of the other." Finally, Mr. Gladstone wrote: "I admit that we have often, as legislators, been most unfaithful guardians of her (woman's) rights to moral and social equality. And I do not say that full justice has in all things yet been done, but such great progress has been made in most things, that in regards to what may still remain, the necessity for violent remedies has not yet been shown."



## Woman's Rights.

IN an interesting address on Woman Suffrage at Chatauqua, New York State, which is quoted in the September number of *The Protest*, Miss A. H. Chittenden refers to the mistaken theory that the movement represents a

progressive step. This question of investing women with political responsibility, she points out, is erroneously associated in the minds of many with all the marked changes which have taken place in woman's position during the past half-century; but there is, as a matter-of-fact, a wide difference between civil rights, which constitute individual freedom, and political power and responsibility which in reality is the imposition of public duties which must be performed for the best interests of the State. Many legal disabilities have been removed, and rights and privileges exceeding those of men have been granted to woman. Colleges and universities have opened their doors to her; the medical and other professions have admitted her to membership. All these changes have been in the natural line of development, for all have been an extension of woman's civil or private rights, and the course of progress always lies in this direction. But personal freedom has nothing to do with sovereign authority. The extension of Suffrage to woman does not mean the extension of another right to the individual woman, but rather the imposition of another duty upon all women in addition to those which they carry already.

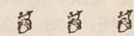


## The Vote in America.

THE first of the five States in the United States of America in which an attempt was to be made this autumn to thrust the franchise upon women has recorded its verdict with no uncertain voice. By a majority of nearly two to one, Ohio has rejected Woman Suffrage. It was a fair and square contest on a straightforward issue. Woman Suffrage was one of a number of constitutional amendments on which the people of Ohio were called to pronounce judgment. They passed all the others, with the result, according to the New York correspondent of the *Standard*, which is favourable to the cause, that Ohio now has "one of the most progressive constitutions in the country, including the Initiative and Referendum on all legislation (except taxation), upon a petition of 10 per cent. of the voters, income tax, inheritance tax, a number of reforms of the judiciary and other matters." Suffragists, who had set great store on the issue, have a variety of explanations for their defeat, ranging from the influence of the public-houses to the action of "the women at the



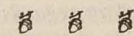
Chicago Convention permitting themselves to be beguiled into adopting a strong party attitude in favour of Mr. Roosevelt." The latter suggestion is, to say the least, unkind, in view of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has magnanimously championed the Suffragist cause, and has exchanged benedictions with Mrs. Fawcett. But the fact of the defeat remains, and none will grudge Suffragists their explanations. Last June, it will be remembered, Woman Suffrage was rejected in New Hampshire. These reverses will surely tend to chasten the enthusiasm with which Mr. Roosevelt's opportunist conversion to Woman Suffrage has been received. With the exception of Washington and California, which introduced the enfranchisement of women into their constitutions in 1910 and 1911 respectively, no State has favoured the extension of the vote since 1896.



### Colorado's Experience.

It is frequently asserted on Suffragist platforms that Woman Suffrage has more than justified itself in the States where it has been introduced. The statement is vague, and in regard to one country, at least—New Zealand—we have recently shown in these columns that, despite the vaunted benefits of Woman Suffrage, it has its full share of all the ills from which non-suffrage countries suffer from, such as falling birth-rate, intemperance, crime, divorces—to mention only the points on which the women's votes are to exercise such special influence. More recently Colorado has received the attention of Suffragists, and a declaration of a body called "the International Parliamentary Union" is quoted with much unction to the effect that "Colorado possesses the most humane, most progressive and most scientific laws for the protection of women and children of any State or country." This Union is styled in the Suffragist Press as "a world-wide organisation of expert sociologists," but all requests for further information have failed to locate the Union or to produce a copy of its interesting report on the laws of Colorado. On the other hand, there has been an animated discussion in a section of the American Press on the respective merits of the legislation of Colorado and that of other States, where an attempt is being

made to force Woman Suffrage upon the electorate. Colorado, it is pointed out, did not "get Statehood" until 1876, and was thus heir to all the ages. In November, 1893, the electors, by 35,798 votes to 29,451, decided in favour of equal suffrage. To-day it is claimed for Colorado that "generally it has no better laws than any other State; that it is behind many States in wise and beneficent legislation; that it is away behind Illinois and Massachusetts in legislation which is supposed to appeal especially to mothers and wives; that child labour laws are behind other States without equal Suffrage; that there is no law making it a misdemeanour to keep women employed more than a certain number of hours each day or week (although there is an eight-hour-per-day law for men employed under ground, and a law restricting the number of consecutive hours a railway employee may work); that the social evil has not disappeared; that divorces have doubled in the past fifteen years, while the population has not; that juvenile crime and delinquency have increased; that the Colorado legislature, with women members, passed, in spite of indignant protests, a Bill to legalise race-track gambling, all four women members voting for the measure; that Colorado, in company with the other 'equal Suffrage' States, are all 'wet,' and not one of the seventeen prohibition States has introduced Woman Suffrage." To those who wish to make a closer comparison of the legislation of Colorado and other States we would mention that copies of comparative laws can be had on application to the office of *The Woman's Protest*, 29, West Thirty-ninth Street, New York; and Suffragists we would ask to weigh carefully their evidence before they commit themselves to the statement that all is unquestionably well in every State that has accepted Woman Suffrage.



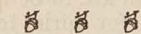
### Militancy.

HITHERTO we have been content to pass over in silence what Lord Curzon termed the domestic pre-occupations of our opponents. But recent events in Wales, more notably the treatment meted out to the Suffragists who sought to interrupt a meeting at which Mr. Lloyd George spoke on September 21st, indicate very clearly

that Suffragism and its by-products are exercising a demoralising effect upon the nation. No one would contend for a moment that such a scene as was enacted at the opening of Mr. Lloyd George's Institute would have been possible half-a-dozen years ago. Yet to-day we have the repeated spectacle of women being roughly handled by a crowd—only, of course, when they have deliberately courted their punishment—and at the same time there is stealing over the British public an attitude towards such acts of studied indifference, which before would hardly have been assumed towards the handling of an obstreperous criminal in the clutches of the law. Suffragists, with their obsession for the vote, may have their minds deadened to such considerations, and, presumably, we shall be treated as usual to letters in the Suffragist Press from the interrupters at Llanystumdwy, in which they glory in their exploits and arrogate to themselves the *role* of saintly martyrs. But to all those who, while being favourably disposed towards the enfranchisement of women, are yet able and anxious to sift the true merits of the movement, the unsatisfactory effect of women's efforts to force an entrance into politics must give pause. They will realise that the peculiar methods adopted by women for conducting their so-called political controversy have not only failed in their object, but have also had results hardly anticipated by those who adopted them. Even the "hunger-strike," which for the moment seems to have achieved such wonderful success, can hardly leave things where they are in regard to a prisoner's ability to determine his or her sentence. In neither case can the results of the Suffragist actions be held, even by themselves, to be desirable innovations in the interests of the community, and thoughtful people will begin to ask whether the unsatisfactory nature of the contributions made by these women to our political life is not conclusive evidence of the complete lack among women in the bulk of political capacity. Suffragists, arguing from the acknowledged capacity of individual women specially equipped by inclination or training to take advantage of rights which none would now withhold from them, seek to impose upon *all* women duties and responsibilities for which they are as a sex physically and by temperament unfitted.

### The London Teachers.

THE London Teachers' Association is to be congratulated on the result of the second attempt made within a few months to chain it to the wheels of the Suffrage coach. One of the most misleading aspects of the Suffrage movement is the ease with which various bodies of people out of the goodness of their hearts and in complete thoughtlessness have allowed themselves to be made cat's-paws of this or that Suffrage society. They resemble Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, who pronounced herself strongly against Woman's Franchise when asked her views on the subject, but ended up by saying:—"But your Englishwomen are so charming to me that I would give them whatever they asked of me." It would have been comprehensible if the Teachers' Association, requiring outside help on some point, had approached the Suffrage Societies with a view to securing their active support. But by no manner of means is a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage going to help the London Teachers' Association in the least; while it is quite certain to introduce a bitter controversy into the ranks of an organisation that in its own interests requires to pull together with the greatest possible harmony.



### By-Elections.

AFTER Midlothian, the Suffrage cup of joy must be running over. The allies of the Labour Party begin by persuading themselves that the Suffrage question in each case determines the defeat of the Liberal candidate and then proceed to argue that no bread (an Anti-Suffragist) is better than half a loaf (a supporter of Suffrage amendments). But it requires two columns of *The Common Cause* to explain the precise nature of the joy, and the basis of the argument is that "the only existing Suffrage Party is the Labour Party." In this connection it is of interest to recall a recent letter written by Mr. George Lansbury to the *Labour Leader*. He says:—

"Up to now there has been no really definite pledge given by the Labour Party in Parliament that in the last resort they will vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill unless it includes women. There have been many statements made on the platform and many attempts made to prove that the Labour Party is pledged to do this, but I speak what I know when I say that the Parliamentary Labour Party—men who in this matter really count—have not up to the present decided the matter one way or the other."

### The Church Congress.

THE announcements published in the Suffragist Press regarding the proposed activities of the Church League for Woman Suffrage at the Church Congress at Middlesbrough indicate that the League reckoned without its host. There is good reason to believe that the authorities of the Church Congress, which meets under the presidency of the Archbishop of York, do not share the so-called Church League's enthusiasm for Woman Suffrage, that they have decided that the subject has no proper place in the Congress, and that in no way whatsoever will any action be countenanced which might lead to the supposition that the Suffrage question has received even the official cognizance of the Congress. Accordingly the Rev. C. Hinscliff's League will not, as was announced, have a stall at the Congress Exhibition, nor will the Bishop of Hull preside at any public "Suffrage Breakfast," or give an address at a public meeting. It is possible that Suffragists may be represented at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, which is in no way controlled by the Congress. At this exhibition there will also be an Anti-Suffrage stall. For the rest, it is obvious that there can be no control over the gatherings of individuals who attend the Congress, and Middlesbrough may be left to form its own opinion of the Suffrage movement and the members of the so-called Church League who publicly express their approval of militancy. Anti-Suffragists have no wish to follow a few misguided clergymen in an attempt to throw the cloak of religion over a political controversy. Christianity has been the motive power in the establishment and recognition of the rights of the individual both male and female. The parliamentary vote has nothing to do with individual rights; it is a political duty and responsibility. When asked to intervene in a similar controversy, the Founder of Christianity made reply:—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

In a notice of the Annual Ball of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League appearing in our September issue, through a printer's error, the price of the tickets read as 2s. 6d. each; this, of course, should have been 12s. 6d. each.

### "VOTES AND WAGES."

By MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

#### A CRITICISM—No. 3.

By MISS GLADYS POTT.

#### LAUNDRY TRAINING.

"No systematic effort is made to offer women the thorough and scientific training which would enable them to do such" (*i.e.*, domestic servants) "work well . . . As for laundry work . . . washing is one of the things that most women are supposed to do by nature." Thus writes Miss Royden on page 5 of "Votes and Wages." Having dealt with one branch of domestic service—cookery—in a previous article, let us see what are the facts as regards laundry work. This, like cookery, is one of the subjects for which special Government grants are given to local education authorities under Art. 34 of Code for Elementary Schools (Cd. 4735), and is also included in the curriculum for the two or three years' courses in Domestic Subjects (*see* same Code and Syllabus for Technical Schools) and Housewifery. During the Educational year 1910-11 grants were given to 89 local centres in England and Wales for laundry courses in Elementary Schools (*see* Pease's Report in House of Commons, June 9th, 1912), and in England alone 133,995 girls received instruction in laundry work, 28,995 in housewifery and 8,379 in combined domestic subjects (Board of Education Report, Cd. 6338). During the school year 1908-09, the L.C.C. controlled or assisted 135 laundry and 30 combined cookery and laundry centres (L.C.C. Report, No. 1348), and domestic subjects were taught in 19 Technical Institutes in the Administrative County of London, in which the L.C.C. provided 430 scholarships for girls, including special trade scholarships in laundry work. And yet we are to believe, on Miss Royden's authority, that *no* systematic effort is made to train women to this work. The only proof of the statement offered in "Votes and Wages" is an extract from a book by Messrs. Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, which was written, as reference to the context shows, solely with regard to the lack of arrangements made by owners of commercial laundries in Birmingham for



the training of laundry hands inside their own works. In the *Common Cause* for August 15th Miss Royden writes, referring to my speech of July 22nd, "Miss Pott objects to my quotation from Mr. Cadbury as incomplete." By so saying she greatly understates my objection, which is that a portion of a statement written with regard to the commercial arrangements in one city should be quoted as the only evidence in support of an assertion made in reference to public education in general. Miss Royden defends her original pamphlet by carefully avoiding the point at issue, and substituting for it a fresh inaccuracy. "Miss Pott," she writes, "goes on to criticise my statement that for domestic service woman can get little or no scientific training." The sentences I criticised and now again deny stand at the beginning of this article, viz.: "No systematic effort is made" towards training women for domestic work and that "laundry work is one of those things women are supposed to do by nature."

#### DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Miss Royden then attempts a further evasion by criticising, from the point of view of nurses, housemaids, and waitresses, classes in "domestic economy" held under public educational authorities. Observe, all mention of the two branches of domestic service, viz., cookery and laundry, specially dwelt upon in "Votes and Wages" is avoided; and the points at issue are entirely confused by her use of the term "domestic economy" in a different meaning from that in which it is employed by the L.C.C. authority when classifying the scholarships given by them to girls for cookery, dress-making, laundry, &c., to which I alluded in my speech on July 22nd, and in my previous article. These junior and senior scholarships are embraced under the heading "Domestic Economy" (see L.C.C. Handbook of Scholarships, No. 1446), but the Board of Education Code for Technical Schools classifies under the heading "Domestic Subjects" courses which include plain needlework, knitting and mending, millinery, home dressmaking, home nursing, ambulance, cooking and washing, and "domestic economy."

Miss Royden's description of the teaching given in domestic economy classes (in the *Common Cause*) is applicable *only* to the course so named in the latter sub-division, which, it will

be seen, forms one small special subject amongst the many others included under "Domestic Subjects." This is the term applied by the official code, but the same courses are often spoken of as "Domestic Economy" courses by persons to whose minds the confusion of thought shown by Miss Royden never occurs. She takes the syllabus for the "Domestic Economy" sub-division under "Domestic Subjects," and applies it universally to *all* domestic economy teaching. Either, in so doing, she is erring from ignorance of the curriculum and codes under which education authorities work—which one finds difficult to believe to be the case in one who not only sets out to inform the public upon these very points, but further tells us she has worked under the code—or she has deliberately used an ambiguous phrase with the intention of misleading her readers. I do not propose to devote time and space to dealing with fresh points resulting from such utterly false reasoning, but as a merely passing reference to the question of nurses, would quote from the L.C.C. Report for 1908-09, where, amongst the list of classes held for females, appear courses "for the instruction of girls and young women in the care and management of infants and children," and "home nursing." From this, I conclude that *some* attempt is made towards assisting girls who desire to become nurses. Miss Royden (in the *Common Cause*) then proceeds to credit me with entire ignorance of the conduct of domestic economy classes, saying that she, having once worked as a voluntary teacher in a Council school, knows the uselessness of such training for servants. She is obviously referring to the special "domestic economy" class which, as I have above described, is only one of many subjects taught in domestic courses, and to which no reference was made either in my speech or in my previous article. I have already had occasion to note Miss Royden's method of launching accusations of ignorance against her opponent as a means of escaping the responsibility of proving her own statements; the method is interesting and amusing, but otherwise valueless. Miss Royden is kind enough to call my "error" "pardonable." I ask her for some proof of its existence. "Technical training," she says "is conspicuously absent" from domestic economy classes. It may be absent from the classes she is referring to, but it certainly is not absent from

those in which cooking, laundry, nursing, housewifery, &c., are taught. Before me lies the official code of instructions to teachers of special subjects (Cd. 4735), and I note that with regard to cookery, laundry, and housewifery the rule is laid down that each lesson should include demonstration and practical work, and that "not less than half the time in every course of instruction must be assigned to practical work by the scholars with their own hands." No teacher can obtain the necessary qualifying diploma for domestic subjects until she has studied laundry work and cooking both in theory and practice, and has passed an examination in "practical work" in both subjects (see Board of Education Regulations, Cd. 4735).

#### PRACTICAL TRAINING.

Turning to the syllabus for Technical Schools issued by the Board of Education, I find that every lesson in cookery must include practical work, that in laundry courses at least 13 out of every 20 lessons must be devoted to practice, and that a schedule is laid down in which demonstration and practice in preparation for, and actual washing, ironing, and "getting-up" of almost every ordinary article of wear and household linen are to be found. How is it possible for girls to be taught either laundry or cookery under efficient teachers working on these lines without obtaining *any* technical training? In the event of such instruction proving valueless it would appear that the blame must rest with the individual teacher. In 1911 Government grants were given to 31 schools and institutes outside the London area for technical and day courses in domestic subjects, and similar courses are given in 10 institutes under the L.C.C. authority. None of these are the "evening classes" criticised by Miss Royden, who, in assuming that I am unaware of the distinction between the two, is quite incorrect. I am conversant with the difference, and know that a class recognised under Article 42 of the Regulations for Technical Schools, even though held in the evening, need not technically be an "evening class." Concerning day courses Miss Royden, quoting from her favourite "authority," viz., a writer in the *Englishwoman*, says that "they teach their pupils to work for the trades." On her own showing then much is done by public authorities to assist girls desirous of becoming laundresses or cooks, and

why are we asked at the same time to believe that "no effort" is made on their behalf? I have myself within the past few years witnessed lessons given in laundry work in various centres, and attended Council cookery classes, and though I pass no expert judgment upon the standard of excellence attained, I absolutely deny, in face of the above facts and figures, that "no effort is made" to offer women training in the work. The whole of Miss Royden's article in the *Common Cause* is taken up with obscuring the points at issue by avoidance of the assertions made in "Votes and Wages." She omits all reference as to when or where her personal experience in Council classes lay, and confuses domestic economy with domestic subjects, and by writing that in one undefined area "there were evening classes for boys, of course. For the girls, nothing but my voluntary service," she insinuates that no paid instructresses are employed for girls under educational authorities. This is, of course, quite contrary to fact. By the Regulations issued by the Board of Education (Cd. 4736) teachers in all technical schools "must, as a rule, be paid by fixed salaries;" voluntary teachers are the exception, not the rule.

#### TECHNICAL CLASSES.

To return to "Votes and Wages." On page 5 may be read the following sentences: "Under the Act creating technical education every trade class is shut to any student who is not working in that particular trade. In many trades, though women may be largely employed, they are not technically 'in the trade' owing to the refusal of the trades unions to admit them to apprenticeship. Hence they are excluded from the technical classes provided by Government. . . . These restrictions with regard to technical classes have been created by Act of Parliament and can only be removed by Act of Parliament, *i.e.*, by votes." Is it possible for any person, otherwise ignorant of the facts, not to understand from these words that at the time they were written the restrictive Act of Parliament referred to was in force? Yet, in point of fact, *no such Act was in existence*. The original Technical Instruction Act of 1889 with its successor of 1891 was repealed in 1902 under the Education Act of that year, by which the supply of all forms of technical education, including trade

classes, was placed under the control of local education authorities; in London that authority being the L.C.C. (see Education Acts, 1902 and 1903). The latter provides trade classes and scholarships for girls in dressmaking, upholstery, designing and making of ready-made clothes, corset-making, ladies' tailoring, millinery, waistcoat-making, cooking, laundry, and photography, without any restriction as to students being "in the trade"; indeed the majority of such classes are specially intended for those who are preparing to enter the trade subsequently (see L.C.C. Reports and Handbooks). Outside the London area during 1909-10, Government grants were given to technical classes in which women and girls were taught dairy-work, chemistry, advanced science, commercial subjects, horticulture, mathematics, physics, engineering, building construction, artistic crafts, drawing, spinning and weaving, carpet work and dyeing, in addition to those subjects already enumerated (see Board of Education list of Technical Courses, List III.). It would, therefore, seem clear that however little, in the opinion of some persons, the educational authorities may have achieved, attempts have been made to assist girls in the study of professions and trades, and to provide training to enable them to become skilled workers, and that such blame as may be attributable in the matter should be laid at the door of local authorities, for which women vote and upon which women serve, rather than upon the Parliamentary authority who, elected by men, has given the former bodies freedom of action. I have said in a previous article that I am not here concerned in any discussion relating to questions of opinion, and therefore decline to comment upon the relative merits of Higher Elementary, Evening and Day Schools, Technical and Trade Classes. But as additional proof that efforts have been made by education authorities to study the interests of women I would refer my readers to the special reports upon educational subjects issued by the Board of Education, such as Cd. 2498, Cd. 2963, and Cd. 3860, which give accounts of the various systems of school training of women in domestic subjects in the U.S.A., Germany, Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, and Switzerland; to the Report on Cookery, drawn up by the Chief Woman Inspector of the Board of Education in 1907; and to

the Report of the L.C.C. upon Technical Education (No. 792) in 1903-1904, and also to that Council's special enquiry into women's trades under the direction of a woman, Mrs. Oakeshott, published 1908. From this last I quote the following: "The object of this enquiry into trades has been to ascertain the industries open to women in London and the nature of the work they offer. Secondly, to ascertain in what way education can benefit both the industry and the worker." I turn with interest to Miss Royden's explanation of (to use the expression she applies to me) her "unusually gross error" in this matter. I read in the *Common Cause* as follows: "As a consequence of careful investigation I feel that the point as put in 'Votes and Wages' requires elucidation, though in substance it is perfectly correct." That it needs elucidation is certain, but in substance and in fact it is absolutely untrue. To avoid all possible misunderstanding I must repeat the actual statements made: "Under the Act creating Technical Education every trade class is shut to any student who is not working in that particular trade," and women not technically in the trade "are excluded from the technical classes provided by Government" and "these restrictions . . . have been created by Act of Parliament and can only be removed by Act of Parliament, *i.e.*, by votes." No amount of "elucidation" can absolve Miss Royden from the responsibility of having made these plain assertions, and I have given my proofs of their inaccuracy. How does she explain these statements in the *Common Cause*? Thus: "I said that in order to remove restrictions placed on admission to technical classes direct legislative enactment is required. It is not enough that the Act of 1902 should be silent about them. It was necessary that the restrictions should be definitely removed and that this was not done was undoubtedly due to the pressure of men provided with votes." Observe, Miss Royden still says that legislation *is* required (present tense) to remove difficulties, and implies that the Education Act of 1902 did not mention the restrictive Acts. I really begin to suspect that Miss Royden has not studied the Act she refers to.

#### EDUCATION ACT, 1902.

May I draw attention to its provisions. Page 1: "The local educa-



tion authority shall consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them desirable after consultation with the Board of Education to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education"; and on page 25: "Enactments repealed, the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the Technical Instruction Act of 1891," in each case "the whole Act." Is this being "silent" about the former Acts? Are not all restrictions specifically removed? They most certainly are, and according to Miss Royden's argument, as quoted above, this must have been "due to the pressure of men provided with votes." She goes on to say, "Miss Pott challenges me to produce proof that the technical classes are closed to women," and proceeds to publish a letter from the L.C.C. Central School of Arts and Crafts showing that that institution holds some classes for male students engaged in the trades only. It may surprise Miss Royden to learn that I was perfectly aware of the fact long ago, that I know that school, have corresponded with its secretary in times past, and have its prospectus. But, as I have already pointed out, the assertion made in "Votes and Wages" is that by Act of Parliament every trade class is shut to any student not in the trade, and the challenge I gave to Miss Royden was to prove that statement. The version she now gives of my challenge is incorrect. To show that some classes are so shut does not prove the original assertion: she might as well say that because Winchester College does not admit day scholars all public schools are shut to boys who are not boarders. The argument used in the *Common Cause* amounts to this: Some trade classes are confined to male students already in the trade; therefore it is in substance correct to assert that every trade class is by Act of Parliament closed to women who are not already in the trade. I wholly deny the worth of such pleading. With regard to the particular trade of bookbinding, mentioned by Miss Royden both in "Votes and Wages" and the *Common Cause*, though I do not propose to enter into the merits of the question as to whether more special instruction for women in that art is necessary, I note that Mrs. Oakeshott, in the report mentioned above, says: "There are few women bookbinders; they prepare the books for

binding, but do not do the binding." And before me lies a letter from the Board of Education (written in 1910 in reply to several enquiries I addressed to the Secretary) from which I quote the following: "Bookbinding is a subject which may be taught to both sexes in schools maintained by local education authorities." Again then, such blame as Miss Royden would impute should not be attached to the Parliamentary authority

#### EVASION.

I next find from the *Common Cause* that another charge is made against me of ignorance as to the class of training given in trade schools, because I "did not mention it" in my speech on July 22nd. Truly, Miss Royden's logic is astonishing! Am I at liberty to announce that she is unaware of the difference between elementary and high school teaching because she has not, in the article before me, laid special claim to that knowledge? But what she means by this paragraph in the *Common Cause* I am unable to understand: "Miss Pott points out that certain 'trade schools' have been established for girls in London, and it is true that these schools give a technical and business training—not a merely general one. Miss Pott does not mention this, as she apparently has not grasped the distinction, but it is a fact. . . ." What did I not mention? If the sentence has any meaning it must be intended to convey that I did not refer to the training given in trade schools, and considering that I devoted the major portion of my argument concerning the inaccuracies contained in "Votes and Wages" with regard to the question of technical teaching, to a description of the subjects taught in the trade and technical schools already in being, I can only conclude that Miss Royden is either completely misinformed or has deliberately misrepresented me. The remainder of the article is devoted to an exposition, divided into five sections, of Miss Royden's views upon the relative merits of training given to boys and girls at the public expense, in the last of which she remarks that I "did not dwell" (in my speech) upon the state of the law relating to women serving upon local councils. I did not; nor did I dwell upon the Irish Home Rule Bill, or upon that for the Control of the Feeble-minded, upon Free Trade, or upon Tariff Reform. Why should I? More than once have

I repeated that my intention was, and is, to discuss statements of fact made in "Votes and Wages," and with all due deference to Miss Royden I would mention that I do not intend to be "side-tracked" on to other subjects in order to avoid the main issues. But I would just point out that in this same article in the *Common Cause* Miss Royden informs us of a mysterious and nameless "authority," "one of the greatest in England" (why are we not allowed to judge for ourselves of the value of his or her opinion by being made acquainted with the name? Is this "clearly indicating whence the evidence is drawn" according to Miss Royden's letter to *Farnham Herald*?) whom she consulted upon the question of technical education and who could "only reply that it was a very thorny one and that it would be better to make no pronouncement on it." One cannot but wonder why, in face of such advice from so revered a counsellor, Miss Royden immediately proceeds to make very many and definite pronouncements upon the complex subject. May one, without offence, suggest a quotation from Pope about some persons being ready to rush in where angels fear to tread?

#### THE WEEKLY WAGE.

In the *Common Cause* for September 5th Miss Royden, replying to my criticism of her assertion that 7s. 6d. is the average weekly wage of women in industry, makes two statements. First she says that all higher estimates given by experts refer to the full week's wage, while Miss MacArthur expressly allowed for slackness of work and sickness; and that, moreover, I ignored and was "silent" upon this point and do not understand the difference between wages and earnings. All this is totally untrue. I requote the evidence I offered both in my speech of July 22nd and in my article printed in the August REVIEW concerning the estimate given by Mr. G. Wood, a well-known expert statistician, in an article reprinted by a Suffrage Society. He says, "taking all female factory and workshop hands together, their average wage will be about 13s. a week for a full week's work," but allowing for loss of time through sickness and slackness their earnings will be about 11s. 6d. per week: the outworkers' average wage being between 7s. and 8s. a week; and, again,

allowing for slackness and sickness their earnings about 6s. a week. (See "The Woman Wage-earner.") Have I ignored the difference between earnings and wages? And is Mr. Wood's estimate based solely upon a full week's wage? He tells us that after examining masses of available statistics he considers it impossible to calculate the exact number of outworkers in various employments. But we know from the figures given in the Actuarial Report of the Insurance Act that (omitting domestic servants and professional employments) 2,428,533 females are industrially employed, and we also know from the recent returns of the Factory and Workshop Inspectors that of that number 1,852,241 are under inspection, and therefore included in Mr. Wood's higher estimate, which leaves at most 576,292 for the lower average. This yields an average of over 10s. for all females, after allowing for slackness of work and sickness.

Miss Royden's second statement is a charge against me of "remarkable ignorance of the way in which statistics are compiled and used," because I found a discrepancy between Miss MacArthur's estimates; and she further tells us there is no such discrepancy because in one case slackness is allowed for and in the other it is not. I am, therefore, obliged again to repeat Miss MacArthur's actual words, in order to show Miss Royden's terminological inexactitudes. In "Woman in Industry," as quoted by Miss Royden and myself, the 7s. 6d. figure expressly allows for slackness, &c., and includes the skilled trades. On July 18th, 1907, Miss MacArthur, before the Committee on Home-work, said: "Taking the wage of women workers, if one excepts the skilled trades like the textile trades, the average wage all the year round barely reaches 7s. a week." On September 7th, 1911, before the Trade Union Congress, Miss MacArthur said: "With the exception of the textile trades, the average wage of women workers is something under 9s. a week all the year round." The italics are my own, inserted to emphasise the fact that on each occasion the speaker made use of identical phrasing: in whatever way she compiled her statistics in the one case, there is no possible ground for believing that the like method was not used in the other case. Am I not justified in finding discrepancy between the two statements? And is Miss Royden justified in accusing me of ignorance because

I do so, or of asserting that in one instance a full week's wage is reckoned and in the other sickness and slackness are allowed for?

#### WOMEN AS CHARACTER-BUILDERS.

WHAT is the greatest asset a nation can possess? Surely, it is the character of its people. To many observers it appears that ominous signs point to the deterioration of our national character, and since the formation of character is woman's special privilege and sphere, an inquiry as to whether she is at the present moment exercising this privilege, as she has done at some other periods of our history, and as she should do, may not be amiss.

On all sides we hear the clamours of the Suffragists, passionately urging the emancipation of their sex from what they are pleased to describe as a state of tyranny; and swept away by the waves of emotionalism which have engulfed many women, they unsex themselves and plead as an excuse for their wicked and foolish actions their pathetic belief in the power of the vote. This coveted morsel of political power is not a "right" at all, but a privilege, and one so little valued by many of its possessors that armies of canvassers issue forth to try and induce those who have the vote to exercise it; but the Suffragists are so obsessed with the notion of the potency of a vote that they appear to believe its possession would create a new earth. Is there any ground for such an assumption?

It is perfectly obvious that all women as women would not vote in one way, nor, if women were eligible for Parliament, that all women would vote for women candidates. The great body of sane women would still subordinate class and sex questions to the greater good of the whole. This is not mere assumption. An interesting article in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century* records the information, which the writer gathered during a visit to Finland, where women not only vote, but sit in Parliament, and though the time during which they have had these privileges is but short, there have been five general elections, with ample opportunities of seeing how the franchise works. The result is that women's votes are decreasing in numbers, and

fewer women candidates are elected to Parliament.

If, then, the result of granting the Suffrage to women would be merely an increased number of votes, cast pretty much on present lines, why oppose it? Because, to many observers and thinkers it appears to be connected with very serious and far-reaching evils.

Nature goes calmly on her way, whatever follies we commit, and Nature, having made "woman, not undeveloped man, but diverse," we cannot undo her work, even if we would.

The more delicate physical organization of women unfits them for much of the work men do, and, apparently, they cannot bear the nervous strain that the excitement of public life entails without risk of injury to themselves and the race. They become neurotic, hysterical, and unbalanced, or, if the injury does not proceed thus far or take this exact form, they develop other unlovely characteristics, due to the unnatural conditions of their environment. They are apt to become self-assertive and overbearing. Are these the qualities likely to render them successful in forming fine character? We think not. Those who form characters which are of value to their country and of use to their fellow-men, in which a necessary element is strength, must themselves be strong, disciplined to resist the sudden gusts of excitable feeling—in a word, self-controlled, knowing that violence is not strength. The outbreaks of unreasoning violence on the part of women which have taken place of late, in which they seemed to have lost all sense of proportion, have been distressing phenomena. If to such hands is committed the formation of a national character, then indeed our national destruction will not be long delayed.

Another alarming symptom is the growing distaste for domestic life and its duties. On all sides we hear girls and young women express their dislike of and impatience with anything that interferes with their amusements or their complete personal freedom. This love of or demand for freedom leads on to the surprising acceptance by women of the destructive doctrines of Socialism and feminism, which mean the utter degradation of their sex.

We must recollect that the formation of character does not stop with childhood. We cannot draw the line at which a spirit may be touched to finer issues or be given a downward impulse. Women cannot divest themselves of



their inherent privilege of influence. A very heavy responsibility rests with those older women who introduced young girls to the turbulent scenes which we have lately witnessed. If it is true that we "live by admiration, love, and hope," what can we say to those who inflame the youthful imagination—teach it to hate, to despise, and to dwell on morbid and unholy subjects?

The lack of balance is shown, and the lost sense of proportion evidenced, by the foolishly extraordinary actions that some Suffragists indulge in. What possible good is effected by a young and attractive woman neglecting her home to stand in the gutter selling newspapers against the wish of her husband? Women who forsake their plain duties for imaginary martyrdoms cannot possibly bring up sons who will be a strength to their country in her hour of need. The men who have made England great or served her well had mothers who were self-controlled, God-fearing, who thought of and taught duties, not rights. Take one instance alone, Sir Philip Sidney. He, who was the ideal of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," by example and precept was taught by his mother to be what he was. How refreshing it is to read in these noisy, clamorous days of her as "supporting her husband and children through all trials with wise counsel and sweet, hopeful temper. . . . The perfect wife and mother, a lady of unpretending but heroic dignity."

Again, women who have no children to bring up are yet character-builders, for it should be remembered that it is women who set the standard of manners and morals. If they demand a high standard, men will rise to it—"If doughty deeds my lady please," the doughty deeds will be wrought. If the women are without ideals, so will the men be.

New channels of opportunity for service have been opened to women in recent years, and men cordially welcome their co-operation. *Co-operation*—not rivalry, not railing—

"Self-reverent each and reverencing each,  
Distinct in individualities"

is the path along which true progress will proceed.

A NUMBER of open-air meetings in Reading were addressed by Anti-Suffrage speakers during the last week of September. After the first meeting, the local Suffragists abandoned for the most part their attempts at interruption, and the general feeling of the audiences was clearly shown to be opposed to Woman Suffrage.

### THE WARNING IN WALES.

"THE outrageous manner in which Women Suffragists were treated by the mob . . . at Wrexham must have a very lasting effect." Thus *Votes for Women*. And since Wrexham, has come Llanystumdwy. We earnestly pray that the effect upon Suffragists may, indeed, be lasting; that the lesson learnt at these two places may not easily be forgotten by them. They are slow to learn. "Drunk with sight of power," the delicate sense of perception by which women may read danger signals is lost. Their vision is so blurred that what those who run may read has no meaning for them. Once before, on the occasion which Suffragists refer to as "Black Friday," it was brought forcibly home to these women what their fate may be at the hands of men from whom provocation has released the restraints of civilised life. How many more times must this thing happen, while the dignity and the modesty of womanhood is being trampled in the dust?

It is to us, the others, that these women will have to answer, when insult and abominations from which we were once immune by virtue of our sex reign in the place of chivalry and restraint. Every time women are roughly handled by a mob of men, man himself slips back one step in the march towards that by which alone woman can come into her own. Men of themselves would never seek to demolish the barriers which social custom has erected round the other sex, for it is more to men's advantage even than to women's that the sanctity of the latter should not be betrayed. When, therefore, it is thus betrayed, it is not the men we hold accountable. "Woe unto him by whom offence cometh." The blame and the shame for the disgraceful scenes at Wrexham lie with those presumably educated and enlightened women, not with the rough uncontrolled mob whose passions they provoked.

The action of the Suffragists in this case was inexcusable. They bore down upon the National Festival of a quick-tempered and passionate people, whose nationality is their very religion; and they attempted to make, indeed succeeded in making a farce and a fiasco of these almost sacred proceedings. Their own excuse for this senseless conduct is that breaking up other people's meetings is one way of expressing their disapproval of men's

treatment of them. Well, the Welshmen turned upon them, roused by this interference to fury and violence, which was their way of expressing their disapproval of Suffragettes.

Accounts that have come in of what happened contain, according to the Suffragists' paper, hints of indecencies and indignities which are said to be unmentionable. When will Suffragettes face the fact that Woman is not Man? They cannot thus dare and rouse the brute in man without taking shame and humiliation to their hearts. Let them seek "martyrdom" for themselves, if they will, in their own way; but let them beware how they open the floodgates of man's violence upon their sex. Once these are opened nothing can stem the tide by which all women must be overtaken.

The war of wits between man and woman is a fair war, in which women more often than not have the advantage. But to put their persons in the way of being handled by men, and handled with violence by *any* sort of men can only bring results disastrous to the aims they advertise and demoralising and degrading to men. Both sexes are equally dishonoured by orgies of this kind. For the brute in man cannot be uncovered without exposing the serpent in woman who tempts him to his own undoing.

Suffragists have had warning of what it may mean when man says, "Thou art woman to me no longer."

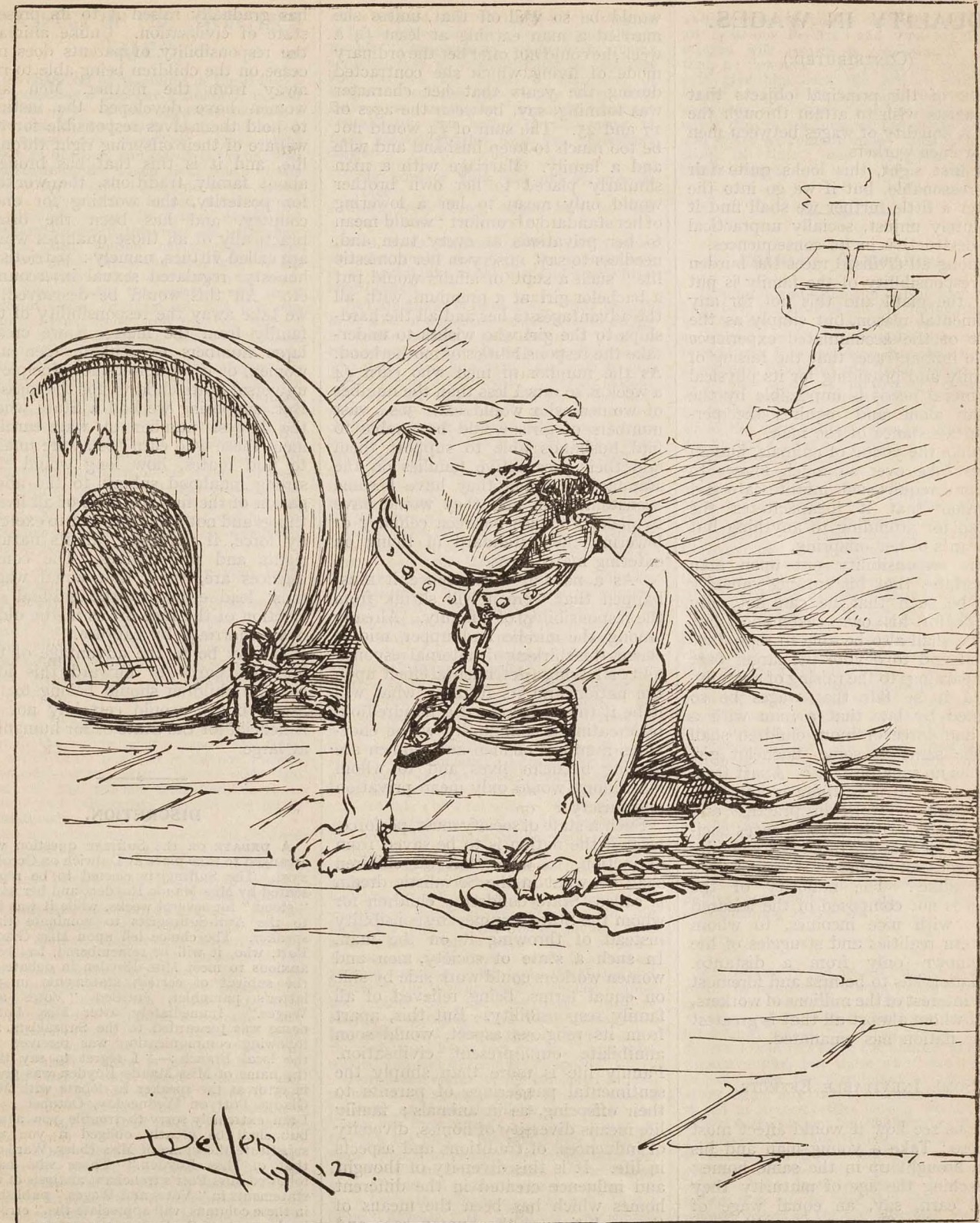
LEONORA LOCKHART.

### THE GLASGOW MEETING.

As has already been announced by an advertisement in our September issue, a great Anti-Suffrage Demonstration will be held in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on Friday, November 1st. Lord Glenconner will be in the chair. The resolution to be put to the meeting will be proposed by Lord Curzon, and among the speakers to support it will be Lady Tullibardine. The terms of the resolution will be as follows:—

"That the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects both socially and politically ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate."

Tickets may be had free on application to Miss Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow, provided applicants express their sympathy with the resolution.



SHOWING HIS TEETH.



## EQUALITY IN WAGES.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

ONE of the principal objects that Suffragists wish to attain through the vote is equality of wages between men and women workers.

At first sight, this looks quite fair and reasonable, but if we go into the matter a little further we shall find it absolutely unjust, socially unpractical and destructive in its consequences.

Among all civilised races the burden and responsibility of the family is put upon the man, and this not for any sentimental reason, but simply as the result of the accumulated experience of the human race, that the raising of a family and providing for its physical and moral needs is impossible by the woman alone and requires the perpetual assistance of the man.

Unlike the young of animals, human beings take ever so much longer to rear, and require such infinite care and attention that it incapacitates the woman for attending to anything but the wants of her offspring.

This responsibility put upon man necessitates that his earning capacity shall be such that he can not only provide for his own sustenance, but that he shall also be able to reproduce himself and to devote the larger part of his earnings to the raising of a family. Would it be fair that wages be so adjusted by law that a man with a wife and three or more children shall get the same as some bachelor girl who has no such burden? Apart from the view of fairness, there is another; how would it work in practice and what would be the consequences socially and for the race of an Act whereby the wages of man and woman are made alike? The majority of the nation is not composed of the leisured classes with nice incomes, to whom the stern realities and struggles of life are known only from a distance. Legislation has to be first and foremost in the interest of the millions of workers, out of whom almost all that is greatest in our nation has emanated.

## SOME INEVITABLE EFFECTS.

Let us see how it would affect most of these: Take a young man and his sister, brought up in the same home; on reaching the age of maturity they would earn, say, an equal wage of 30s. a week. The sister on this sum

would be so well off that, unless she married a man earning at least £4 a week, he could not offer her the ordinary mode of living which she contracted during the years that her character was forming, say, between the ages of 17 and 25. The sum of £4 would not be too much to keep husband and wife and a family. Marriage with a man similarly placed to her own brother would only mean to her a lowering of her standard of comfort; would mean to her privations at every turn and, needless to say, misery in her domestic life; such a state of affairs would put a bachelor girl at a premium, with all the advantages to her and all the hardships to the girl who wishes to undertake the responsibilities of motherhood. As the number of men who earn £4 a week is so much less than the number of women who would earn 30s., vast numbers of girls would be unable to find husbands able to support them and their prospective families on the standard of living they have become accustomed to, and they would have to make a choice between celibacy or lowering their standard of living on entering matrimony.

As a natural consequence, it must happen that women will shrink from the responsibility of a family. Already among the middle and upper middle classes this shirking of maternal responsibility is having a detrimental effect upon the nation and its future; what will it be if this is increased a hundredfold by creating a community where enormous numbers of men and women are leading bachelor lives and to whom matrimony would only mean privation and misery?

Such a state of society must, perforce, lead, if the nation is to be saved from extinction, to this: that all children shall be, what in the Socialistic dream is called, State children: children for whom the State assumes responsibility instead of throwing it on the man. In such a state of society, men and women workers could work side by side on equal terms, being relieved of all family responsibility. But this, apart from its religious aspect, would soon annihilate our present civilisation. Family life is more than simply the sentimental panderings of parents to their offspring, as in animals; family life means diversity of homes, diversity of influences, of traditions and aspects in life. It is this diversity of thought and influence created in the different homes which has been the means of the evolution of the human race and

has gradually raised it to its present state of civilisation. Unlike animals, the responsibility of parents does not cease on the children being able to run away from the mother. Men and women have developed the instinct to hold themselves responsible for the welfare of their offspring right through life, and it is this that has brought about family traditions, the working for posterity, the working for one's country, and has been the origin practically of all those qualities which are called virtues, namely: patriotism, honesty, regulated sexual intercourse, etc. All this would be destroyed, if we take away the responsibility of the family from the man; if we create large numbers of celibate men and women, or if we admit the principle of universal State children for the masses. But, supposing we had a State where the largest number of wage-earning men, those who earn 30s., were unable to find mates, how long would this strong manhood submit to the abnegation of the first instincts of all living things and not band together to exercise by force, if necessary, all its natural rights and prerogatives. The consequences are, then, that equal wages must lead either to the gradual extinction of the race or, as in the olden days, marriage by capture.

It may be to the advantage of the Socialist party to forward this idea that all children should belong to the State, but it would certainly not be beneficial for the State or for humanity at large.

## DISCRETION.

A DEBATE on the Suffrage question was arranged to take place at Dulwich on October 23rd. The Suffragists elected to be represented by Miss Maude Royden, and her name "stood" for several weeks, while it was left to the Anti-Suffragists to nominate their speaker. The choice fell upon Miss Gladys Pott, who, it will be remembered, has been anxious to meet Miss Royden in debate on the subject of certain statements in the latter's pamphlet, entitled "Votes and Wages." Immediately after Miss Pott's name was forwarded to the Suffragists the following communication was received by the local Branch:—"I regret to say that the name of Miss Maude Royden was given in error as the speaker to debate with Miss Gladys Pott on Wednesday, October 23rd. I am extremely sorry to trouble you again, but shall be greatly obliged if you will substitute the name of Miss Helen Ward for that of Miss Royden." Those who have followed Miss Pott's trenchant analysis of the statements in "Votes and Wages," published in these columns, will appreciate the "error" in the name of the Suffragist speaker.

## AN ASPECT OF THE "WINTER'S TALE."

THE character of Mamillius in the *Winter's Tale* possesses a peculiar attraction, in that it is—in spite of its apparent slightness—the one finished study of a child which Shakespeare has given us. One might almost go further, and say it is the one real child-study in the whole great range of the Elizabethan drama. Marlowe never draws a child. Webster has, indeed, a few colourless children in his *Duchess of Malfi*, but his dramatic sympathies are all with their mother. Ben Jonson never gets nearer childhood than the bland simplicity of his wonderful Gulls—and that is not very near. Even Shakespeare, the greatest and most universal genius of them all, has this one delightful child-study, and this one only.

If we except Mamillius, the only children we can find in the other plays are such slight sketches as the little Marcus in *Coriolanus* (who, we gather, is a fighter like his father, but of whom we hear no more than that) and the royal children in the historical plays, who are not children at all. Sorrow and danger and treachery have made them old beyond their years, and Gloucester's comment on his little nephew—"so wise, so young"—is true of them all. Even Prince Arthur, the most beautiful and pathetic of these poor, doomed children, is precocious and unchildlike in his wonderful pleading for his eyesight:—

"Have you the heart? When your head did but ache,  
I knit my handkercher about your brows,  
The best I had, a princess wrought it me,  
And I did never ask it you again."  
Many a poor man's son would have lien still,  
And ne'er have spoke a loving word to you,  
But you, at your sick service had a prince."

There is a subtlety in the little Prince's words, a skilful effort to move Hubert through the man's innate respect for rank, and a deliberate restraint in the boy's whole demeanour—even when faced with the horror of the red-hot irons—which show wisdom and self-control beyond the grasp of childhood.

And the others are the same. In Edward of Lancaster, "stabbed in the field by Tewkesbury," there is nothing child-like save the "bright hair dabbled in blood," which conscience-stricken Clarence remembers long after the Prince's murder. He has the courage and bitterness of his "tiger-heart" mother, Margaret of Anjou, herself, and bears himself manfully throughout his brief "hour upon the stage." His valour in rallying his followers before Tewkesbury moves the Lancastrian lords to surprise and admiration, "so high a courage" has the "brave young Prince." And when after that disastrous fight, he is a prisoner in Yorkist hands, there is no shrinking, no childish terror—only fierce defiance and bitter gibes for his captors, Edward and "perjured" Clarence and "Crookback" Dick, until at last their daggers meet in his breast.

That other Edward, too, the poor child-king, is wise beyond his years. We see it in his converse with his uncle of Gloucester, in the pathetic diplomacy of his gentle answers. "God keep me from false friends, for they were none," he says—pointedly enough—

when Richard tries to account for the absence of Lords Rivers and Grey by maligning them to his "dear cousin," while with quaint consciousness of responsibility he reproves and excuses his brother's sharpness of tongue when the precociously witty little Duke, "so cunning and so young," has got considerably the better of Gloucester in their passage-at-arms over the Protector's dagger:—

"My Lord of York will still be cross in talk:  
Uncle, your Grace knows how to bear with him."

Indeed, in his scorn and mistrust of his uncle, and abnormally ready wit, the younger boy is as unchildlike as the wise and gentle little king himself.

But Mamillius is pure child. Boy enough to be a bit of a nuisance sometimes, troubling his gentle mother "past enduring," and to turn scornfully from those ladies of the court who dare "kiss him hard," and talk to him "as if I were a baby still." *Enfant terrible*, too, with an observant eye for "the half-moon made with a pen" on ladies' brows, or for the havoc wrought on a pretty nose by the cold—"I have seen a lady's nose that has been blue," he remarks gravely to the lady who has teased him, somewhat foolishly—a bit to her discomfiture, one fancies! And in his manner of telling a story, above all, he is child indeed—"Tell's a tale," says Hermione, the loving mother who cannot find her little son, "past enduring" long; and the delighted child queries, "Merry or sad?" and, child-like, decides for horrors—"A sad tale's best for winter; I have one of sprites and goblins." And so gets to the deliciously awful beginning of his story, with all its creepiness and suggestion of dreadful details to come—"There was a man, dwelt by a churchyard."

Here, in one phrase, is all the mystery, all the gruesomeness, all the "bug" (as Budge and Toddie would have expressed it) which children love. Surely, this little touch alone makes the small Prince a finished study. One can fancy, indeed, that Shakespeare dwelt on this delicate creation lovingly. Does not his choice of the boy's own words—"A sad tale's best for winter"—for the title of his play seem to show the importance he gives to the child in his dramatic scheme?

And the full development of the little character is almost too sad to follow. The gallant spirit—"Mine honest friend," says his father, "will you take eggs for money?"—and the quick answer comes, "No, my lord, I'll fight." The noble, loving little soul, which "felt a stain like a wound" (if one may apply Burke's words to a Shakespearean creation), and finds the shame and misery of the false accusation levelled against his mother too much to bear. Until at length—"throwing off his spirit, his appetite, his sleep and downright languishing"—the poor loyal heart just breaks, "with mere conceit and fear of the queen's speed."

Sorrow and regret for the murdered child—murdered as surely by his father's wicked jealousy as were the little princes in the Tower by their uncle's hirelings—haunt us through the play. We would give much by some miracle to restore that bright little life. But there are artistic limits to the happy ending, even in romantic drama—as no one knew better than Shakespeare himself. In this respect, at least, it is "a sad tale" for winter, after all. And so, although the lost is found

and Leontes regains his daughter, the sweet and gracious Perdita—and even his much-injured wife (which is considerably more than he deserves)—no power on earth will ever give him back the gallant little son whose beautiful life his own cruel jealousy ruthlessly cut short. For, as Shakespeare never tires of teaching us, for all the crimes and follies we commit upon "this bank and shoal of time" our "judgment here" comes always. N. R.

## HOLIDAY CAMPAIGNS.

HOLIDAY campaigns and out-of-door work have been the order of the day during August and September. In addition to the very successful campaign in North Wales (where several new Branches have been the result), Harrogate, Blackpool and North Oxford have been the scene of interesting meetings. Another successful enterprise was our tent at Saltwood Castle Flower Show (Kent), while the Anti-Suffrage shop in Harrogate has proved a great attraction.

Weston-super-Mare was the base of a further campaign, which comprised a series of open-air meetings held between August 28th to September 10th, by Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie, at Weston-super-Mare, Penarth, Cheddar, Burnham, Clevedon, and Barry Island.

The audiences at these places, always interested and appreciative, varied in number from about 100 at Barry Island to 400 at Weston-super-Mare. In most cases the lower middle and working classes were found to predominate. These generally expressed themselves as definitely Anti-Suffragist, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution never found more than half-a-dozen opponents. Suffragists attended several of the meetings, but heckling was conspicuous by its absence, and it is interesting to note that while at our meetings held here last year a considerable percentage of the audience did not vote on the resolution, this year quite 90 per cent. voted one way or another.

Altogether it would seem that the audiences in the West evidenced a keener and more intelligent interest in the question of Woman Suffrage than ever before. One of our speakers reports "though in previous years there has been popular resentment of the Suffrage pretensions, it has never been so overwhelming as this year."

ACCORDING to the census returns of April, 1910, the number of women entitled to vote in the six States in the United States of America where Woman Suffrage has been introduced, was at that date 1,346,925. These figures do not represent the number of actual women voters, but those who were eligible to vote from the standpoint of age alone, apart from any other qualification. It is stated in America that usually women vote at the first election, but the number falls off as the novelty of the Suffrage ceases. In San Francisco—the Equal Suffrage is only a year old in California—only 35,000 women out of 75,000 eligible have registered. From these figures it is safe to infer that the number of women voters in the six American States is well under one million.



### THE CANADIAN PREMIER AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

IN view of the announcement that Mr. R. L. Borden, the Canadian Premier, had intimated his willingness to receive a deputation of the Women's Social and Political Union, it was decided to ask him to allow a deputation of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to lay before him the other side of the question. This deputation, which consisted of the Chairman, Colonel Le Roy-Lewis, C.B., D.S.O., Mrs. Henry Wilson and Mrs. Moberly Bell, was courteously received by Mr. Borden at the Savoy Hotel on August 28th. In the interview with the militant Suffragists that immediately preceded our deputation, Mr. Borden had described the political position in Canada, and had made it very clear that in regard to Woman Suffrage in Great Britain he had no intention of expressing any opinion or of intervening in the matter, while as far as Canada was concerned he considered that the women there were "sufficiently intelligent and capable to judge these matters for themselves."

Colonel Le Roy-Lewis explained to Mr. Borden that they had seen in the papers that the Canadian Minister intended to receive a deputation of Women Suffragists, and as they did not want him to leave England with the impression that the Suffragists alone claimed public attention here, they had asked him to hear the Anti-Suffrage side of the question. It was by no means the case that the Suffragists monopolised public attention. Anti-Suffragism had the support of the weighty utterances of the Prime Minister, of the late Lord Chancellor, of Mr. Harcourt, and other prominent men. The opposition to Woman Suffrage in this country was a very serious fact. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage had several hundred branches in the country, money was subscribed to its funds, and the deepest interest was taken in its proceedings. The Anti-Suffragists formed a law-abiding and serious organisation, and they represented a vast majority in public opinion, the vast majority of women, and certainly the best class of women. The matter was essentially a domestic one, and, therefore, it was not desirable to ask the opinion of any person who was not concerned in our politics.

Mrs. Moberly Bell and Mrs. Henry Wilson also spoke. They touched upon the "feminist" tendency of the Suffrage movement, which contained elements of very grave danger to society.

In his reply, Mr. Borden said that he had been very pleased to receive the deputation which had just left him. They had seemed sincere, and very much in earnest, and he had nothing whatever to complain of in the way they had presented their case to him, except one suggestion in the way of a threat that they might employ force. He had told that

deputation that he would not expect the Prime Minister of Great Britain to interfere in purely Canadian affairs, and that for a like reason he did not propose to pronounce on those matters in respect to which the women of the British Isles must work out their salvation. In Canada there were ten legislatures which had their own franchise. Nine of these were provincial legislatures, and these had absolute jurisdiction and power to settle their own recommendations for the exercise of the franchise. The Dominion Parliament had equal power to settle the limitations of the franchise for the purpose of electing members to the House of Commons of Canada. For fifteen years they had followed the law by which they had accepted the franchise which might prevail from time to time in each province. Therefore the question in Canada was one for the provincial legislatures to determine, and it was impossible for him to take any step until they in Canada arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to repeal that law and enact one fixing a definite and specific franchise for the whole of Canada. In the event of their doing that he would give careful attention to every possible argument that could be urged. As he had pointed out to the previous deputation, conditions in Canada were different from those of the United Kingdom, and after an experience of fifteen years of public life he was convinced that the women of Canada were sufficiently intelligent and capable and earnest to put this question before the Government themselves. When they did so it would receive the utmost possible attention.

The deputation then withdrew.

It is interesting to note the universal approbation expressed by the Canadian press of Mr. Borden's reply to the militant Suffragists. The *Citizen* says that "so strong a stand was worthy of Canada and its Premier."

"THE Suffragists tell us that influence such as women now possess without responsibility is dangerous. If influence without responsibility is dangerous, political authority without political responsibility would be a thousand times more dangerous. It would be a farce, for all the talk in the world cannot alter the fact that the State has been built up by man. Its institutions, its commerce and industries—everything that secures its stability—depend in the last resort upon masculine strength and courage, and therefore the real responsibility of maintaining the State rests with men."—Miss A. H. Chittenden, at Chataqua, N.Y.

### DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

#### THE CASE OF MRS. LEIGH.

MRS. MARY LEIGH was released from Mountjoy Prison on September 20th. It will be remembered that she was sentenced on August 7th. That is to say that, of the term of five years' penal servitude which she earned by attempting to fire the Theatre Royal on the night of Mr. Asquith's visit to Dublin, she has served not much more than five weeks. The official reason advanced for the release was the one to which the public has grown accustomed—"on account of the state of her health." Mrs. Leigh has been "hunger-striking" since the refusal by the Lord-Lieutenant of the petition for political treatment. During the whole of that period she has been forcibly fed. Her own medical attendant and the prison doctor, in consultation with Sir Christopher Nixon and Sir Thomas Myles, advised her release and removal to an outside hospital. When the medical report was received, the Prisons Board, consulted with the Attorney-General, and with his approval, recommended her release; the Lords Justices of the Privy Council, in the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant, made the necessary order. During the past few weeks Suffragists in Dublin have made prodigious, but totally unsuccessful, efforts to prove that the authorities are not in agreement with regard to the treatment of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans. Miss Grace Roe, who is directing operations here on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, lately asserted in a letter published in the Dublin press that Lord Aberdeen has a horror of forcible feeding, and that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George are responsible for it. Miss Roe further stated that the Irish authorities had in contemplation Mrs. Leigh's removal to a lunatic asylum. I have the best authority for stating that there is absolutely no basis of fact in these suggestions. The Government has left the entire conduct of the case to the discretion of the Irish authorities, and these authorities, I regret to say, have rejected the idea of confinement in an asylum. I learn that the Prisons Board agreed to Mrs. Leigh's release only when it became certain that her death was the only other alternative. Miss Evans was examined at the same time, and no one will be surprised if her release is announced within the next few days. Mrs. Leigh's release is, of course, hailed by Dublin Suffragists as a triumph—"a triumph of the human will and spirit over the coercive methods of the law" is the cant phrase in fashion. The immediate success does, no doubt, lie with the Suffragists. But I fancy that they will find it a Pyrrhic victory.

#### MR. BERNARD SHAW'S LETTER.

Mr. Bernard Shaw's letter to Miss Gawthorpe was a blow to the Suffragists. Miss Gawthorpe asked for sympathy and assistance. Mr. Shaw gave her, as he says, "cold logic." His phrase "starve and be damned" is one which I have lately heard in many quarters in Dublin (in less forcible language). The bold *imprimatur* of Mr. Shaw on this idea—an idea which was only whispered before—has engaged the mind of the Irish public. With Mr. Shaw's premises there is

### TEACHERS' SALARIES.

To the number of misrepresentations that emanate from every Suffrage platform has now to be added a statement regarding the effect of Woman Suffrage on the salaries of teachers in countries where women have been enfranchised. Speaking at a garden party at Dunecht House, Aberdeenshire, Lady Aberconway is reported in the *Standard* to have said that "in every country where women had the vote Government had raised the wages of women teachers to equal that of men." As a rule, Suffragists are content to attribute to Woman Suffrage in Australia and New Zealand all the moral attributes of the millennium, as the statement is vague enough to leave loopholes for escape in the event of its being challenged. Lady Aberconway, however, now makes a definite statement regarding teachers' salaries, in the hope of winning converts to Woman Suffrage under the belief that the Parliamentary vote has a bearing on the wage question. As in the case of the misstatements in the pamphlet entitled "Votes and Wages," Suffragist "facts" are disproved by official publications. Below we give an extract from the Australian Year Book, 1912 (p. 472), dealing with teachers' salaries in primary schools. From this table it will be seen that in no State do women teachers receive the same salary as men, except in the one instance, in Western Australia, where the two classes receive the minimum pay in schools with an average attendance below fifteen.

Suffragists may like to study these figures and the exception named, in their bearing on the attainments of women teachers or their relative uses in large schools.

Miss A. K. Williams presided over a crowded audience, which necessitated an overflow meeting in the smaller hall.

From the first it could be discerned that the majority of the audience was against the idea of the gathering, and the chanting of well-known refrains showed the spirit of the malcontents.

Miss T. E. Bonwick moved and Mrs. K. M. Dice seconded the resolution:—"That this meeting desires to record its conviction that it is in the best interests of education that duly qualified women teachers be granted the Parliamentary Franchise."

The following amendment was at once moved, amidst cheers, by Mr. R. H. Roberts, and seconded by Mr. A. E. Cook:—"That it is inexpedient for this Association to express an opinion on the question of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women." This amendment was carried by 660 votes to 598—a majority of 62.

Another amendment was also proposed by Mr. A. E. Cook and seconded by Mr. Roberts as follows:—"That this meeting is of opinion that before the question of Woman Suffrage is voted upon by the Association, a plebiscite of the members should be taken upon the advisability of including such subject within the scope of the objects of the Association." This was declared by the President to be carried by an overwhelming majority, and the meeting broke up with rounds of cheers by the Anti-Suffragists.

The matter has thus been left in the hands of the whole of the members of the L.T.A., and we sincerely hope they will all exercise their vote and show unmistakably to the Suffragists that the women teachers do not want to be worried with the possession of the Parliamentary vote and all its responsibilities.

STATE.	MEN.		WOMEN.	
	Teacher.	Assistant Teacher.	Teacher.	Assistant Teacher.
New South Wales ... ..	£156 to £500	£156 to £312	£192 to £312	£120 to £222
Queensland ... ..	£160 to £450	£102 to £262	£110 to £360	£72 to £216
Provisional Teacher	—	£90 to £110	—	£70 to £90
Victoria ... ..	£120 to £415	£70 to £164	£80 to £200	£56 to £138
In 1901 ... ..	£70 to £239	—	£56 to £138*	—
South Australia ... ..	£130 to £450	£140 to £230	£112 to £160	£84 to £180
In 1901 ... ..	£110 to £450	—	£92 to £156*	—
Tasmania ... ..	£110 to £420	£65 to £200	£90 to £140	£60 to £138
Western Australia :				
In Class I. school ...	£370 to £450	—	£300 to £350	—
" II. " ...	£320 to £370	—	£260 to £300	—
" III. " ...	£270 to £320	—	£230 to £260	—
" IV. " ...	£220 to £270	—	£180 to £230	—
" V. " ...	£180 to £220	—	£150 to £180	—
" VI. " ...	£140 to £180	—	£130 to £150	—

\* See Special Reports on Systems of Education, 1901.

The only class of school in which male and female teachers receive identical salaries is in that where the average attendance is below fifteen; then each get £110.

general agreement—that the immunity from punishment which the hunger-striker gives to prisoners is an immunity which no community will stand. Probably most Anti-Suffragists will again agree with Mr. Shaw that forcible feeding is not a desirable thing in itself. Certainly it is not under the present system, when it is merely a preliminary to release. What, then, is to be the alternative to the "general jail delivery" of which Mr. Shaw writes? The alternative which he suggests is acquiescence by the authorities in the voluntary starvation of prisoners. After this Mr. Shaw's "cold logic" breaks down. He goes on to suggest that, if one of these women is allowed to commit suicide, it is the Government that will be condemned. It is certain that, in Ireland at least, the Government would be exonerated from blame for such a futile tragedy by ninety-nine people out of a hundred. Either Suffragists are painfully aware of this fact, or else the lofty talk of "sacrifice for the cause" is quite empty. For one reason or the other, Mr. Shaw's letter has been kept carefully in the background by Dublin Suffragists, and at meetings they refuse to reply to heckling questions on the subject. But more is likely to be heard of it from other quarters. Such a course is certain to recommend itself to the serious consideration of the authorities.

#### ENGLISH AND IRISH QUARREL.

The breach between the Irish Suffrage societies and the Women's Social and Political Union, which was begun by Mrs. Fawcett's unhappy suggestion of a "deal" with Mr. Redmond, grows steadily wider. The Suffragist organ here finds it a "matter for regret" that W.S.P.U. speakers should have been imported, and believes that Irish Suffragists are better fitted to deal with "the psychology of their countrymen." A second suggestion, following upon Mrs. Fawcett's, to the effect that Irish Suffragists should voluntarily withdraw their amendment to the Home Rule Bill, is the cause of these latest recriminations. It should be sufficiently clear that, from the Suffragists' point of view, both the safest and the most generous policy is to concentrate upon the Reform Bill.

Irish Suffragists, however, prefer to adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy towards English Suffragists, and a threatening attitude towards Mr. Redmond. And by so doing they at once make their chances more remote than ever, and provide useful evidence of their capacity for dealing with political problems.

### LONDON TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

IN June last the London Teachers' Association attempted to hold a special Conference to deal with a resolution brought forward by the Suffragettes, but owing to the manner in which the teachers resented the turning of their organisation into a political debating society, there was pandemonium, and the Conference broke up in disgust.

Becoming more obstinate with the defeat, the Suffragettes lost no time in obtaining the necessary signatures for the calling of another Conference in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on September 13th.



### HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(From its inauguration on July 20th, 1908, to the Annual Council Meeting, June 21st, 1912.)

[In response to several requests, we publish a short account of the origin and progress of the N.L.O.W.S.]

"WOMEN of England! we appeal to your patriotism and your common sense." These were the stirring words which concluded the manifesto read by Mrs. Humphry Ward, at the inaugural meeting of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, on July 20th, 1908. On that occasion the Countess of Jersey presided over so crowded a gathering in the Westminster Palace Hotel that numbers were standing and many more were unable to obtain admittance.

Lady Haversham, as Chairman of the Provisional Committee, the Dowager Lady Ilchester, the Hon. Ivor Guest (now Lord Ashby St. Ledgers), Mrs. Humphry Ward and Sir Richard Temple were the speakers, and out of the appeal which was then made for an opposition to the extension of the Franchise to Woman has grown the great organisation now known as the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

Women, as was fitting, laid the foundations of this movement. Miss Sophia Lonsdale in 1906 appealed, through the medium of *The Times*, to all women who were opposed to Woman Suffrage to make protest. In a very short time a Committee was formed of a few ladies and one or two men acting with them, Miss Ermine Taylor as Secretary, and within a fortnight a petition was signed by 37,000 women. This, presented later to Parliament, made a decided impression. In 1908, a Parliamentary Committee took up the question, and the presumption of the Suffragists, who claimed to represent the opinion of the majority of women, and the challenge of the Prime Minister, "to show whether or not there was a demand for Woman Suffrage," were answered.

The first Executive Committee of the W.N.A.S. League was formed as follows: Chairman, The Countess of Jersey; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Massie; Executive: Lady Haversham, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Ermine Taylor, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Miss Lonsdale, Lady George Hamilton, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Lady Weardale, Miss Janet Hogarth, Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth, Ellen, Countess of Desart, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, Mrs. Arthur-Somervell, Mr. Heber Hart, Mrs. Burgwin, Miss Pretious, Miss Low, Mrs. Simon (now Lady Simon), Lady Robson, Mrs. Godfrey Benson (now Lady Charnwood), Lady Biddulph, Mr. J. Massie, M.P., the Hon. Ivor Guest, M.P., Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell was Hon. Secretary of the League from its inauguration until January, 1909.

On December 5th, 1908, the first meeting of the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage took place in the Caxton Hall. This meeting had been convened by a Committee composed of Mr. J. Massie, M.P., the Hon. Ivor Guest, M.P., Mr. Heber Hart, and Mr. George Calderon, and the Men's League

was formed with the Earl of Cromer as President, Hon. Treasurers, Lord Welby, G.C.B., and Mr. Heber Hart, and a long list of Vice-Presidents. Thus there were by the spring of 1909 two Leagues with the object of strenuously opposing the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women.

The Queen's Hall Demonstration on March 26th, 1909, was the first great mass meeting held by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, and was an unqualified success. The Hall was crowded and brilliant speeches were made by Lord Cromer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Weardale, Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Arthur Somervell.

On June 21st, 1909, the W.N.A.S. League held its Second Council Meeting in the Caxton Hall, the Countess of Jersey in the Chair. The entire success of the League was reported as the result of its first year's work, a distinct check had been given to the Suffrage movement, and the first object of the League had been achieved. A quarter of a million women had signed a monster petition, presented to the House of Commons by Mr. John Massie, M.P. (March, 1909). Ninety-five branches had been started in Great Britain and Ireland, and 9,000 subscribers had been secured in eight months, and the organisation was rapidly spreading throughout the country. As Mrs. Arthur Somervell, in reading the Report of the Executive Committee, said: "The work of the League has been a dignified, though none the less vigorous propaganda, of a national character, carried out by a body of patriotic women who have the true welfare of their country at heart."

A brief history of the League must include mention of the work of Mrs. Arthur Somervell, at one time Honorary Secretary. She worked hard at the Central Offices until the end of 1909, and was constantly addressing public meetings.

In the succeeding twelve months, from June, 1909, to June, 1910, much good work was accomplished. Hundreds of meetings were held, many new Branches were formed, the membership was nearly doubled, and a supplementary petition of 82,000 more signatures was presented to the House of Commons in November, 1909. At the General Election of January, 1910, all Parliamentary candidates were made aware of the strong opposition of many thousands of men and women to Woman Suffrage.

The third Council Meeting was held in the Caxton Hall on June 28th, 1910, the Countess of Jersey in the Chair, and a stirring speech made by Lord Cromer was the feature of the afternoon. The Secretary's report was received with the greatest satisfaction. The success of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, first issued December, 1908, to which Mrs. Humphry Ward gave so much of her valuable time, and the popularity of the badge which had been adopted, were reported, and the valuable propaganda work of the Branches commented upon. The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D., gave an account of the formation of the Scotch Branches into the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, and American representatives spoke of the spread of the Anti-Suffrage movement in the United States, where there are two strong Associations. At this meeting also the Local Government Sub-Committee was first discussed, and was shortly afterwards formed, with Mrs. Humphry Ward as Chairman.

When Mr. Shackleton's Bill was introduced in July, 1910, Anti-Suffragism had become a power in the land not to be ignored, and "The Man's Case Against" now revealed itself as a menace to the astonished supporters of Woman Suffrage.

At the General Election of December, 1910, the colours of the W.N.A.S. League were recognised as prominent, and the influence of Anti-Suffragism made itself strongly felt. The defeat of the two Woman Suffrage candidates, Mr. H. Jacobs, of East St. Pancras, and Mr. Mirrless, at Camlachie, who only polled between them 57 votes, will long be remembered as a ludicrous incident of the second General Election of 1910.

The canvass of Women Municipal Electors was begun in 1910, and made its own page in Anti-Suffrage history, by proving how many of the very women whom the various Suffrage Bills desired to enfranchise are opposed to "Votes for Women." The success of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League which had been formed under the Presidency of Miss Ermine Taylor in January, 1909, was assured by 1910, and had become an important development of the senior League's work.

Progress was steady and sure until the important step taken on December 6th, 1910, when the formal amalgamation of the Men's League with the W.N.A.S.L. was accomplished and the strong and united organisation was formed, which is now known as the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The Earl of Cromer was elected President, and the Countess of Jersey Deputy-President. It was felt that the time was now ripe for the concerted action of a large and comprehensive League in which men and women would be equally represented. With this end in view, the Earl of Cromer and Earl Curzon of Kedleston sent out the Appeal which resulted in the substantial "fighting fund" and support that enabled the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to launch upon the campaign which is now on the full tide of prosperity.

From the Council Meeting of the League on June 30th, 1911, when an enthusiastic gathering of councillors and delegates met in the Criterion under the presidency of the Earl of Cromer, to the present date, the history of the N.L.O.W.S. has been full of event. The second deputation to the Prime Minister, taken to Downing Street by Earl Curzon on December 14th, 1911 (the first deputation had waited on Mr. Asquith in June, 1910) proved very significant. Mr. Asquith's expressed opinion that "the grant of the Parliamentary Franchise to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind" was a direct encouragement to the League to "go on and prosper," and this it has done. The comments of the press at the time of the December deputation demonstrated the keen public interest aroused in what has been described as "one of the most piquant political situations of modern times."

In September, 1911, the Local Government Sub-Committee was formed into the Local Government Advancement Committee, and in the spring of 1912 became an independent organisation.

A landmark for the League in 1912 was the great Albert Hall Demonstration on February 28th, when "the Woman Suffrage

bubble was pricked," and the Lord Chancellor of England moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution:—

"That the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects, both socially and politically, ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate."

Eloquent argument from the lips of Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, Miss Violet Markham, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, and Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., brought on that occasion an incontrovertible weight of evidence against Woman Suffrage, and, to quote Lord Cromer, "a very considerable set-back has been given to this pernicious Female Suffrage movement."

The Executive Committee has recently undergone changes. The resignation of Lord Cromer by reason of his failing health was a subject of profound regret to the League. In April, Earl Curzon of Kedleston and Lord Weardale accepted the Joint Presidency; the Countess of Jersey and Lady Robson consented to act as Deputy-Presidents, and Colonel Le Roy Lewis, D.S.O., was appointed Chairman of the Executive. During the present year a Parliamentary Committee has been attached to the League, composed of Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., The Hon. Neil Primrose, M.P., Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., with Mr. J. Massie as Hon. Treasurer, and the Anti-Suffrage cause has a large following in both Houses of Parliament.

The N.L.O.W.S. with its thousands of members and its 267 Branches now stands a solid wall of resistance against the clamour of "votes for women." Since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill on March 28th, 1912, its position has been further strengthened, and it remains for the future to decide how the completion of its national work shall be brought about.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION.

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

SIR,—Having seen in the "Women's Platform," in the *Standard*, that the Suffrage demonstration in Platt Fields, Manchester, would be the largest ever held in that city, the writer attended and saw the very much advertised "monster" procession.

I counted 120 women and 9 men, but my figures might be a little short, as the *Daily Mail* states about 150 persons walked in the procession.

Again, at Platt Fields, the *Manchester Guardian* states several thousand were present, the *Daily Mail* states 1,000, but in my opinion 500 would be the correct number.

The *Manchester Guardian* report is distinctly a travesty on what really happened; for

instance, at two of the platforms at which I attended the speakers were subjected to a running fire of interruptions, and the hands held up against the resolution were at least equal to those in favour.

I asked Mr. Sam Brooks, who was speaking on the platform of the "Actresses Franchise League," whether the majority of women desired the Parliamentary vote. His reply was: "I do not care whether they do or not. I do."

The Actresses Franchise League made a brave show, two being present; they were, however, augmented by a Socialist councillor, and a local doctor.

As the "demonstration" was held under the auspices of about six Suffrage societies, it is of great encouragement to the thousands of men and women in Lancashire who are opposed to women having the Parliamentary vote.

I am, &c.,

H. W. BARBER.

### SUFFRAGISTS IN WALES.

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

SIR,—No one can regret more than I do the treatment meted out to the Suffragettes who interrupted Mr. Lloyd George at Llanystumdwy on Saturday. Yet it is only fair to the general public that the following facts should be known: (1) Anyone who has seen the river at Llanystumdwy knows that it is very shallow and full of boulders. The extra boulders placed in the river were put there, not with murderous intent (as published in one paper), but to dam the river so that a pool sufficiently large to duck the interrupters should be formed. A path leads from the bridge to the river's brink. (2) Two of the victims described as half killed, escaped from the temporary prison, and my companion saw them race across the fields. It was ten minutes or so before the police could catch them. Evidently they were not seriously hurt. (3) I saw one of the most "seriously injured" women depart in a motor car. She jumped in, and, standing with upraised arm, addressed and threatened the crowd. (4) The hedge over which one woman is said to have been flung is a low hedge, the field being slightly higher than the road. Of course, the policeman "caught" her. It was an easy task to protect her there. (5) The woman who is described as being half stripped first bit the hand of a man, who was naturally irritated, and equally naturally lost his respect for womanhood for the moment. (6) One of these women is said to have worn a leather belt spiked with pins. When she most illegitimately interrupted the meeting and a man quite legitimately attempted to put her out, the discovery of the spiked belt might reasonably rouse his temper. (7) A man who drove me over to Llanystumdwy the following Monday told me he had driven two of them back to Portmadoc on Saturday, and that one of them said to him, "Well, you know, we had to make a row or we shouldn't have got our two guineas!"

I am, &c.,

ONLOOKER.

Festiniog,

September 24th.

### THE BEEHIVE.

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

SIR,—Our Society of the Beehive has increased. We now number 128 members. We promise to pray to God to ask Him to bless and direct our work. We promise also to do some philanthropic work, and we meet once a month and do something to help on some existing philanthropic work.

Our ideal is to try and improve ourselves, and to show the real and true sphere of woman by using her influence and all her gifts to make the world a little better and happier. We had one day a collection for the Sanatorium in Edinburgh, and Dr. Orr most kindly gave us an address on the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. Another time we had a sale in aid of Bernado, Quarrier and Aberlour funds, and so we often have those (the best) from the other side who are interested in good works who come and so hear our arguments, and we have enrolled many of them.

I am, &c.,

GRISELDA CHEAPE.

Strathtyrum,

St. Andrew's.

## OUR BRANCH NEWS LETTER.

SEPTEMBER has been a busy month, and most of the meetings held have been in active preparation for the winter campaign. This has been especially the case with the out-door meetings that have been conducted in London and many holiday centres. We have enlisted so many new supporters and active members that the prospect for our winter work is very encouraging. All our Branch workers, and they now form a large army, are returning from holidays and will begin making plans for the immediate future.

**Aberdovey.**—One of the strongholds of Suffragism has been attacked and carried. For years a Suffrage Society, under the clever leadership of Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, has been working in Aberdovey, where hitherto, our side has not been heard. On September 5th, our League organised a public meeting in the Council Schools. Mr. Jones Hughes took the chair, and addressed the meeting both in English and Welsh. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon explained the objects of the Anti-Suffrage League, and at the conclusion of her speech invited questions. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried amidst great enthusiasm by an overwhelming majority. As a consequence of the meeting a Branch of our League has been started here with an excellent membership.

**Banbury.**—A very representative Branch has been started at Banbury, and with a strong Committee and officials will do good work in North Oxfordshire. There is already



a good membership. The Hon. Mrs. Molyneux, of the Red House, Bodicote, has kindly consented to be Vice-President. Mr. J. Fingland will be Hon. Treasurer and Miss Gurney Hon. Secretary.

The inaugural meeting was held at the residence of the Hon. Mrs. Molyneux, the Red House, on September 18th. Mrs. Molyneux, presiding over a crowded assembly, read a letter from Lady Jersey expressing appreciation of the work of the N.L.O.W.S. in Oxfordshire, and promising to address a meeting in Banbury if it should be arranged before she went abroad in January.

Mrs. Molyneux, after making a brief speech, invited discussion, and the Rev. C. J. Shebbeare, Miss Cameron, Mr. F. J. Wilks, Mrs. Cartwright and Mrs. Pemberton spoke. Subsequently the officers and Committee were elected.

**Blenheim and Woodstock.**—A very strong Branch of our League has been formed here, with Lady Norah Spencer Churchill as President and some energetic officials and helpers. Mr. W. Poore Clarke is the Hon. Treasurer and Miss Clarke the Hon. Secretary. The inaugural meeting was held in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, Woodstock, the Mayor in the chair. Miss Eveline Duncan and Mr. F. H. Templar gave short addresses, and questions were answered by Miss Cameron. After votes of thanks had been passed, tea was served to the audience.

**Borth.**—A very successful meeting in Borth was organised by some keen Anti-Suffragists who were spending their holidays there, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a large gathering in the Assembly Rooms, on September 18th, Mr. J. T. Lewis in the Chair. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously. Several ladies from other towns came forward after the meeting and offered to start Branches of the League in the neighbourhood of their homes, so it is likely that several Branches will spring up in various directions as a result of this holiday meeting. The Borth Branch has made a most auspicious beginning and promises well.

**Bristol.**—The Rev. R. E. Corlett presided over a very successful meeting in connection with the Bristol Branch on September 11th, at the Christ Church Institute, Staple Inn.

Mr. Corlett in a brief but well-reasoned speech put the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was afterwards well carried.

Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie addressed the meeting, and explained the objects of our League in a way that successfully appealed to the sympathies of the audience.

A special meeting for new members was held in connection with the Bristol Branch at 15, Royal York Crescent, on September 25th. Mrs. Harold Norris gave an interesting address on the principles of Anti-Suffragism and the aim and objects of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Amongst the meetings arranged by Bristol for the month of October, a debate at Day's Training College, 12, Berkeley Square, on October 9th, ought to prove most interesting. An Anti-Suffrage address will be given at St. Michael's Liberal Club on October 25th.

Thirty-two new members have joined the Bristol Branch since the 20th of last month.

**Derby.**—A very interesting drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of Mrs. Walter Evans, at her residence, Darley Abbey, Derby, on August 22nd. Colonel Jelf, of Ashbourne, was in the chair, and there was a very large attendance, including a number of well-known and influential local residents.

Mrs. Harold Norris gave an excellent address, and explained clearly the aims and objects of the League. This was the first meeting held under the auspices of our League in the neighbourhood of Derby, and the great interest which it aroused was very encouraging to our supporters here.

The chairman, in his brief speech, alluded to the fact that Derbyshire boasted the possession of the two famous Anti-Suffragists Earl Curzon of Kedleston and Miss Violet Markham—adding that it was therefore fit that a strong opposition to the Suffrage movement should make itself felt in that county.

A vote of thanks to Mrs. Harold Norris and Colonel Jelf was proposed by Miss Wilmott, and seconded by the Hon. Blanche Curzon.

**Dublin.**—There was a very large attendance at the monthly Committee meeting of the Irish Branch, held at the Head Office, South Anne Street, Dublin, on September 2nd. The Secretary reported a very satisfactory increase in the membership, and it was decided to hold a public meeting in Dublin as soon as possible, following the lines of those held in large centres in England and Scotland.

**Guildford.**—A delightful afternoon was arranged for a number of the woman shop assistants of Guildford, by the kind hospitality of Miss Ellis, on September 4th. Miss Ellis's guests were entertained at tea in her charming garden, and played croquet, &c., thoroughly enjoying an afternoon of sunshine. Miss Onslow, President of the Guildford Branch, gave an address before tea, on the principles of Anti-Suffragism, and Mrs. Jacobs made an interesting little speech after tea. Several of the Guildford Committee were present, and the hostess was heartily thanked for her kindness to the young women workers of the town.

**Isle of Wight.**—A deputation from the Isle of Wight Branch was received on September 6th by Mr. Douglas Hall, Member for the Isle, at the residence of Mrs. Bennett Brigstocke at Ryde, kindly lent for the occasion. The deputation, which was introduced by Mrs. Oglander, President of the Branch, consisted of the Vice-President, Mrs. Douglas Forsyth and members of the Committee.

Mrs. Oglander, addressing Mr. Douglas Hall, said that the Anti-Suffragists of the Isle of Wight were anxious to express their indignation at the attempt to be made this autumn to pass a Bill granting Women's Suffrage as an amendment to the Suffrage Bill. They hoped that Mr. Hall would vote against such a change being brought about without consulting the electorate. Mrs. Douglas Forsyth then spoke. Mr. Hall agreed that the method proposed, and urged by Suffrage Leagues, for bringing about what they desired was a very wrong one. He had voted for the Conciliation Bill as a follower of his leader, Mr. Balfour, but he now considered that he was free to decide according to his own opinions. He was very much interested in all that had

been said, but he could not give a pledge to either party—he must be left a free agent until such time as the debate was brought before the House.

In thanking Mr. Hall for the kind and courteous way in which he had received the deputation, Mrs. Oglander handed him a paper giving the result of the canvass taken last year in the Isle of Wight, showing that two-thirds of the Municipal voters in the Isle are against the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women.

**Manchester.**—Manchester has held a great number of out-door meetings during the past month. On September 6th a meeting was held at Houldsworth Square, Reddish, Mr. H. W. Barber in the chair. An interested audience consisting chiefly of working-class people was addressed by Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., and Miss C. Moir.

On September 9th, a large gathering was addressed at Mersey Square, Stockport, by Mrs. P. W. Craven and Miss C. Moir, Mr. J. Beaumont presiding.

On September 11th, a crowd of several hundreds assembled on the steps of Bolton Town Hall to hear the same speakers, Mr. W. C. Martin being in the chair. At this meeting a number of questions about the work of the N.L.O.W.S. was asked by the audience, who were obviously in sympathy with us.

On September 16th, Miss C. Moir addressed an audience of working men, composing what is known as "The Queen's Park Parliament." We have many supporters here, and Miss Moir's address was received with enthusiasm.

A very interesting dinner-hour meeting was held outside some large works at Burnage on September 18th. These "dinner-hour" meetings always prove a success in industrial districts such as the Manchester Branch comprises.

A very successful garden party was held on September 21st by the Sub-Branches on the north side of Manchester, at Broughton Old Hall. Mrs. Boutflower, Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Battersby and Miss Smithies very kindly supplied the refreshments, and with other members of the Branch did much to ensure the success of the party. After tea an enjoyable musical programme was given by Miss Butcher, Miss Richardson, Mr. G. Hanby, Mr. Farnworth, and Mr. Ray. This was followed by a dance. The party was a great success socially and financially.

**Shrewsbury.**—The Shrewsbury Branch is rapidly coming to the front, for within the last few weeks no less than 200 new members have been enrolled, and the work of our League is spreading in the neighbourhood.

A very successful and largely attended garden meeting for working women was held on September 11th at Whitehall, Shrewsbury, by the kind permission of Mr. W. H. Sneyd-Kynnersley. Miss Bridgeman, President of the Branch, was in the chair, and an exceedingly interesting address was given by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. At the close of the meeting 101 new members joined the League.

**Wales.**—Our campaign in Wales is progressing steadily. On August 19th an open-air meeting held in Llandilo was very well attended, a large crowd assembling in spite of the rain. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a very keenly interested audience, and after some good-natured heckling the resolution against Woman Suffrage was put and carried unanimously. Mrs. Powell was in the chair and made a brief speech in favour of the resolution.

**Weston-super-Mare.**—Visitors and residents to Weston-super-Mare and the surrounding districts have proved themselves in sympathy with the Anti-Suffrage movement, and have been heartily supporting our cause there. Mr. and Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie have held a holiday campaign at Weston and the district, and addressed open-air meetings on the beach, and at the Plantation in Weston, and at Penarth, Burnham, Cheddar and Clevedon. The meetings were well attended and the resolution against Woman Suffrage was always carried, never at any time finding more than half-a-dozen opponents.

#### OUR LEAFLETS.

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. Price 1s. per 100.
5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. Price 9d. per 100.
6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. Price 1s. per 100.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. Price 1s. per 100.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes. Should Women have Votes because they pay Taxes? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. Price 7s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule; Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.
40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. Price 5s. per 1,000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
49. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech at Oxford. Price 1d.
50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
51. Suffragist Fallacies. *A Mandate* (?). Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
52. Manifesto. Why the Nation is Opposed. 4s. per 1,000.
53. Power and Responsibility. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
55. "Votes for Women" Never! Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

#### PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- AA. Lecture by Miss Pott. Price 1d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
- O. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- Q. Why Women should not have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
- R. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.
- S. "Songs for Suffs," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
- T. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
- The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
- Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
- U. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman's Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
- V. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.
- W. Suffragette Sing-Song. Price 2d.
- X. A Memorandum on Woman Suffrage, by Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P. Price 1d.

Y. Woman Suffrage: Its Meaning and Effect. By Arthur Page, B.A. Price 1d.

7. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.

The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.

Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.

Lord Charnwood's Pamphlet, "Legislation for the Protection of Women," may be obtained on application to these Offices. Price 2d., also Mr. Harold Owen's book, "Woman Adrift." Price 4s. 6d. net.

Application for Leaflets for free distribution at meetings, or for any other purpose, should be made to the Secretary.

## BRANCHES.

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- NORTH BERKS.**—President: The Lady Wantage. Hon. Secretary: Miss Gladys Pott, Little Place, Clifton Hampden, Abingdon, Berks; and 7, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
- Abingdon (Sub-Branch).**—Hon. Secretary: Lady Norman, Stratton House, Abingdon.
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(Continued on page 247).

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Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme,  
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