

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.

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at
515 Caxton House, Tothill Street,
Westminster, S.W.
Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."
Telephone Nos.: { 8472 Gerrard.
1418 ..

No. 47.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1912.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Executive Committee:

Presidents: EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON; LORD WEARDALE.

Deputy-Presidents: THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY; LADY ROBSON.

COLONEL LE ROY-LEWIS, C.B., D.S.O., *Chairman of Executive Committee.*

Hon. Treasurer: J. MASSIE, ESQ.

Hon. Secretary: MRS. MOBERLY BELL.

Assistant Secretary: MISS HELEN PAGE.

MISS G. LOWTHIAN BELL
MRS. MOBERLY BELL
MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN
MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON

MRS. MASSIE
MISS POTT
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD
MRS. HENRY WILSON

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT,
ESQ., M.P.
J. W. HILLS, ESQ., M.P.
LORD HAVERSHAM.

A. MACONACHIE, ESQ.
E. A. MITCHELL-INNES, ESQ., K.C.
ARNOLD WARD, ESQ., M.P.

Co-opted Members: MRS. BURGWIN, MRS. GREATBATCH, LORD CHARNWOOD, HEBER HART, ESQ.,
KENNETH CHALMERS, ESQ.

The terms of Membership are:—Vice-Presidents, single donation of £25 or annual subscription of not less than £5; Members of Council, £1 is.; Members of the League, 5s.; Associates, 1s. (Branches can arrange for the collection of smaller subscriptions.)

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.

MEETINGS IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

- SEPTEMBER 11TH, SHREWSBURY.—Garden Meeting, Bellstone House, 3 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- SEPTEMBER 11TH, BRISTOL.—Christchurch Institute, Staple Hill, Rev. R. E. Corbett (Chair), Mrs. Harold Norris, Mr. A. Maconachie.
- SEPTEMBER 25TH, FARNBOROUGH.—Garden Fête, "Knellwood." Speaker, Mrs. Greatbatch.
- OCTOBER 5TH, MANCHESTER.—Demonstration White City. Mrs. Harold Norris.
- OCTOBER 8TH, CHINGFORD.—Women's Liberal Association Debate, 3 p.m. Miss Mabel Smith.
- OCTOBER 15TH, WORTHING.—Miss Gladys Pott, Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C.
- OCTOBER 19TH, PANGBOURNE.—Miss Gladys Pott.
- OCTOBER 22ND, TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—Miss Gladys Pott.
- OCTOBER 23RD, DULWICH.—Debate.
- OCTOBER 29TH, RUGBY.—Debate. Miss Gladys Pott.
- OCTOBER 31ST, PORTSMOUTH.—Miss Gladys Pott.

NEW BRANCHES.

Bicester.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Dewar, Cotmore House, Bicester.

Haddenham.

President: Mrs. Stevenson.
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. Newcombe.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Newcombe, The Hawthorns, Haddenham, Bucks.

Hanley Swan (Worcestershire).

President: Mrs. G. F. Chance.
Hon. Treasurer: A. Every-Clayton, Esq., S. Mary's, Hanley Swan.
Hon. Secretary: William Flux, Esq., Hanley Swan.

Henley-on-Thames.

President: Lady Esther Smith.
Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Gibbs, Esq., London County and Westminster Bank, Henley-on-Thames.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Beeves.

Thame.

President: Mrs. Philip Wykeham.
Hon. Treasurer: W. Ryder, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ronald Lee, High Street, Thame.

Uxbridge.

Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer (*pro tem.*): Mrs. Wakefield, New Belmont, Uxbridge

A GREAT

Anti-Suffrage Demonstration

will be held in

GLASGOW,

on

Friday, November 1st, 1912.

Lord Glenconner

will be in the Chair.

Among the Speakers will be:—

Lord Curzon,

Lady Tullibardine.

Further particulars will be announced later.

THE FRANCHISE-HOME RULE BARGAIN.

POLITICAL bargaining, especially when it either entails surrender of principle or is effected at the expense of a third party, is usually regarded as somewhat immoral, although possibly expedient. It is one of those man-made devices that we might expect to be relegated to the limbo of forgotten crimes when Suffragists are in a position to exercise that purifying influence upon politics which they claim for their vote. How great, then, is the shock to find that, without the least hesitation, Suffragists are prepared to carry through a deal of the most callous character—a deal that would simply have the effect of throwing over their Irish sisters for their own personal benefit. The intrigue, moreover, emanates not from the unregenerate leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, but from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Mrs. Fawcett, the leader of this Union, recently sent a letter to Liberal Members of the House of Commons advocating that a bargain should be struck with the Nationalist Party to insure the passage of Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill at the price of throwing over the Irish Suffragists, who are working for enfranchisement under the Home Rule Bill. The letter points out that the Nationalist vote is likely to defeat the enfranchisement of women under the Franchise Bill, and adds that means are open "to prevent this catastrophe." Mr. Philip Snowden has put down an amendment to the Home Rule Bill enfranchising women as electors to the Irish Parliament, "and we have reason to know that the Irish Party regard it with alarm." Mrs. Fawcett continues:—

Mr. Snowden is prepared to withdraw this amendment, if Mr. Redmond will promise to use his influence on behalf of the Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill. But, obviously, this bargain can succeed only if it is known that Liberal Suffragists will support Mr. Snowden's amendment, should Mr. Redmond refuse an arrangement. I believe that if it were to be known that a majority had been assured for Mr. Dickinson's amendment through a bargain

with the Irish Party, the whole outlook of our question would be altered both in the House and outside.

Finally, in order to clinch this bargain, Mrs. Fawcett asked the Liberal recipient to sign a card expressing willingness to vote for Mr. Snowden's amendment.

Not unnaturally, these questionable tactics on the part of Mrs. Fawcett and her Socialist allies have not been received with much enthusiasm. The parliamentary correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, the only uncompromising advocate of Woman Suffrage in the non-Socialist Press, states:—"The letter has not been received enthusiastically by Liberals who have voted for Women's Suffrage hitherto." A notification was hurriedly issued by the "Conciliation Committee" in the House of Commons to the effect that Mr. Snowden's amendment had been placed on the Order Paper on their behalf, and that no proposal to withdraw it "in any circumstances" had been made. The Irish Women's Franchise League is somewhat more emphatic in its denunciation. It has read, runs the pronouncement—

with feelings of the greatest indignation Mrs. Fawcett's attempt to have the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill withdrawn. . . . What Mrs. Fawcett proposes, in short, is that an amendment introducing sex equality into a Bill on which the Government's fortunes are staked should be sacrificed in favour of an amendment not establishing sex equality and applicable to a measure which may easily be dropped by the Government. . . . We consider this scheme a proof of readiness to sacrifice Irish interests to English expediency. . . . The lack of regard for the interests of Irish women displayed by Mrs. Fawcett is a striking example of the necessity for that absolute independence of all English Suffragist organisations which have been maintained by the Irish Women's Franchise League since its foundation.

Even the official militants have a slight qualm of conscience when it comes to throwing over Irish Suffragists, for in arguing that the "strategy" of the National Union would be disastrous, they say:—"Apart from the question of whether it is right to barter away the claims of the Irish women in this fashion, the promise which Mr. Redmond is being asked to give is utterly worthless."

Mrs. Fawcett's essay as a parliamentary tactician, therefore, can hardly be said to have met with much success. If the attempt in itself was immoral, it would be difficult to find words for the "explanation" of the incident given in the official organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. According to this statement, the disingenuousness of which is worthy of the best Suffrage traditions, the National Union was

approached by certain persons . . . who begged us to dissuade Mr. Snowden from moving his amendment. We answered that our action did not imply any hostility to Home Rule. . . . We were bound to protest against such an attempt (the setting up of a new "representative" body without granting the vote to women) by every means in our power, and to insist on the recognition of the Irish women's claims. . . . It was then put to us that such a proposition (the Franchise-Home Rule deal) might be worth our consideration. We agreed that it might—if the proposal came from Mr. Redmond himself. . . . We could not possibly leave the Irish women in the lurch. . . . Similar proposals have since been made to us from other quarters, but none of them were, so far as we know, emissaries of Mr. Redmond. The idea has, therefore, not been seriously entertained by us—in fact, it has not even come up for the consideration of our Executive Committee. Mrs. Fawcett's letter, which appeared in the paper last week, written to Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s, was in answer to a challenge from some of them. When urged to put pressure on the Irish Party to secure their vote for Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, they retorted that it was Mr. Snowden we ought to appeal to, because he had a means of putting pressure ready to hand—by withdrawing his Home Rule amendment. Mrs. Fawcett pointed out in her letter that Mr. Snowden's amendment is only valuable as a means of putting pressure on the Irish vote, if he has effective support for it, and she asked the Liberal Suffragist members what support they were prepared to give.

Mrs. Fawcett is President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and her letter was written from the offices of the Union. It made no reference to any "challenge" from "certain persons" or any other equally mysterious beings; but it did contain the definite statement that "Mr. Snowden is prepared to withdraw the amendment, if Mr. Redmond will promise," &c., and added: "But, obviously, this bargain can succeed only if it is known that Liberal Suffragists will support Mr. Snowden's amendment, should Mr. Redmond refuse an arrangement." Yet the official statement of the National

Union can state that "the idea (of a bargain) has not been seriously entertained by us." Mrs. Fawcett strives to strike a bargain on the strength of a definite pledge committing both the National Union and Mr. Snowden. A few days later we are told that in so doing she has the authority neither of the one nor of the other. The incident of the prominent Suffragist who published a letter over the "signature" of some one else who had never seen the document will at once be called to mind. The sole *raison d'être* of Mrs. Fawcett's letter, as set forth in the first paragraph, was to make sure of the Irish vote for the Franchise Bill; as she felt so confident of securing that by her bargain, she could even hold out the bait of a "truce" on the part of the militants. The Irish vote was to be secured simply by dropping the Woman Suffrage amendment to Home Rule. But a few days later the official "explanation" of Mrs. Fawcett's letter rings the changes on the impossibility of leaving the Irish women in the lurch. At every turn we are confronted with this peculiar characteristic of Suffragists that, without hesitating, they will throw to the winds all considerations of morality, truthfulness or common honesty in order to gain their immediate purpose. If those who lead the movement can do this in the green tree, what will be done in the dry by their followers. The subject is one that must give all intelligent people "furiously to think," when they contemplate the demand of these Suffragists for the parliamentary vote.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Franchise Bill.

As far as the non-militant Suffragists are concerned, the accumulated hopes of years are now concentrated on the Franchise Bill, which is due to enter upon the Committee Stage this autumn. If on this occasion Woman Suffrage can be defeated, the cause will receive a set back from which it is not likely to recover for many years. The amendments tabled have reference for the most part to three different degrees of female enfranchisement. The first

would give women the vote on the terms of the Conciliation Bill, enfranchising a little over a million women; the second—giving the vote on a six-months' residence qualification to every woman who is the owner or tenant of the dwelling-house which she inhabits and, in addition, to the wife of every man who occupies a dwelling-house under similar conditions—would enfranchise from 5,500,000 to 7,000,000 women according to the age limit; the third—giving the vote to women on the same terms as the Franchise Bill will give it to men—would place 10,500,000 women on the electorate. As far as can be gathered the consensus of opinion among the Suffragist Members of the House of Commons is that neither the Conciliation Bill terms nor Adult Suffrage amendments have any chance of becoming law, and for this reason, they will endeavour to secure support for the middle degree of enfranchisement, giving the vote to women householders and to wives on their husbands' qualifications. Between now and the Committee Stage of the Bill Anti-Suffragists must make every effort to bring about the defeat of all the Suffrage amendments. Every Anti-Suffragist can, and ought to do her or his share. One way of helping is to secure signatures of electors to an appeal to the Member of Parliament of each constituency urging him not to support any measure for the enfranchisement of women until the question has been brought before the country as a main issue at a General Election. Postcards containing this appeal can be had on application to the Head Office, and good work would be done if all readers of the REVIEW would make a point of obtaining these cards, securing signatures and persuading every signatory himself to take a batch of postcards to be filled up by other electors.

On another page will be found enumerated the constituencies where this work will be particularly valuable, though it will be of great assistance in every constituency.

Votes and Wages.

IN view of the importance attached by Suffragists to the influence that the Parliamentary vote, in their opinion, is to have on women's wages, we hope that all our readers will study very carefully Miss Pott's lucid analysis of Miss Royden's pamphlet entitled

"Votes and Wages." The statements made in this pamphlet are of such striking inaccuracy that Miss Pott was anxious to debate them in detail with Miss Royden, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of explaining how it was that she affixed her signature to statements that were as a matter of common knowledge absolutely incorrect. Miss Royden refused this invitation on the ground first that she had no vacant date, and, secondly, that Miss Pott had been "personal"; but she is attempting to meet what she understands to be Miss Pott's criticisms in a series of articles in the *Common Cause*—a device that enables her to multiply inaccuracies without fear of immediate challenge. Miss Pott is obliged, therefore, to analyse in these columns the statements made in Miss Royden's pamphlet "Votes and Wages." Nobody interested in the Suffrage question, from whichever side, is justified in ignoring this controversy. By clear reasoning and full quotation from official publications, Miss Pott proves that Miss Royden's premises are wrong, and it follows that her Suffrage deductions are worthless. The matter is not unimportant. Miss Royden is one of the protagonists of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; the supposed influence of the Parliamentary vote on women's wages is the most telling argument on the Suffrage side. As a rule Suffragists are content to make the bare statement and trust to their hearers believing it implicitly. Miss Royden sets out to *prove* the contention, and at once reveals the fact that this Suffrage argument of the influence of the vote on wages rests entirely on misconception and inaccurate statements.

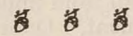
§ § §

The Superfluous Suffrage.

QUITE unwittingly the *Common Cause*, in its issue of August 22nd, gives prominence to an argument that cuts away the ground from under the whole Suffrage movement. Quoting from the *Methodist Times* it describes the normal conditions in the life of a wage-earning family. The brother and sister work the same number of hours and receive the same pay; in the evening the brother is free to act according to his inclinations, which prompt him "to fit himself to become a worthy citizen," the sister has "to clear the table and wash up, to darn her brother's

stockings, as well as her own," and by the time her "domestic jobs" are done she is too tired to get full benefit from the remaining leisure time. "The only alternative is to pile these jobs upon my overworked mother, and to earn the title of 'unnatural daughter.'" "Inevitably," adds the *Common Cause*, "the brother, released from his share of household toil, grows in comprehension and in knowledge."

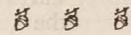
Quite so, and for this very reason in the beginning of time "male and female created He them." Presumably the tables have to be cleared, washing-up has to be done, and the "domestic jobs" attended to in a well-ordered State just as much as the peace of the land has to be maintained, its frontiers defended, life and property secured and the Empire's position in the world safeguarded. The wise woman knows that only in proportion to the thoroughness and conscientiousness with which the "domestic jobs" are performed will the other business in the State be carried out satisfactorily. National life is a long campaign and no army moves any distance without its commissariat. It is only the Suffragist who ignores the basic importance of the "domestic jobs" and would pretend that they are menial and worthless. The nation at large knows better. There will always be some women who are not called upon to do their share in the home sphere, and for these there is abundant opportunity to place their particular qualifications at the disposal of the State—*bien entendu* at the base and not in the fighting line, which their presence in any numbers would necessarily weaken. But it is idle for these few women to assume from their own experience that the "domestic jobs" do not exist, or that the performance of them will not remain until the end of time the finest and the most valuable contribution of women to the State. Fortunately, there is little fear that the fox without a tail will convert its fellows to its own way of thinking.



The Referendum.

We are glad to see that at a meeting of the Central Council of the National Association of Conservative and Liberal Unionist Associations, the Earl of Selborne dwelt on the utility of the Referendum as an instrument of democracy. In reply to a question, he added that "as regarded Woman

Suffrage he would say frankly that, although he was personally in favour of the enfranchisement of women, he thought that in the event of the two Houses of Parliament differing on the subject it was one to which the Referendum ought to be applied." Anti-Suffragists will agree.



Women and Legislation.

THE burden of nearly every Suffrage platform nowadays is that women find themselves "thwarted" in the work they are doing or trying to do, that they are "ignored," and have no facilities for placing their knowledge at the disposal of the nation. Miss Maude Royden, the most active of Suffrage speakers, expressed the idea more pointedly in a recent speech at Lyncombe. She "contended that women were naturally experts on some subjects which to-day were legislated by the House of Commons, and the fact that woman could not enforce her expert knowledge on the average politician made legislation upon these subjects extraordinarily futile and sometimes absolutely bad." The statement is typical of the misrepresentations with which Suffragists endeavour to secure converts to their cause. If the statement were literally true, there would be much to be said for insisting that women's advice should be listened to in the framing of those laws in which they are primarily concerned. But the facts of the case—perfectly well known to Miss Royden and other Suffragist leaders, though probably not dreamt of by the rank and file—are that in every instance where legislation is to deal with woman's sphere in the national life *women are invariably consulted*, and their advice, when they are in general agreement, is acted upon. Apart from the numbers of women inspectors and others in Government employ who have continually the ear of their particular Department, and apart from the fact that social and domestic legislation is based on the experience and advice of local bodies of which women may be members, special Commissions are appointed to prepare the ground for the larger legislative measures, and in every case women are represented on them or their views heard. It is in this way that expert knowledge, whether of men or women, is embodied in legislation, and not, as Suffragists pretend, by the exercise of the vote. The questions in

which Suffragists claim to have special interest are for the most part questions of detail in regard to existing legislation; they do not (Woman Suffrage itself excepted) constitute a new principle of legislation, like Tariff Reform or Home Rule, which can be submitted to the "Yes" or "No" of the electorate. In the settlement of these details the vote plays no part; but a single woman without the vote may be able to influence half a dozen members of Parliament. Again, woman's influence is not restricted to the drafting of legislative measures; it can find abundant scope in the administration of the law. A few days after Miss Royden endeavoured to mislead her Lyncombe audience, the following discussion took place in the House of Commons (*Hansard*, July 30th, 1912):—

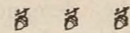
Mr. Charles Bathurst asked the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention had been drawn to the opinions expressed by Professor Moore and other food experts at the meeting of the Physiological Section of the British Medical Association last week, to the effect that the value of milk to young children is reduced by its sterilisation, and whether the experts of his Department share this view.

The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. John Burns): No report of the meeting referred to appears to be yet available. The relative values of boiled and raw milk as foods for infants and young children have, however, been fully discussed in a Report made to me by Dr. Janet Lane-Clayton.

Mr. Lynch: Would it be possible to institute a series of experiments?

Mr. John Burns: Before I reply to that question I would suggest to the hon. member that he should read the Report to which I have already referred, and which I will send him.

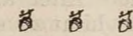
Does this read as if women were consistently "thwarted" and "ignored" in our Legislature?



Suffrage Literature.

VERY necessary attention has been called during the last few weeks to a tendency of the Suffrage movement which finds expression, even at this early stage, in print. Writing to the *Morning Post* on July 23rd, Earl Percy pointed out that the forwards of the movement were already striking at the cause of morality. In a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on August 7th, Miss G. M. Godden specified the kind of literature that formed part of the stock-in-trade of Suffrage shops. Suffragist replies to these letters at once took the line that the publication to which Earl Percy referred was not

issued by a recognised Suffrage society, while Miss Godden's critics challenged the soundness of the judgment that she had passed on the literature in question. As usual, the apologists of the Suffrage movement ignore the real point of the challenge, and confine themselves, as in the case of Dr. Ethel Williams, to a remark of this nature:—"It hardly seems necessary to state that we are not upholders of the doctrine of free love, considering the names we have amongst us." The contention of those who would warn the public of this unsavoury aspect of the Suffrage movement is not that the recognised leaders have subscribed to the doctrines in question, but that, under the guise of a movement which nominally sets out to secure the Parliamentary vote, we have the forwards already indicating the line of advance that is mapped out for the movement. No one will doubt the good faith of the majority of the leaders. But as we may suppose that the prominent Suffragists of the earlier days would have ridiculed the suggestion that their action would lead women to riot and to attempt arson and murder, so we find the leaders of to-day waxing indignant over the idea that their agitation can have anything to do with the unmistakable attempt that their advanced followers are making to undermine the whole basis of national morality. A few years hence and we may find the leaders as little loth to co-operate with the pronounced "free women" of that time as Mrs. Fawcett was in 1906 to celebrate the release of militants from prison by publicly entertaining them at a dinner. However sincere the protestations of Suffragists to-day, it is well that those who are not yet obsessed by the idea that the Parliamentary vote for women is the one panacea for all that yet remains to be improved in modern conditions should pause to think whether this Suffrage demand is leading the very people who are so easily drawn within the vortex of the movement. Just as surely as Suffragism has evolved militancy, so in due course, if the demand be granted, will it evolve what is understood to-day by ultra-feminism.

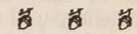


Violence and Votes.

MILITANTS are the object of much attention and solicitude these days. Suffragist Members of Parliament and

their own non-militant allies have gone on bended knees to implore them to be good. To one and all they turn a deaf ear or deliver a characteristic reply breathing terrible recalcitrancy—on paper. Addressing the "Dear members of the W.S.P.U." from the Continent, Mrs. Pankhurst proclaims that they "love and honour" the heroines of the Irish outrages "for their splendid courage," and adds, "In a few short weeks the holidays will be over, and the W.S.P.U. will be at work again." But no one is likely to be deceived by these brave words, for recent events must have proved even to the intelligence of the militants that they have overplayed their part. The delusion that in militancy history was repeating itself was carefully circulated, and it has not been without its effect upon the minds of some of those on whose emotions the Suffrage movement works so strongly. Gradually, however, these wisecracks are beginning to realise that they "misread the facts of their own agitation no less than they misread the facts of history." These are the words with which Mrs. Fawcett endeavours to correct the prevailing militant ideas that the riots at Bristol and Nottingham helped to carry the Reform Bill of 1832, and that the almost accidental overthrow of Hyde Park railings in 1866 contributed to make the Reform Bill of 1867 law. On similar lines, Mrs. Mead, formerly President of the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, disposes of the same instances and of the throwing of the tea overboard in Boston, in an illuminating article in *The Independent*. The British public with less intimate knowledge of history had already arrived in 1906 at the conclusion which these writers now seek to press home. In that year Mrs. Fawcett and her friends celebrated the release of militants from prison by entertaining them at a public dinner. All the arguments that the President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies now uses to show that the militancy is wrong were available six years ago. Can it be that the change in Mrs. Fawcett's attitude is due to the fact that militancy is no longer expedient? In her summary of the progress of the Women's Movement that appeared in the Press on August 22nd, Mrs. Fawcett enumerates the list of "victories" gained during the last fifty years. The fact that Woman Suffrage is not amongst these would seem to indicate that, while the nation is

naturally sympathetic towards all the legitimate wishes of women, it has withheld its sanction from the vote owing to an instinctive distrust of the demand. Social reform, like the art of flying, will continue to make progress regardless of the clamour for the vote with which it has nothing in common.



Local Government.

IN this issue we publish a letter from Mrs. Humphry Ward, in which, on behalf of the Local Government Advancement Committee, she appeals to the women of goodwill throughout the country for co-operation in promoting and extending the work of women in local government. The letter speaks for itself, and here it is only necessary to advert to the misapprehensions that appear to underlie most of the Suffragist comments upon that document. In speaking of the Local Government Advancement Campaign as the "positive side of the Anti-Suffrage movement," Mrs. Humphry Ward only emphasises what has already been set forth in these columns as the official attitude of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage towards all questions outside the one definite object of our organisation. The League exists "to resist the proposal to admit women to the Parliamentary Franchise and to Parliament," but naturally at the same time it recognises the value of co-operation of women in work connected with the domestic and social affairs of the community. In regard to Local Government affairs and kindred matters the League undertakes no propaganda work. Accordingly, a number of Anti-Suffragists, admitting the wisdom of the League's maintaining its singleness of purpose, have formed themselves into a separate Society for Local Government work. The newly-formed Committee has been hailed by Suffragists as, in essence, a negation of Anti-Suffrage principles. It is nothing of the kind. In Mrs. Humphry Ward's letter there is nothing to show that a desire exists to compel all Anti-Suffragists or women in general into municipal work. The situation with which her Committee is confronted is that a certain number of women up and down the country are complaining that they are not allowed to help in the affairs of the nation, and because their only idea of helping is to exercise the Parliamentary vote, the

Local Government Advancement Committee steps in and points out to them the fact that already there are in existence a hundred-and-one ways in which women can help the country. Hitherto, we have to infer, the majority of women have felt no call, or have had no time for this work (to educate them to take an interest in local administration will be one of the tasks of the new Committee); to many, as may be gathered from the letter which we publish elsewhere from a "Woman in Politics," the Imperial side of politics appeals more strongly, and they prefer to assist in the political education of the electorate as their contribution to the progress of the State; others again have, in addition to time and money, the desire to assist in the domestic administration of the country, but from ignorance or misguided enthusiasm are wasting their opportunities in an outcry for the Parliamentary vote. To these, the Local Government Advancement Committee makes appeal. It is useless for Suffragists to say that they cannot assist in municipal affairs until they have altered the law so as to allow every woman to take part in them; for it is shown that women do not avail themselves of the opportunities they now have, and until they do, there will not be much inclination to afford them wider opportunities. Local Government is not exclusively women's sphere, nor is it women's only sphere in political life. It is, however, a sphere in which women so minded can find the fullest scope for their activities, whereas the Parliamentary vote *per se* will accomplish nothing in the way of bringing the direct influence of women to bear upon the practical conditions of everyday life.

FIVE-AND-A-QUARTER columns in one issue of the *Manchester Guardian* are devoted to a pretty quarrel among Suffragists on the subject of militancy. "Crazy logic" and "disordered minds" are among the terms freely applied by the disputants to one another. Mrs. Swanwick in one letter states the obvious in declaring that she will never yield to facts, for she goes on to speak of "the sufferings of thousands of sweated workers, deserted wives, underfed mothers." The special fact in this connection to which she refuses to yield is the fact that none of the people she specifies will derive the least benefit from Woman Suffrage, whereas if the money and energy devoted to the Suffrage movement had been applied to remedying directly the evils complained of, the conditions of thousands would have been materially improved.

WOMEN IN POLITICS.

BY ONE OF THEM.

THE approach of the municipal elections seems to have opened up once more the old controversy as to Anti-Suffragists and Imperial politics. We are told that we think municipally and not Imperially, and much good Suffrage ink is wasted in telling us that women pay taxes as well as rates, that the Empire belongs to us all, and generally in reminding us of things which we had heard already and which we really have not the slightest wish to dispute.

As regards municipal matters, it is true that we sometimes point out that 90 per cent. of the women who have the municipal vote do not use it, and that this is scarcely a reason for conferring on them new and heavier responsibilities. Whenever this disconcerting fact confronts a Suffragist, she generally seems to fly off at a tangent as to the difficulties besetting women who try to enter municipal life. But that is another question. What we are discussing now is women voters, not women candidates. And we want to know why it is that those women who have the vote abstain from voting.

To this question, there appears to be only two answers. Either they do not wish to vote at all, or they do not wish to vote for a male candidate.

The first of these reasons, which, in the writer's personal experience, has always proved to be the real one, can hardly be very gratifying to Suffragists. But is the second any more so? If a man cannot represent that mysterious thing "woman's point of view" in municipal matters, how is he going to in matters Imperial? Or are we to understand that Votes for Women does mean "Seats for Women" after all?

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP.

But, leaving the municipal question, by what right can it be urged that, because we deny ourselves the Imperial vote, we take no part or interest in our Empire. We need no Suffragist to remind us that this thing that has come down to us as the growth of centuries is the heritage of man and woman alike. There is no more distinction of sex, in these matters, than there is of person; rich and poor, man and woman, we all stand as heirs and trustees together.

But that is where we part company with our Suffragist friends. They claim the inheritance, but they ignore the

trust. They forget that the citizenship of no mean city carries with it the unspoken obligation to hand on unimpaired that which has been received from others. Holding, as we hold, that to deny ourselves the vote is the truer service to our Empire, we claim, not that we have loved that Empire less, but more.

But, then, that is the point—we are willing to serve, and to serve without reward. We are proud to claim our Imperial citizenship, to face its responsibilities and to perform its duties—yes, and to further its ideals—without demanding as pay a vote in the Imperial Parliament.

If the vote were everything, if voting for it were all that we could do for any cause in which we believe, we could so much more readily understand the Suffrage cry. Few things are more terrible than to care a great deal and to be able to do nothing. But no Suffragist can contend that this is woman's condition in politics to-day. On the contrary, we rather thought it was one of their causes of complaint that women are asked to do so much. "We may canvass for men," we hear sometimes, "and address their envelopes; we may speak for them and get up meetings in their interest; it is only when it comes to voting for them that we are told that we are not good enough."

And, in saying this, the Suffragists only show what a long way off they are from even beginning to understand us.

Do they really suppose that what we do is done in the majority of cases for the men at all? It is not because we are so personally attached to Mr. Smith, or so passionately anxious to give some aspiring mediocrity the satisfaction of writing himself down as "Jones, M.P.," that we give up time and money to his service, when often we have not much of either. Nor is it in the belief that we shall never see through the highly respectable person who has been singled out for Parliamentary honours because both his principles and purse were of an elasticity convenient to his constituents. Sometimes when one of these worthy gentlemen, with a fatuous smile announces that "After all the ladies have done for him at elections, he would feel quite unchivalrous if he denied them the vote," we have wished that just for one minute he could know what some of those ladies silently think of him. It would do him good.

See through him, of course we do; only we manage to see beyond him as well—beyond the rather unfortunate representative to the thing for which he stands. It is that thing that makes canvassing in the rain worth while.

And we suppose here that some of our Suffrage friends will be saying that "they had understood from us that women's proper place was in the home, and how can we even suggest such an unwomanly thing as canvassing in wet streets?"

There are people, we know, who consider all political work unwomanly, but that is a matter of individual opinion, not an article of Anti-Suffrage faith. All that we political women can say is that, if we are unwomanly, the fault lies not in the things that we touch, but in ourselves and the way that we touch them.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOME.

On the question of the home we feel that the whole strength of our position lies in the fact that women now have a free choice. For those who can, without neglecting other duties, give up time and energy to the service of their country, we believe there is a grand opportunity. It is futile for our opponents to pretend that, because women have no votes, political life must be the poorer for the want of their ideals and their influence. Writing from personal experience, not of "titled dowagers of Kensington," but of ordinary every-day women who not infrequently have to work for their living, I think that more and more women each year are giving up their scanty hours of leisure to carrying their ideals of Imperial citizenship into the homes and lives of their fellow-citizens. I shall hope to say more of this later.

But for the other women—the women whose lives move on different lines, and who are building up the Empire from the core; they can bath baby and do the flowers, and order dinner or cook it, and do all the hundred-and-one little things out of which life is made, without being faced with the necessity either of neglecting their first duty to get up the political questions of the day or to vote upon them without understanding what they are doing. And we venture to think that a growing number of them may be like a certain young mother who told us the other day, "I care just as much as I did, only I haven't the time now, so Percy reads it all to me in the evenings while I am getting on with the feather-

stitching of baby's new frock." We think that the wearer of that little frock may manage to grow up with the true Imperial instinct, even though her mother was only a poor home-keeping, down-trodden creature without a vote.

And then another question, that of direct control. We are told sometimes, "You work so hard to influence other people's votes, why don't you claim the direct control and vote yourself?" And the reason of this goes deeper than might at first appear.

"THE BEST IS YET TO BE."

In the days, which, perhaps, we shall not all live to see, when time has stripped from both Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage movements all that was excrescent and irrelevant in both, there will appear at last that great essential, unity, that must underlie differing parts of the same whole. We and our Suffrage sisters are both products of one and the same movement, only we have reached a further stage.

It is a movement that is running straight through our age, and accounts for much that is best and worst in it. You may watch it shaping crudely in literature, struggling blindly in the drama; even in the grotesque distortions of the Futurists, it is still the same thing, the passionate demand for reality, the cry for "things as they are." And because women's lives in the past have been more artificial than those of men, this movement has come upon them with particular force, and has swept many of them completely off their feet. "The best is yet to be." We do not doubt that; and out of this blind welter must surely evolve the larger womanhood, fundamentally and essentially the same through all time, and yet grown then to the wider needs of a wider age. But the change is on us now, and we are changed; changed in our outlook on marriage, changed in our outlook on politics, changed in our outlook on life. Everywhere, in every way, we are asking for a deeper reality, and we cannot be content with anything less.

And it is this thing that Suffragists are up against, when they tell us that with the vote they offer us control over the things which we have at heart. That statement would pass with a child; it might have passed, it certainly did pass, with women a few years ago; it cannot satisfy now. We Anti-Suffragists who are in

touch, however humbly, with the realities of political life, tell our opponents plainly that what they offer us with the left hand, they take away with the right—that the control they hold out to us is a sham.

When are Suffragists going to learn that arithmetic is blind; that it is quantity and not quality that counts; and that it is by the sheer, blind weight of numbers, and numbers alone, that the ballot-box determines what may well be the fate of an Empire? It is no good pointing to Lady Selborne's patriotism, or Mrs. Fawcett's ability; we no more doubt those qualities than we do the fact that they are going to be swamped. It is no good telling us to trust the instinct of the working woman; it is not her instinct that we ever doubt.

To a great many of us, the whole tragedy of modern politics lies in the unintelligent, unthinking majority—a majority that it should be our aim to educate rather than extend. We do not say for one moment with Ibsen that the majority is always wrong; what we do say is that it is a chance whether it is right. And to leave our Empire to chance is just one of the things which we may not dare.

THE REASON WHY.

At the first quarterly meeting of the Manchester Branch of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, held in July, the Rev. C. E. Douglas devoted the greater part of his address to a defence of militancy. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, he did not regard the militant Suffragists as the aggressors. Whatever might be said, the women who broke windows and hit Cabinet Ministers over the head were just as much at war with authority as the Boers were in South Africa. When prisoners were taken in a war between nations, they were well treated, or else there was an outcry; but when it was a war in which only windows were broken, the prisoners were criminals and rioters. It was ridiculous to take those forms of law and set them up as if they were God's gospel and part of the eternal principles of right and wrong. The torture of the Suffrage prisoners was doing a great deal to convert men to the cause. They were really prisoners of war, and they ought to be treated as such. If women went to Parliament, as he hoped they would some day, they would put an end to the nice, quiet game which was being carried on at Westminster, and that was one great reason why he was a Suffragist.

"The Woman Suffrage movement is not spontaneous. There is no general demand for the Suffrage either among educated women or among the masses. The movement is a matter of agitation, of exploitation, of rhetoric and red fire."

"VOTES AND WAGES."

By MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

A CRITICISM—No. 2.

By MISS GLADYS POTT.

I WOULD ask permission to preface my remarks with a word or two of explanation as to the reasons that led me to criticise Miss Royden's pamphlet, for I think some at least of our Suffragist friends misunderstand my object in so doing. I see by Miss Royden's article in the *Common Cause* of August 8th—the issue referred to throughout the following paper—that she has learnt, from such report of my lecture on July 22nd as may have reached her, that I "confined myself to facts and figures." A very brief perusal of the letters, now in print, written by me to Miss Royden and to the N.U.W.S.S. concerning that meeting will show that I never had the smallest intention of doing anything else. Over and over again during that correspondence did I point out that I wished to discuss statements of fact, and not controversial questions of opinion. My reason for wishing to do this was that not only is it highly desirable to prove as accurately as possible the value and weight of any piece of evidence put forward for the instruction of an uninformed public, but such a process is absolutely essential, if one is to avoid error in the elucidation of so difficult and complex a subject as that of wages. Miss Royden's pamphlet was evidently written for the benefit of persons unaccustomed to the study of economics, otherwise she would not have thought it necessary carefully to explain that "demand and supply can be affected by legislation," a fact that is evident to anyone who has apprehended the meaning of the terms "supply and demand." How far legislation can effectively and permanently improve or lower given conditions of labour, and the wisdom or folly of particular forms of such interference, are questions which do not concern me at the present moment. I gather from the many letters I have read in the Press, and also received privately, during the past two years, that certain persons consider that anyone who differs from a writer or speaker in favour of Woman Suffrage, or disputes the accuracy of

their statements, especially those connected with economics, necessarily also disagrees with the assertion that women's wages in the labour market are wretchedly low and often grossly inadequate. This assumption is quite unreasonable and entirely groundless. For my own part, I have never yet expressed an opinion upon the question of wages in connection with that of the Suffrage without adding that, in my humble judgment, the condition of the industrial women in some of our towns is a blot upon civilisation, and that it behoves every Christian man and woman to try to remedy that defect. Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists do not, for the most part, differ in their recognition of the presence of a disease in this respect, but upon the potency of a suggested remedy; and discussion should, surely, be primarily directed towards ascertaining as certainly as possible, by careful and minute diagnosis, the precise symptoms that are found to-day in the suffering portion of our community. Is it not therefore essential that before advocating a definite remedy we should make sure that certain conditions whose presence may be doubtful are *in fact and truth* existent? Must we not, further, as careful investigators, determine the cause before applying a specific remedy to the effect? And are not the causes in so complex a community as that in which we live seldom direct, but only to be found after patient and persevering investigation, necessitating careful examination, comparison, and often elimination of apparent constituent factors? In such a search, inaccuracies are as easy as they are fatal to success. We are not likely to improve the evil around us unless we are correct in our apprehension of what that evil really is and from what it proceeds. For these and like reasons I would suggest to all interested in social work not to accept as solid ground upon which to build constructive reform mere unsubstantiated and controversial opinions with regard to such difficult questions as those concerning labour and wages. Everyone has a right to their own opinion, and all opinion is interesting, that of experts being, of course, most valuable. But when experts disagree upon questions with regard to which exact knowledge is not forthcoming, hasty conclusions drawn from the study of one authority, or, worse still, from persons whose knowledge is superficial, are not only dangerous,

but absolutely retard progress. We are well advised to take the risk of slow procedure rather than the greater risk involved in the contrary method. May I also point out that an argument founded upon given figures or propositions ceases to be of any value, if those same figures or propositions are shown to be inaccurate.

All that is possible for speakers and writers is that they should study the facts before they speak, should bring evidence for every statement and clearly indicate whence that evidence is drawn, and should be ready to accept correction—when they are shown to be in error." So writes Miss Royden in the *Farnham Herald* on July 13th last; and to these admirable precepts, with which I cordially agree, I would add one other, namely, that when expert authorities disagree upon a controversial point, the duty of the writer or speaker is to weigh the relative values of divergent authorities before accepting or repeating the statement of one as conclusive evidence, and before quoting the opinion of an individual as "proof" of any given statement, to take the trouble of ascertaining, so far as is possible, whether that opinion coincides with known facts. There is, to use an ungrammatical but common expression, "all the difference in the world" between writing: "Miss MacArthur has said that the average wage of women in industry is 7s. 6d. weekly," and writing: "The average wage of women in industry is 7s. 6d.," and merely adding a footnote quoting a statement by Miss MacArthur. In the former instance, the responsibility of the assertion is shown to rest with Miss MacArthur alone; in the latter, the writer of such a sentence accepts the responsibility of sharing Miss MacArthur's opinion, and, therefore, the duty of proving the statement that is so made.

Why has Miss Royden failed to follow the path that, as shown by the above quotation from her letter to the Press, she so clearly recommends to others?

THE "100,000 BARMAIDS."

Let us turn to page 2 of her pamphlet and read, under the heading "Demand and Supply can be, and are, affected by Legislation," the following words: "Attempts have been and are being made to drive women out of . . . work. At one time 100,000 barmaids are threatened

with dismissal, at another it is 10,000 women acrobats. Then the women on the pit-brow are to go."

No authority is quoted for these assertions, by which Miss Royden states quite plainly that definite legislative proposals have been made which, if passed into law, would dismiss 100,000 barmaids and 10,000 acrobats, and she emphasises the point a few lines farther on by the words "all this is to be done by direct legislation—without an attempt to provide for the women thus *thrown out of work*." One would have expected Miss Royden to refer her readers to the wording of the Barmaids' Bill, which ran as follows:—

(1) That after January 1st in the year following the passage of this Bill, no woman not hitherto a barmaid shall be engaged to work in that capacity.

(2) That every woman employed as a barmaid on that date shall receive a certificate to that effect, and that the possessor of such a certificate shall be permitted to continue in that occupation without limit of time.

(3) That this Bill shall not apply to the wife or daughters of the holder of the licence of the public-house in which they work.

It will therefore be seen that the proposal made was not to dismiss one single barmaid, and that the Bill was specially drafted to guard against such a contingency. In the *Common Cause*, Miss Royden writes: "Anyone who knows the history of the agitation knows that they were threatened with dismissal." I am quite accustomed to being informed by those who disagree with me upon Woman Suffrage that I am totally ignorant of any subject touched upon by my opponents, and I have not the slightest objection to being so told, but the information does not constitute argument; nor does Miss Royden by her use of the above lucid sentence fulfil the condition laid down in her own letter, viz., to "bring evidence for the statement." That the employment of 100,000 persons, or half that number, was in question is quite inaccurate. The Census of Great Britain in 1901 shows a total of 28,611 barmaids; the Report for Ireland does not differentiate between bar and other public-house servants, but we are told by Miss Orme in her Report upon the trade [Cd. 894] that in Ireland—and, indeed, in Scotland—it is not customary to employ females in such a capacity with the exception of the wives and daughters of the

licensees, who, as shown above, were expressly excluded from the Bill. Miss Royden goes on to say (in the *Common Cause*) that in Glasgow in 1903 the magistrates took action towards the prohibition of barmaids in that locality. [In passing, may I observe that the paragraph referred to is printed in inverted commas, which lead me to suppose that it is a quotation, but no mention is made as to the authorship.] In the first place, an action of local authorities can only affect residents in the special area over which such authorities hold sway; and in the second place, Miss Royden fails to complete her information by noting that, by the Glasgow proposal, wives and daughters of the licensees were, as in the Bill above quoted, expressly excluded. She then states that the "agitation against these Glasgow proposals prevented the dismissal of barmaids becoming a part of the Bill." No authority is given for this assumption, which, in common with the remainder of the paragraph, of which it forms the first sentence, cannot be accepted as anything beyond an expression of individual opinion. The draft of the Bill I have quoted was in existence before 1903; the date Miss Royden gives with regard to the Glasgow action; how, then, could the latter be the cause of the former? I may, in Miss Royden's opinion, "know nothing of the history of the agitation," but I appear to be able to add to her information respecting it. If Miss Royden would prove her case, she must refer her readers to some official report or to the writings of evidence given by persons recognised as having publicly assisted in the drafting of the proposed measure. I quote the actual draft published by the Joint Committee on the Employment of Barmaids. Will she inform us when another and different draft was drawn up and where it is to be seen? She next proceeds (in the *Common Cause*) to state that "the Bill was directed against all women employed on licensed premises." Again she gives no authority for the assertion. By whom was that proposal made? Who drew up such a Bill? And where is it to be read? Of course, it is more than possible that during the heat of an agitation every conceivable kind of foolish suggestion or proposal may be made by irresponsible persons. But I venture to think that when the term "legislative" is used with regard to proposals, the public is meant to

infer that the suggestions referred to have been seriously considered by those persons responsible for the preparation of a measure intended for presentation to Parliament, if not actually incorporated in a draft of that measure. I would therefore inquire which of the recognised leaders amongst those who furthered the scheme publicly urged the dismissal of all females engaged for work in licensed houses?

Miss Eva Gore-Booth is next quoted, whose argument in support of the 100,000 figure is, to say the least of it, unconvincing. There are, she says, 100,000 licences in England, and to allow one barmaid per licence is an under-estimation, because many places employ more than one. No doubt they do, but how many employ none? To say nothing of grocers and club licences, numbers of licences are issued to small beer-houses and public-houses where no woman other than the wife or daughters of the licensee is employed, and, according to the Report of the Committee on the Employment of Barmaids (and also according to Miss Orme) there are "many towns north of the Humber where none are employed," and "the further north one goes, the fewer barmaids one finds. The Census gives us 28,625 *barmen*—excluding cellar-men—working for employers; in what proportion will Miss Gore-Booth distribute them amongst her 100,000 licensees? According to her reasoning, "27,000" (the figure she quotes from the Census) "is absurd, taken from those who put themselves down as barmaids. Heaps of others would put themselves down as assistants, not thinking of themselves as barmaids." Is Miss Gore-Booth prepared to extend her reasoning to *barmen*, and, if not, why not? And if she refuse Census figures, whose are we to substitute as authoritative? It may be as well to observe that the difficulty of distinguishing barmaids from other assistants and waitresses was dwelt upon by Miss Orme in 1893, and that, in consequence of this and the public interest aroused by her Report, the Census officials of 1901, contrary to their habit of previous years, made a point of separating barmaids from other women servants in licensed houses. But, for the sake of argument, let us take it that all women engaged in service in licensed houses were to be included in the Bill, how many would be affected in place of the 27,000 scorned by Miss Gore-Booth and Miss Royden? Add to that number the total females engaged in

"service in inns, hotels and eating-houses, &c.," given by the Census, namely, 21,106, and we obtain the figure of 48,106. Add, again, to this all females "working for employers in coffee and eating-houses, namely, 2,205, and we get 50,311." Is this anything approaching to 100,000? I do not desire to be in any way discourteous to Miss Gore-Booth, but I say plainly that I do not recognise her authority as superior to that of the official Census figures and the Joint Committee on the Employment of Barmaids combined, and that neither she nor Miss Royden has proved the assertion made in "Votes and Wages" that 100,000 barmaids were threatened with dismissal.

It is worth noting, in view of the charge made on page 4 of the pamphlet, viz., that the "advice and wishes of women in these matters are not consulted," that the proposal to prohibit future employment of barmaids was chiefly based upon the Report respecting their condition and surroundings drawn up, as quoted above, by a woman (Miss Orm), in 1902-1903, after she had been appointed, in conjunction with three other ladies, to inquire into Women's Industrial Labour under the famous Labour Commission of that date. It is also noticeable that in the same year the National Union of Women Workers passed a resolution at their annual council meeting condemning the employment of women as barmaids, and that the Women's Liberal Federation, in 1904, and the Women's Liberal Metropolitan Union passed even stronger resolutions, asking that such work should be prohibited to women not already engaged in it. I have no intention of arguing whether the proposal is good or bad, but that women were not consulted in the matter is totally untrue.

THE "10,000 WOMEN ACROBATS."

Equally inaccurate is the suggestion that any form of prohibitive legislation affecting 10,000 women acrobats has been brought forward. Again I desire to express neither approval or disapproval of such employment for females, but inasmuch as the latest available Census gives a total of 1,072 females engaged in "performances, exhibitions, &c." (under which classification acrobats are included) in the United Kingdom, Miss Royden's use of the figure of 10,000 as applied to them is, clearly, ridiculous.

She defends it in the *Common Cause* by pointing out that "the legislation was not directed against women who appear in the Census as acrobats, but against dangerous performances by women." Why, then, did she state that "10,000 acrobats are threatened with dismissal." She practically admits the inaccuracy, but justifies it by saying that "dangerous performances" was the term intended. Quite so, but where does she find 10,000 women engaged in such trades? As I have quoted above, there are 1,072 females all told in "performances, exhibitions, &c.," including those employed on "service" in connection with the same. Even if we take the total number of females engaged in the whole *actresses'* profession and add them to the 1,072, we still get only 7,500, and does Miss Royden seriously contend that all actresses are engaged in "dangerous performances"? Miss Gore-Booth is again the sole authority quoted, and again I say, with all respect, I do not recognise her authority as conclusive, in face of the above and following facts. I do not propose to analyse the very remarkable method of reasoning used by her in this connection, and offered as "proof" by Miss Royden, but it amounts to this: (1) In her (Miss G. Booth's) opinion, women would have been placed under precisely similar restrictions as were children by the Dangerous Performances Act (that had women been actually included in the Bill, a schedule defining "dangerous," or at least limiting the jurisdiction of summary courts might have been added, does not seem to occur to her mind); (2) that the magistrates whose duty it would have been to decide cases under that Act would "probably be ignorant of the laws (*sic*) of physical training"; and that (3) "in consequence, theatres and music halls would cease altogether to employ women." A delightful piece of logic, most interesting as an individual opinion, but wholly without weight as evidence of or justification for Miss Royden's statement.

PIT-BROW WOMEN.

It should hardly be necessary to remind anyone that the clause relating to women's work on the pit-brow, which was moved in Committee as an amendment to the Coal Mines Bill of 1911 by an ardent Suffragist M.P., and defeated by the assistance of equally ardent Anti-Suffragist M.P.'s, did not propose to "throw out of employment"

a single girl or woman. The suggestion, as in the Barmaids' Bill, was that after a certain date no more female labour should be engaged for that form of work; no one already engaged would have been affected.

No, says Miss Royden, in the *Common Cause*, I do not intend "to convey that women actually employed were to be dismissed. The phrase 'having to go' means that no more women are to be employed." I have already pointed out that a few lines further on in "Votes and Wages" Miss Royden refers to these women as being "thrown out of work." I have yet to learn how it is possible to throw "out of" employment a person not already "in" it.

Miss Royden concludes the sentence already quoted from the pamphlet with "married women are to be allowed to work in factories only on such conditions as would make it not worth the while of any employer to take them on." To what proposals she refers, and by whom or when they have been made, we are not informed. Where is the "evidence for every statement" recommended to other writers, and even claimed by Miss Royden (in the same letter from which I have taken her advice) as being *given in every instance* in "Votes and Wages"? We can but suggest, "Physician, heal thyself."

Turn again to the pamphlet, and read in the following line, a few words from a speech delivered by Mr. John Burns, no reference being made as to the date of its delivery or to the context of the phrase quoted. I will give the passage from which it, presumably, is torn, as published in the *Times* report of the speech, made at Leeds on December 9th, 1907.

"The country must be opened, the rush to the towns held back, . . . married women's labour must be curtailed, child labour should be altogether abolished. Workmen should not work so much overtime, irregular and casual labour ought to be discredited."

Whether we agree or disagree with Mr. Burns's suggested remedies for labour difficulties, it is only fair to observe that his recommendations of "curtailing" women's work were followed by equally drastic suggestions regarding the employment of men.

GIRLS' COOKERY CLASSES.

Miss Royden's remarks concerning "unwomanly" work would call for no comment from me were it not that

they form a prelude to a grave misrepresentation implied in her sentence regarding cookery classes for girls and boys. I have not the faintest idea what Miss Royden or anyone else regards as "womanly" or "unwomanly"; these terms are capable of many different interpretations, and should, in common with other ambiguous expressions, be avoided in controversy. But so far as woman's industrial labour is concerned, the principle that underlies, and in my judgment the only one that ought to underly, any proposal of restrictive legislation is that, if experience, or the best procurable expert medical evidence, shows that a particular form of work is injurious to women as the mothers—actual or potential—of the race, that form of labour should be prohibited. I do not know of any experienced social workers who disagree with this view, though I merely give it as my private opinion. I am willing to apply the term "unwomanly" to any such work, but to no other. The point is, however, of slight importance as regards my present criticism. But observe the implication contained in the following words: "No one forbids a man to enter any . . . trade that pleases him. He may be a sick nurse, a dress-maker or milliner, or a cook; and the L.C.C. is at this moment providing three-years' courses in scientific cookery for boys, to fit them for the highest posts, while *girls must be content with a short course of three to six months*, and (consequently) with lower wages when the training is over."

It is impossible, I think, to deny that any reader ignorant of the actual facts concerning the arrangements made by the L.C.C. and other educational authorities for the teaching of cookery would infer from this sentence that girls are unable to obtain as long a period of instruction in that art as are boys. I have, indeed, met Suffragists who assured me that they knew, on the authority of this pamphlet, that boys were taught millinery and dress-making under the L.C.C. Such an interpretation of Miss Royden's words is, obviously, unfair, but it may be a matter of interest, in passing, to quote the following sentence from a letter before me, written by the L.C.C. in reply to various questions I asked them in October, 1911: "There are, naturally, a number of subjects which are taught only to men and women respectively, e.g., plumbing, dress-making." The suggestion that men

cooks command higher wages than women *because* the education authorities provide better training seems too absurd to need discussion. Any person whose duty it may have been to engage a chef, or who is familiar with the points of difference existing between posts in which men cooks are preferred to women, has sufficient experience to contradict such an assumption, and also the statement made on the next page of the pamphlet that "men servants do not do one-half the work" of women. The duties expected of the two sexes are not identical. But clear proof of the falsity contained in the above suggestion is found in the fact that though it is now possible for boys to receive training in high-class cookery at *one centre* in London under the L.C.C., who award *five* scholarships per annum to such boys, the venture is still in an experimental stage, and pupils have not yet been launched upon the competitive market; therefore, the results of such training cannot be known; whereas men cooks have commanded higher wages than women for many years past. I come now to that most inaccurate implication, namely, that fewer facilities or a shorter period of training in cookery is offered to girls than to boys. What are the actual facts? Precisely the contrary to Miss Royden's suggestion. It should be remembered, in the first place, that the L.C.C. in London, and the local education authorities in other areas, are the bodies responsible for the supply of all forms of public education in their respective districts. (*See Education Acts, 1902 and 1903.*) So far as the Regulations issued by the central Board of Education are concerned, a girl can begin to learn cooking at the age of ten (*see Board of Education Manual of Instructions in Public Elementary Schools and Code of Regulations, Cd. 4735*); and in 1911 there were no less than 670 centres arranged by local education authorities where instruction was being given in cookery, added to twenty-four others where housewifery, which includes cooking, was taught; 335,000 girls were learning cooking only, and 25,000 were taking the housewifery course (*see Pease's Report, given in House of Commons, June 6th, 1912*). In the L.C.C. elementary schools in 1909 there were 219 centres where cookery instruction was given to over 30,000 girls (*see L.C.C. Annual Report, No. 1,348*). In the higher elementary schools the official Code of Regulations requires that the

curriculum *must* provide domestic subjects, including cookery, for girls, that such subject shall embrace a three-years' course, and that pupils shall be admitted only over the age of twelve and after having received two years' instruction in an ordinary elementary school (*see Cd. 4735*). Provision, therefore, is made by the central Board of Education whereby a girl is enabled to receive four years' training in cookery as part of her elementary education. The L.C.C. extends its teaching further, and offers domestic economy (which includes cooking) scholarships, carrying with them maintenance grants, to girls over fourteen years of age, for periods of one or two years; 150 such junior scholarships were announced as open to competition in 1912. Opportunities are also afforded by the Council's trade scholarships, which are specially intended for girls who mean to become cooks by profession. These scholarships are available for girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen; a maintenance grant is given to the scholars, and the course lasts for two years. For girls or women already engaged in domestic service, classes and eighteen scholarships of three months' duration are also offered by the L.C.C. (at the same institute in which boys can learn cooking), and the application forms for such scholarships, issued in 1912, bear the following words: "As evidence of the value of this course of training, it may be mentioned that the majority of the holders have in the past been able to secure places in domestic service at wages considerably in advance of those which they received previous to their winning the scholarships."

It will be seen, therefore, that a girl can learn cooking in an elementary school or in a higher elementary school for one, two, three or four years, then pass on to a trade school for another two years, and subsequently gain further experience in the art after entering domestic service, if she chooses. With the exception of one or two dock or seaport centres, where boys can obtain facilities to enable them to learn ship's cooking, no boys are included in the many classes mentioned above; indeed, the Code of Regulations issued by the Board of Education (Cd. 4735) expressly mentions that the "domestic" subjects are for "girls only." A special report on the teaching of cookery was drawn up by the Chief Woman Inspector of

the Board of Education and issued in 1907, a study of which shows that, however much one may disagree with the conclusions of that body, or think their regulations either insufficient or too extravagant—there are two opinions upon this, as upon other questions—trouble and attention have not been spared nor progress failed in the development of public instruction in domestic economy and cookery for girls.

In case the complaint should be that the style of cooking taught to girls is not sufficiently advanced, I quote the following items from the 1911 programme of subjects arranged at the Borough Polytechnic Institute, where girls can take the two years' trade scholarship course under the L.C.C.:—Christmas dishes, including puff-pastry, mince pies, trifle, icing of cakes, fruit salad, invalid and convalescent cookery, Vienna bread, tea cakes and milk rolls, vanilla cream, birds'-nests pudding, savouries and salads. And in the menus arranged for those in domestic service are to be found such items as almond and royal icing, iced coffee, aspic, fish mayonnaise, ices, blancmange, consommé à la julienne.

And yet, in spite of all these facts (for which I have given official authority in every instance), Miss Royden writes that under the L.C.C. "girls must be content with a short course" of cookery "of three to six months," and adds with regard to servants (on page 5 of her pamphlet) that "no systematic effort is made to offer women the thorough and scientific training which would enable them to do such work well." Cooks are domestic servants, and I find that an effort is made by public authority to give them long, systematic training, and they need not be content with three to six months' courses; therefore, Miss Royden's statements are wholly contrary to fact.

MISS ROYDEN'S "EXPLANATIONS."

But in the *Common Cause* she explains that in "Votes and Wages" the argument is confined to the question of wage-earning, and that "the teaching in elementary schools is not a technical training" for domestic service, though she is driven to admit that the girls who have "some knowledge of cookery" have a start in the race. As shown above, that "start" may consist of continuous training for a number of years, and Miss Royden deliberately

ignores the fact that the *two years'* training offered by the L.C.C. trade scholarships, which may be taken by girls after the four years' course in elementary schools, is *not* of the elementary class, and is (to quote the official prospectus) "specially intended for girls who mean to enter the trade," and, again, "the object of the cookery class is to train girls as professional cooks." How does Miss Royden account for her omission of this very salient factor in the case? Neither her pamphlet nor her "reply" to my criticisms contains any reference to it, but in the latter she attempts to substantiate the original assertion by adducing "evidence" based upon articles in the *Englishwoman* (a professedly Suffragist publication) and, subsequently, "to clinch the point" she quotes (omitting to give the date of publication) from—the *Illustrated London News*!! On what ground am I asked to accept either authority? Opinions expressed in any publication are individual opinions, and interesting as such; but unless shown to be in accordance with facts easily ascertained from official sources, of no further value. Would Miss Royden take for granted that any statement made by me and challenged by her was "proved" indisputably by a quotation drawn from an opinion expressed by a writer in the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, unless solid evidence in support of that opinion was adduced at the same time?

Let no one misunderstand me. I do not say that the L.C.C. arrangements are perfect or that the last word has been said as to the technical training of girls, nor is this the place in which to point out the difficulties experienced with regard to the large majority of wage-earning girls, who for various reasons prefer to begin earning a small wage at an early age, rather than spend several years after leaving school in apprenticeship to a trade or profession. Such discussion is quite beside the point. My argument is simply—that the statements (1) that under the L.C.C. "girls must be content with short courses of three to six months" in cookery, and (2) that "no systematic effort is made to offer them the training which would enable them to do such work well" are both misleading and inaccurate.

I notice that in the *Common Cause* I am charged by Miss Royden with "attacking" her argument once only, my "attack being based on an

unusually gross error." I have already pointed out that any argument based on inaccurate assertions is false. Which of my statements contains a "gross error"? I am unable to discover from the perusal of her article. I learn, also, that I am expected to consider myself in the "pillory." That is a position which I have always understood to be dangerous and uncomfortable; but at present I feel no discomfort or insecurity. The only missiles that have reached me are mere bubbles, which when brought in contact with facts and reason immediately explode and are found to be formed by the mists and fogs of illusion.

(To be continued.)

CAMPAIGN WORK.

In the following constituencies, Anti-Suffragists will greatly help the cause by carrying out the suggestions contained in the first "Note" of this issue (*vide p. 205*).

Aberdeen (North, East and South), Altrincham, Andover, Antrim (Mid and East), Armagh (North), Appleby, Ashton-under-Lyne, Ashburton.

Biggleswade, Bishop Auckland, Bethnal Green, Brecknock, Berwickshire, Banffshire, Blackpool, Belfast (South), Bordesley, Brixton, Brighton, Brentford, Birmingham (Central), Bodmin, Belfast (North).

Cricklade, Carmarthen Boroughs, Chester, Durham (Mid), Dorset (North), Dudley, Dulwich, Devonport, Darlington.

Eifon, Edinburgh (West), Exeter, Edgbaston, Enfield.

Faversham.

Greenwich, Grimsby, Guildford, Glamorgan (East).

Hexham, Harborough, Hull (West and East), Hammersmith, Harrow, Handsworth.

Ipswich, Isle of Wight.

Kincardineshire, Kensington (North), Kingston, King's Lynn, Kidderminster, Knutsford.

Leeds, Louth, Luton, Launceston, Lanark (South), Leek, Lewisham, Lambeth (North).

Middleton, Macclesfield, Morley, Monmouth Boroughs, Manchester (South-West), Maidstone, Maldon, Melton Mowbray.

Norwich, Newington (West), Norfolk (Mid), North Lonsdale, Newport.

Oswestry, Ormskirk.

Pontefract, Peterboro', Peckham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Paddington (South).

Rochester, Ross and Cromarty, Rugby, Ross, Rye, Reigate.

Stroud, Saffron Walden, St. Ives, Sunderland, Southampton, Stoke, St. Andrews Burghs, St. Pancras (West and South), Sevenoaks, Stowmarket, Salisbury.

Truro, Torquay, Tyrone (South), Totnes, Tiverton.

Walworth, Worcester (North), Winchester, Wellington (Somerset), Wycombe, Wigan, Wednesbury, Woodstock, West Toxteth.



UNMASKED.

IRISH WOMEN AND THE VOTE.

HERBERT SPENCER, on being asked semi-officially by the Japanese whether in his opinion it would be for their advantage to admit foreigners into their country to mix freely with themselves, answered, "By all the gods, no, if you wish to meet with the least resistance, not the greatest in following out your appointed destiny." It is not impossible that had Herbert Spencer's own countrymen followed out this dictum with regard to their own country, many of the complex problems due to the discontent and unrest of the masses might never have arisen. But heedless of the consequences, and unable to foresee them, they have allowed their land to become a haven of refuge for the discontented of every country in Europe: the *mauvais sujets*, whose own country would be probably the only one able to understand them and to keep them in order, are repaying the country which has adopted them by changing her whole outlook on life almost without her being aware of it, so that instead of being allowed to develop on her own lines, her own natural growth is being pruned on this side and distorted on that.

In Ireland we have reason to congratulate ourselves that, owing to our outlying position and our lack of industrialism, from this evil of foreign suggestion at any rate we are free; and that we are not only being permitted but even encouraged to develop according to our own genius as a mainly agricultural people. For the last twenty years owing to the untiring efforts of Sir Horace Plunkett and the Agricultural Organisation Society, it has come to be recognised that Ireland is and will continue to be a country mainly agricultural. As a consequence of the acceptance of this idea and owing to the security in land tenure, and the Labourers' Cottages Acts, Ireland is developing on her own lines so quickly and satisfactorily that the face of the country has been almost completely changed within the last ten years, and in most districts the cottages with their carefully tilled little plots and their flowers clustering round the doors are the rule rather than the exception.

It is not intended that this should be a political article, discussing the advantages and disadvantages of Home Rule and its bearing on this natural growth, but it is written to protest against the suggestion that

Irish women should be enfranchised under the Home Rule Bill.

We were favoured on the 3rd of June by a message to this effect from the Women's Political Association of Australia, sent through their President, Miss Vida Goldstein. We might, perhaps, treat this message with the contempt which a gratuitous interference in other people's business deserves, but we cannot help pointing out that in this case the model we are asked to follow is not one calculated to suit the peculiar needs of Ireland. A land of peasant proprietors, each filled with the laudable ambition of making his own individual plot as paying and productive as possible, is not likely to be filled with enthusiasm for a project emanating from a country where, according to late accounts, matters have not been going as successfully as we had been led to believe.

In Australia, where Socialism reigns supreme, the lot of the farmer is very hard indeed, so that we find farmers leaving the vast areas of Queensland and Western Australia to settle in the Argentine for the sole reason that they cannot bear the burden put upon them by the Government of the day. According to a report in the Australian Press, a New South Wales Councillor who was being given a farewell banquet on his departure for the Argentine Republic said, in reply to the remark that it seemed a pity that men of means, such as he, felt compelled to leave Australia, that he had "a large amount of money available, but could see no safe investment in taking up more land in Australia where 30 per cent. went to pay taxes of various kinds."

We do not say that this Socialistic legislation is entirely due to woman franchise, but we do say that, when we, in Ireland, are asked to adopt Woman Suffrage, we must take notice of the fact that those countries which we are asked to follow are suffering from a legislation which would be fatal to our own country. To those who believe in the inherent conservatism of women, the result of giving them the vote must be a bitter disappointment, for the measure was supported by many on the plea that by it would ensue the downfall of the Labour Government, and also the system of compulsory *secular* education. But the system of education remains unchanged and, owing to Socialistic legislation, emigration is likely to become an Australian problem as it has been an Irish one.

Sir John Cockburn came to lecture us here last winter. He told us that this was a reconstructive age and that therefore we had need of making greater use of woman's influence, which was non-destructive.

We would reply that we have our own ideas of reconstruction which we are working out, that our problems are different from Australia's; that apparently we both have the same problem of emigration, but that in this, the greatest evil from which we suffer, there are signs of amelioration for the last couple of years and that we are filled with hope for the future, because while most of the other civilised countries of the globe, Australia included,* have to bewail a falling birth rate, we are happy in being able to boast that our birth rate has maintained its high level and has varied little during the past generation.

We consider, therefore, that our high birth rate and also the fact that we are mainly an agricultural country, whose women have neither the time nor the opportunity for studying political questions, ought to constitute a final argument against imposing on us further responsibilities and duties, even had we shown ourselves willing to undertake them.

MAY C. STARKIE.

* Twenty-five years ago the birth rate of New South Wales was 36 per 1,000 persons living; for the last year for which full statistics are available it was only 26.

"Instead of having no voice in the government, women are the greatest factors in forming public opinion, and all legislation is crystallised public opinion. For many years I have been actively engaged in civic and philanthropic work, and I have never seen the time when the ballot would have been a help to me. When the public is thoroughly convinced that a measure is necessary for the welfare of the community, no body of legislators can prevent it from passage into law. The work of convincing the public is to-day given over largely to women. If the present disinterested position of woman was exchanged for active participation in political life, woman's influence upon all legislation for social betterment would be seriously impaired."—ESTELLE R. McVICKAR, President of the New York State Consumers' League.

"Whatever abstract arguments may be used concerning it," runs a statement by Chief Justice Waite, U.S.A., "the fact remains that the granting of the Franchise has always been regarded, in the practice of nations, as a matter of expediency and not as an inherent right."

DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

THE SUFFRAGISTS' ACHIEVEMENT.

I REMARKED last month that on the night of Mr. Asquith's visit, the lower-class Dublin public took the advice of the Nationalist Press, and "left its usual courtesy for women at home." Apparently its courtesy has not yet been able to recover from the shock of the militant outrages which stained that visit. Suffragist meetings in the Phoenix Park and elsewhere have, week by week, had to be protected by the police from the organised violence of the crowd, and in nearly every case these meetings have ultimately had to be abandoned. If this were all it would scarcely be worthy of remark; the tone of the Suffragist speakers is so decidedly provocative that they could expect no other treatment. But it is by no means all. There have been several cases in the police-courts in connection with charges of molesting women in the streets at night. In every case the defendants advanced the plea that they thought the woman was a "Suffragette"; in every case she turned out to be nothing of the kind. Dublin used to be the only capital, perhaps, in the world, where a woman was safe at any hour from insult or molestation in the streets. Women were supposed to be more respected in Ireland than in any other country in Europe. In less than three months the Suffragists have succeeded in destroying that traditional respect. If no other achievement stood to their credit, that fact alone would be enough to brand their cause with shame.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

The trial of the four English Suffragists on a charge of "conspiracy, setting fire to, and causing an explosion in the Theatre Royal," excited immense public interest. Against one of them the Crown entered a *nolle prosequi* and she was discharged. One of the others conducted her own case, and Mr. Tim Healy, K.C., appeared for the other two. Mr. Healy made one good point in his address to the jury when he referred to the unfortunate remark of Mr. Hobhouse, who challenged the Suffragists to prove that they were serious. For the rest, his speech was a justification of violence, on the ground that no other means could secure redress of "grievances" (this, with the recent history of Ireland in his audience's memory!) and a dissertation of the merits of Woman Suffrage. "These," he said,—and as he said it one was irresistibly reminded of "Charley's Aunt's" *mot*—

"These are no ordinary criminals." There was no defence of fact, and the jury found the three prisoners guilty. Mr. Justice Madden dealt with the case in the only possible way. "Crime is crime," he said, "and we have nothing to do with the motive." But, he added that it seemed strange that any rational beings should imagine that their cause would be advanced and recommended to general adoption by a course of crime of this nature. The two principals, Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans, were sentenced to five years' penal servitude, and the other prisoner to seven months. Mary Leigh remarked that it was "a frightful sentence." It was a frightful crime; only pure chance prevented these women from standing their trial for wilful murder. Mr. Justice Madden expressed himself as unable to take the view that the Theatre Royal affair was an isolated occurrence. He had to protect first, public men, and secondly, the general public, against a

course of crime and criminal outrage. Therefore he imposed a sentence which was calculated to have a deterrent effect. Mr. Justice Madden did his duty to the public, and gave the militant Suffragists a last opportunity of averting a social catastrophe.

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE SENTENCE.

I need scarcely say that, so far as Irish Suffragists are concerned, that opportunity has not been taken. The sentences are described as "savage" and "vindictive." I find the following amazing passage in a recent issue of the *Irish Citizen*, the organ of Irish militancy. "We have to make the public see that the choice is not between giving the women votes and never hearing the word Suffrage mentioned again, but between enfranchisement and a state of rebellion and anarchy." And again—"if political assassination is wrong, let us see that none are" (the want of grammar betrays some mental excitement) "provoked thereto." There is a great deal of this kind of stuff to be heard in Dublin at present, but, whatever may be the case on your side of the Channel, I doubt whether anyone takes it seriously, although it is, of course, recognised that it contains dangerous possibilities in the explosive political atmosphere that prevails here. For the moment, however, public attention has been diverted to a discussion of the subsequent proceedings of the Suffragists. I need scarcely say that the convicted women put in the usual plea for treatment as "political offenders." A memorial demanding such treatment was sent to the Lord-Lieutenant. It was accompanied by an impudent threat that a "hunger strike" would be started unless a favourable reply was received within a week.

As I write, the Lord-Lieutenant has not made known his decision.

THE "HUNGER STRIKE."

At the end of the week the "hunger strike" began. Now there are two ways of dealing with militant Suffragism and its by-products. In England, where the movement is an established thing, it needs to be fought in the open. But here the case is different. Militancy in Dublin, in spite of the noise it makes, is a thing of very little account so far as Irish Suffragists are concerned. Therefore the obvious way to deal with the militants here is simply to ignore them, except when they become obnoxious. Instead of this, however, precedents for political treatment, the ethics of the "hunger strike" and of forcible feeding—these, and half-a-dozen cognate subjects were busily discussed in the Press and on the platform. The Suffragists were, of course, highly delighted with the advertisement. The Dublin public, unused to these manifestations and always argumentatively inclined, had, in fact, lost its sense of proportion.

A note of warning which was sounded by the *Irish Times* had all the more point because that journal has moderate Suffragist sympathies. It announced that it would publish no correspondence on the subject, and advised the public to stop playing the Suffragists' game by giving them a gratuitous advertisement. Since then, silence has closed down effectually upon the Suffragists, so far as the public is concerned, and the Dublin Suffragists are exasperated in proportion. The "hunger strike" is, I understand, still going on. One of the English prisoners—the one who was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment—has been released on the

ground of health. The Irish prisoners (who enjoy first-class treatment) adopted the "hunger strike" in sympathy—or, rather, those of them did so who knew that their sentence would expire in three days. The fact that the others have not done so is a cynical commentary upon their professed eagerness to "sacrifice themselves for the cause." In connection with the "hunger strike," I may mention the extremely sensible suggestion made by an English prison doctor who is here on a visit. Under the present system "hunger strikers" are invariably released, sooner or later, on medical grounds, with the result that the penal system falls into contempt. This doctor says that, since the legal presumption, when persons try to starve themselves to death—in other words, threaten to commit suicide—is that such persons are insane, he would have no hesitation in committing Suffragist hunger strikers to a lunatic asylum. I have not heard that suggestion advised by the authorities here, but I am sure that, from every point of view, the idea would recommend itself to the English as well as to the Irish public.

"THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT."

It is clear that the influence of the Church League is gradually making itself felt in the Suffrage movement. In the report of a Suffrage meeting held on a *Sunday* at Aberdeen, one of the lady speakers justified the "taking up of the hammer" by quoting the text, "Blessed above women shall Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite, be . . . She put her hand to the nail and her right hand to the workman's hammer." Another lady speaker said:—"We asked Asquith for bread; he gave us a stone, and we flung it back at him—at his windows."

Mrs. Drummond, on the same occasion, described the Cabinet as "the missing link," not belonging to the human species. Miss Dugdale considered Ministers "a sort of prehistoric monsters," and expressed a wish "to have all these men put in a line, each having a sandwich board, on one side of which would be written 'Coward,' and on the back 'Bully,' and around the heads of these Ministers would be written 'Snobs.'" In the June number of the monthly organ of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, the Rev. F. M. Green writes:—"I wonder whether the clergy for the most part at all realise the character of the women who are striving to win the Franchise for their sex or the motives which inspire their efforts. Personal knowledge of not a few, correspondence with many more, convince me that they are as a whole the best, the most spiritual women in the world to-day."

FACT v. FANCY.

PRESIDING at the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Women Workers in July, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell is reported as having said that she "could not understand adverse criticism of the Trade Boards Act, which she regarded as the finest piece of machinery created to abolish sweating." Speaking at Phoenix Park, Mrs. Emerson, Suffragist, said that "one of the first things women would do if they were given the vote would be to improve the horrible conditions under which sweated women had to work."

THE LATE MISS OCTAVIA HILL.

By the death of Miss Octavia Hill, on August 13th, the country has lost the services of one whose name will ever rank high among the practical philanthropists of modern times. For nearly fifty years—she was born on December 3rd, 1838—she devoted herself to the problem of social reform, to bettering the conditions in which the poor live, by means of that direct personal help which teaches them to help themselves without surrendering their independence. The start was made in 1864, when, with money lent by Ruskin, Miss Hill rented three houses in one of the poorest courts in Marylebone, which she let out in two-room tenements.

The experiment, which was based on business principles, was extended in other directions, and from the better administration of house property, Miss Hill gave her attention to enlarging the opportunities of the poor for enjoyment. In 1875, together with her sister Miranda, she inaugurated the Kyrle Society "for bringing beauty home to the people." She worked for the preservation of open spaces; she was in close touch for forty years with the Charity Organisation Society, and was on the Executive Committee of the Women's University Settlement for over twenty years.

By Miss Octavia Hill's death, the Anti-Suffrage movement loses a valuable supporter. Her practical experience in the work of "uplifting" the nation (in contrast with the superficial or one-sided acquaintance with actual conditions that serves many would-be reformers with their texts), taught her that political power would militate against the usefulness of women in public work. In this connection, we may well reprint the letter that Miss Hill addressed to the *Times* in July, 1910. Miss Hill wrote:—

"WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE."

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"SIR,—I am sorry to enter into the political world, even so far as to write about the question of Women's Suffrage. I am sorry, too, to emphasise the difference of opinion between myself and some of my earnest young fellow-workers. I feel, however, that I must speak now and say how profoundly sorry I shall be if Women's Suffrage in any form is introduced into England.

"I believe that men and women help one another because they are different, have different gifts and different spheres—one is the complement of the other; and it is because they have different powers and qualities that they become one in marriage and one also in friendship and in fellow-work. In public and in private life I think one feels the various powers, and in the main looks to a somewhat different help from men and from women, and that the world is made on the principle of mutual help.

"I also believe that a serious loss to our country would arise if women entered into the arena of party struggle and political life. So far from their raising the standard, I believe they would lose the power of helping to keep it up by their influence and inspiration telling on the men who know and respect them. It is not in a general struggle that they are meant to help most, either physically or spiritually.

"I think, also, that political power would militate against their usefulness in the large field of public work, in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is, to my mind, far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be. If you add two million voters, unless you secure thereby better members of Parliament, you have not achieved anything, but you have used up in achieving nothing whatever thought and time your women voters have given to such duties. Whereas, if they have spent their time and heart and thought in the care of the sick, the old, the young, and the erring—as guardians of the poor, as nurses, as teachers, as visitors—if they have sought for and respected the out-of-sight, silent work which really achieves something, a great blessing is conferred on our country.

"If there are large questions on which they think they see more than men, let them tell what earnest and conscientious men they know what they think; they will find ready attention, I know, and, perhaps, on their side the men may know facts women do not and will guide legislation accordingly.

"I remember a great actress, performing before a somewhat untrained audience, telling me that when they were somewhat noisy they called out to her to speak louder; 'then,' she said, 'I always drop my voice, and they become quiet and listen.' I think we may learn from her.

"Let the woman seek the quiet paths of helpful real work, be set on finding where she is wanted, on her duties, not on her rights—there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities; if she would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly, looking rather to the out-of-sight, neglected sphere, and she will, to my mind, be filling the place to which, by God's appointment, she is called. I believe there are thousands of silent women who agree with me in earnestly hoping that no Woman's Suffrage Bill will pass.

"Yours faithfully,

"OCTAVIA HILL."

"July 14th, 1910."

CORRESPONDENCE in the *Newcastle Daily Journal* has brought to light the fact that whereas Canon Gough, Vicar of Newcastle, consented in April to read the prayers at the annual service of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, held by his permission in Newcastle Cathedral, in August he writes that the Suffragists cannot claim him as being in agreement with them. "There are many platforms," writes Canon Gough, "on which I am proud to stand with Dr. Ethel Williams, but I am afraid the Suffragist platform is not one of these."

It is to be hoped that many other clergymen who have been misled into temporary support of the Suffrage movement through ignorance of its real inwardness and ultimate goal will have the strength of character to make similar disavowals.

WOMEN & LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THE following letter, to which reference is made elsewhere, has been sent to the Press by Mrs. Humphry Ward:—

A NEW MOVEMENT.

SIR,—In my capacity of Chairman of the newly-formed "Local Government Advancement Committee," which has been started to promote and extend the work of women in local government as being not only urgently desirable in itself, but the true alternative to the Suffrage agitation, will you allow me to appeal through your columns for the co-operation of those women of good will throughout the country who may be of the same way of thinking as ourselves?

It is not enough to say "No," to the Suffrage demand. We must be able to show the young or the enthusiastic reformer that there exists already a more excellent way.

It is admitted on all sides that a much larger number of capable and conscientious women than are at present available are wanted to deal with the questions specially concerning women and children which present themselves in local administration. The primary education of children throughout the country, and a great deal of the higher education; the care of the sick, the insane, and the feeble-minded; the conditions bearing on infant mortality and epidemic disease; the care of women in childbirth, and the urgent moral questions that arise in our large towns in connection with local administration—in all these matters we want more good and qualified women to help their own sex, to help children, to help the nation.

Yet how few women are at present engaged in this great work! On all the county and borough councils of England, Scotland and Ireland there are only 21 women; and there are more than 200 boards of guardians without a single woman member.

If only we realised what this means—how much special work for women and children is crying out to be done by women, and how few hands there are to do it—we should hear less about the claims to the Parliamentary vote until, at least, this urgent need had been met, and women had shown themselves willing to give the nation the help which it is now asking at their hands.

But it is not only a large increase in women members of local bodies which is so greatly needed. We have to educate the women voters—and the wives of voters—to take a much deeper and more active interest than they do now in the affairs of their town and district. The Local Government Advancement Committee will specially endeavour to reach women voters, and to show them what is now in their power, quite apart from any extension of the Suffrage. And they will appeal earnestly to the men voters and their organisations to give women a fair and proper share of municipal power and responsibility.

The Committee, within the limit of its funds, will organise meetings, appoint speakers, issue literature; while at election times it will also, through its two party sections, working independently, and on carefully considered lines, support qualified women candidates, of Anti-Suffrage opinions, who, speaking generally, are accepted by the recognised municipal or local Associations; and, if necessary, it will contribute to the election expenses of such candidates. Whether for the county and borough councils, the

metropolitan borough councils, the rural and urban district councils, or the boards of guardians, we shall be equally ready to help, as far as we can.

We are now anxious to hear of women candidates, duly qualified by training and experience, who would be ready to accept our programme, and to whom our support might be useful. At the present moment the prejudice against women candidates for these local bodies is unfortunately great, owing largely to the violent agitation of the extreme Suffragists. But it is hoped that carefully selected Anti-Suffrage candidates, supported by an Anti-Suffrage Committee, might not meet with the same difficulties, and we appeal to public-spirited women who are anxious to serve their locality and their country, while believing with us that the Suffrage agitation is in reality an unpatriotic agitation, the success of which would weaken and hamper the English State, to come forward and co-operate with us. We must not wait for only safe seats and only easy contests. A few unflinching fights, a few forlorn hopes even, fought now with courage and good temper, would pave the way to success another year, and the candidates we elect to help may rest assured of our best efforts in their support.

We appeal to all those who sympathise with this positive side of the Anti-Suffrage movement, who believe, not in an identity, but in an honourable division of public functions between the men and women of this nation, to support our Committee, to contribute to our funds, and help its work. And we especially appeal to such women candidates as are ready to stand for local bodies on our lines, to put themselves in communication with us.

All communications should be addressed to our Secretary, Mrs. F. T. Dalton, L.G.A.C., Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

Yours obediently,

MARY A. WARD, Chairman (Local Government Advancement Committee) (Anti-Suffrage).

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DUTY OF WOMAN.

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

SIR,—Will you permit me briefly to place before your readers a few of the views I hold with regard to some of the chief mischief wrought by the advocates of Woman Suffrage, and, at the same time, put forward an appeal to their opponents for the upholding and maintenance of the honour of womanhood?

First, then, I would ask: What are the Suffragists trying to do? Create an abnormality, a middle sex. If this species had been necessary to the preservation of humankind, God would no doubt have created it, even as in the beginning "male and female created He them."

What is it for which Suffragists are clamouring? Power? We (women) have, in my opinion, already in our hands more power than many of us have the concomitant wisdom to wield.

Again, is it responsible work for which they yearn? What work requires more intelligent comprehension, more self-sacrifice, more self-knowledge, more sweetness and

patience, than the training of a child to become a good citizen?

When we realise that women, in England, predominate in number to the extent of a million or more; when we consider that they have the upbringing and training of children from the cradle for, at any rate, the first most impressionable, and therefore most momentous, years of their life, surely it is to our discredit—and we might well blush for the shame of it—that men are not better than they are.

We have received a heritage, the great heritage of womanhood, and if, as we are wont to boast, we have received along with that inheritance a finer and larger spiritual endowment than man, then so much the more it behoves us to realise the responsibilities attaching thereto, and to remind ourselves of the warning given by irrefutable authority, that of those who have received much, much will be required.

Do Suffragettes (I use the word *Suffragette* advisedly here) really think they will ultimately benefit their sex by lowering, in his eyes, man's ideal of woman, that ideal of her charm concerning which Dryden wrote:—

"... as tender and as true withal
As the first woman was, before her fall;
Made for the man, of whom she was a part,
Made to attract his eyes, and keep his heart."

As wife, mother or spinster, most of us have masculine belongings—in spite of their faults and frailties, thank God for it)—husband, son, brother, father, nephew, cousin, uncle or friend, some "fellowship with hearts to keep and cultivate." Let us, then, throw off and fling aside all false shame, cant and hypocrisy, and face facts.

Women—womanly women—and womanliness does not necessarily imply weakness, nor need femininity spell frivolity—though again to our shame be it said, it oft-times does—women need the chivalry of men (a quality which Suffragettes are doing their level best to destroy), and are not ashamed to own it. Moreover, what is of even greater import, perhaps, it is essential to man's moral upbuilding and edification that this, one of his noblest inherent attributes, should be engendered, fostered and demanded of him, not annihilated in him.

Well may we exclaim with St. Paul: "O, foolish Femininities! who hath bewitched you?" You are not even selling your birthright, you are throwing it away for—Dead Sea Fruit. You are forfeiting your kingdom, your woman's kingdom of Hearts and Homes, with all its multifarious potentialities, responsibilities and assets for the arid, feverish, unsatisfying arena of politics.

Let us, by all means, enlarge our present borders, mental, intellectual and spiritual (yes, however much we may pride ourselves on the fact that we are more spiritually minded than men, none of us are quite angels yet); but let such enlargement, consummated to the elevation of mankind, be transmitted by the quiet but effective domestic influence of the woman who does not strive nor cry, whose voice is not heard in the street, but who, rather, comports herself as described by Pope:—

"She who ne'er answers till her husband cools,
And if she rules him, never shows she rules;
Charms by accepting, by submitting sways,
And has her humour most when she obeys."

Finally, let us relegate to man the work for which he is adapted, and to woman the duties for which she in her turn is equally equipped.

I am, &c.,

BERTHA HUDSON.

14, Craven Park Road,
Harlesden, N.W.

August 12th, 1912.

WHAT MISS ROYDEN "KNOWS."

MISS ROYDEN, the Suffragist author of "Votes and Wages," has been taken to task by Miss Pott for inaccuracies and mis-statements. We were led to infer that Miss Royden knew nothing at all about her subject, but in that particular we did her an injustice, for in the *Common Cause* of August 22nd (p. 345), she tells us what she really *does know*. Miss Royden writes:—

"Miss Pott cites instances of Commissions which examined experts on various subjects. On how many of these Commissions did women sit? I have not all the lists of names with me, but I am practically certain (and Miss Pott's silence on this point confirms me) that there were none. I KNOW that on the Select Committee on Home Work (1907), occupied in the investigation of industries almost entirely run by women, not a single woman sat."

Women did sit on the Commissions in question, but because Miss Royden, who debates and speaks on behalf of the Suffrage movement, does not take the trouble to check a single statement that she makes, she is "practically certain that there were none." Her greatest triumph, however, is reserved to the last. When one argues and debates without verifying a single point that one seeks to make, how magnificent it must be really to know something. No fear of a challenge then; Anti-Suffragists must remain silenced and impressed. Miss Maude Royden KNOWS that on a Select Committee of the House of Commons not a single woman sat. We feel that it is only fair to confirm Miss Royden's statement. Unable to rely upon such KNOWLEDGE as hers, we have had laboriously to investigate the matter. But there it is; a Select Committee composed of Members of Parliament; seven Members of Parliament—naturally, Miss Royden would expect to find at least one of them a woman; but he wasn't.

A CORRESPONDENT recording an incident at the recent Hanley by-election writes:—"A Suffragist speaker was interrupted by a man in the crowd who called out 'How about so-and-so.' The speaker, who was standing on a tub, stooped down and smacked the interrupter on the face. She was promptly pulled off her tub, but at once began to shriek loudly for the police. There you have embodied the inherent moral dishonesty of the demand for Female Suffrage. Suffragists claim the right to pose as a man as long as it suits them, but the moment the natural consequences follow they drop the pose and trade on their womanhood, showing the baseness of spirit, the obliquity of moral vision of the maxim 'Heads I win, tails you lose.'"

REVIEWS.

"LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN," by Lord Charnwood. (London: P. S. King & Son. Price 2d.)

In this useful pamphlet Lord Charnwood has done much to clear away a number of misconceptions regarding a subject that has been given considerable prominence of late. He points out that it is a great mistake to suppose that the matters in question have been neglected by the legislature. Most of the statements made in support of such a contention are based on ignorance of the facts and of the complicated nature of the subject. Lord Charnwood deals with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and lays stress on the work of philanthropic agencies for befriending girls and young women. In this connection, it may be legitimate to commend the adoption of the suggestion made by a correspondent to the Press that all the railway companies in Great Britain and Ireland should be approached with a view to having inserted in every compartment a warning to young women against going as strangers to any large town, or to a foreign country, without being introduced to the care of some responsible agency which will befriend her on her arrival.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE—ITS MEANING AND EFFECT," by Arthur Page. (Price 1d.)

This pamphlet, which is issued by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, is reprinted in substance from *The National Review*. It deals with some of the main points adduced in favour of Woman Suffrage and exposes their fallacies. We commend it to those who wish to examine critically the movement and are not content to become Suffragists in ignorance of the real value of the arguments that are quoted to support the demand for the Parliamentary vote.

"THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT."

The speeches delivered at the meetings held at the Queen's Hall, London, on June 19th, 1912, have been published in a small volume (price 7d.), and may be obtained from Miss Gardner, 232, Evering Road, Clapton, N.E. As was pointed out at the time, the so-called "Women's Movement" in the mind of the promoters of the gatherings meant the Suffrage movement, and all the speakers were in favour of Woman Suffrage. An attempt was made to monopolise Scripture for the benefit of Suffragists by assuming that the Christian message as to women and womanhood specifically included the Parliamentary Franchise, in Great Britain alone of all the Powers.

"THE REVIEW."

WHenever any difficulty is experienced in obtaining copies of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW it is asked that a notification should be sent to the Secretary, N.L.O.W.S., 515, Caxton House, Westminster.

The REVIEW can be obtained from any of the railway bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son or Messrs. Wyman & Sons. It is also on sale at the principal newsagents in and around London.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

As August is the accepted holiday month, it is all the more gratifying to record a fair measure of activity throughout the country, and the creation of several new and flourishing Branches since our last number of the REVIEW went to press. Haddenham, Thame, Henley-on-Thames, Uxbridge and Hanley Swan (Worcestershire), are among the new centres, and the inaugural meetings for some of them were most enthusiastic. A feature of our August propaganda work was the holding of open-air meetings at holiday centres, including Wales, Blackpool, Brighton and Worthing, and our speakers met with ready sympathy from many a holiday audience. Open-air meetings in London have also been productive of good results, and, altogether, August has been a thoroughly successful and busy month.

Aberystwyth.—One of the most successful of our August outdoor meetings was held at Aberystwyth on August 16th, when for over two hours a very large and enthusiastic crowd listened to speeches from Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. Arthur J. Hawkes behind the Queen's Hotel, where a wide open space made a capital meeting ground. Mr. Arthur Rigg, an Indian judge, home on leave, was in the chair.

A small group of Suffragists persistently heckled Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who delighted the audience by her deft answers. The result was the complete discomfiture of our opponents, and it was very evident that Anti-Suffragists predominate amongst visitors and residents alike of this Welsh watering-place. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

Berkhamsted.—A large and interested audience of working women was addressed by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon at Berkhamsted on July 30th, when the resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed unanimously, and all those who did not already belong to the League (eleven in number) joined.

Mrs. Solomon held "dinner-hour" meetings on July 25th and 26th, two on August 1st, and on August 2nd and 8th. At every meeting a resolution urging Mr. Ramsay MacDonald not to pledge the working classes to Woman Suffrage, and one appealing to Mr. Asquith not to allow any measure of Woman Suffrage, were passed unanimously. These "dinner-hour" meetings are to be continued in the autumn.

Bristol.—This large and important Branch continues to grow rapidly. Since July 20th we have the splendid record of 113 new members. It is interesting to note that the greater number of these came from Bristol East, the Parliamentary division of Bristol in which the Suffragists say that they are organising a campaign. A large number of signatures have been collected in Bedminster for a petition to Mr. W. Howell Davies, praying him "to oppose any measure which includes, or may be amended to include, provision for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country."

Bad weather has for the present put a stop to the village work around Bristol, but some interesting meetings have been held. There was a very large garden meeting in the garden of Strafford House, St. George's, Bristol. The chair was taken by Mr. H. Tilley, and a good address was given by

Mrs. Maggs, fifty-six new members joining the League afterwards.

On August 23rd, Mrs. Stocks, of Reading, spoke at an open-air meeting in Bedminster.

Cranbrook.—Miss Neve, President of the Cranbrook Branch, gave a most delightful garden party at her residence, Osborne Lodge, on July 23rd, when over 120 members and friends accepted invitations. The weather was delightful, and tea was served in a marquee on the lawn. The band of the 5th Buffs was in attendance.

After tea, a meeting was held on the terrace, Mr. G. S. Hancock (Hon. Sec. of the Branch) presiding. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave an interesting and telling speech, which was much appreciated by the audience. She summed up the present position of the Woman Suffrage question by saying that "a limited number of women are trying to thrust upon other women something which they do not want, and there is only one thing to stop them—public opinion."

Croydon.—We much regret to announce the great loss the Croydon Branch has just suffered in the death of Mrs. Corry, who for years took such active interest in all that related to the welfare of the Branch, to which she always gave her loyal support and which owed its origin to her. Feeling the work was growing rather beyond her strength, she had just resigned her post as Hon. Secretary, but her full sympathy and interests remained with the Committee of which she was President.

Haddenham.—This new Branch was formed at a successful meeting held by kind invitation of Dr. and Mrs. Newcombe, at the Hawthorns on July 29th. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who was the principal speaker, delivered an able speech, and short addresses were given by Mrs. Shaw, Miss Newcombe, and Dr. Summerhayes. Questions were invited, and Mr. F. Merrick then urged the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote. When the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put, it was carried practically unanimously.

There are many Anti-Suffragists in this village, and the Branch has begun with a good membership. Mrs. Stevenson has consented to be the President, Miss Newcombe, Hon. Secretary, and Dr. Newcombe, Hon. Treasurer, so the success of the new Branch is assured.

Hampstead and Highgate.—At the annual meeting of this Branch, held in June, it was agreed by the Committee and officers to divide and in future work separately. Highgate, comprising the district within the Parliamentary Borough of North St. Pancras, is being worked as an independent Branch, and N.E. Hampstead will remain in the Union with the other Hampstead Branches.

Mrs. J. W. Cowley has kindly consented to work up the Highgate Branch, and Dr. Alice Winter will continue to act as Honorary Secretary of the N.E. Hampstead Branch.

Existing members, unless they express a preference to the contrary, will be enrolled in the Branch attached to the district in which they reside.

The membership of these Branches is steadily increasing.

Hanley Swan (Worcestershire).—A most promising Branch has just been formed here, and a good working committee has begun a vigorous campaign. The inaugural meeting, which was held on August 1st, was an unqualified success, a large room in St. Gabriel's

Schools being crowded to overflowing, many following the proceedings as best they could from the open door and outside the windows.

Mrs. Maggs addressed the audience, which consisted principally of ratepayers, and the resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried with only seven dissentients.

Henley-on-Thames.—With Lady Esther Smith as President and Mrs. Beeves as Hon. Secretary, a strong Branch has been formed at Henley-on-Thames. The first meeting of members and supporters took place on August 20th, when Lady Esther Smith and Mrs. Beeves were "at home" in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall. Miss Gladys Pott gave a characteristic and forcible address, and Mr. Anker Simmonds, J.P., in the chair, expressed warm sympathy with the work of the Anti-Suffragists.

Hereford District.—The Hereford and District Branch held the first of a series of garden or drawing-room meetings by kind permission of Lady Bridgford, at her residence, Summerhayes, Aylestone Hill, on July 31st. The proceedings were to have taken place in the garden, but owing to the weather the meeting was held indoors, and was very well attended. Miss Armitage, one of the Hon. Secretaries, read a condensed report of the Branch's work since its inauguration in March, 1910. Mrs. Butterworth read extracts from the speeches at the Albert Hall, and Mrs. Paul Chapman spoke on woman's work in the home. At the conclusion of the speeches Lady Bridgford entertained all those present at tea. Other ladies have promised to lend their drawing rooms, and similar meetings will be held during September and October.

Holmfirth.—Mrs. A. Colquhoun and Mr. Fred Maddison were the speakers at an interesting meeting held in the Drill Hall, Holmfirth, on July 24th. Mr. Eli Collins was in the chair, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution when put was declared carried.

Some Suffragists in the audience heckled and questioned our speakers a good deal, but the latter were more than equal to the occasion, and the sympathies of the audience were with us, as was evidenced by the passing of our resolution.

As a result of this meeting it is hoped that a Branch of our League will shortly be formed here.

Kidlington.—Mrs. J. Massie (Oxford) and Mr. Leigh Brooke (Thame) were the speakers at a very well-attended meeting at Kidlington on July 11th. Mr. Templer, who was in the chair, also spoke.

Mrs. Massie's speech was a trenchant attack upon the Suffragist position, and she exposed some Suffragist fallacies, especially that of "women's wages and the vote."

Mr. Ellis Robinson moved a vote of thanks to the speakers, and the audience heartily sang the National Anthem to close the meeting.

Llandilo.—An open-air meeting, held in Llandilo on August 19th, was attended by a large crowd of visitors. Mr. T. Powell was in the chair, and after Mrs. Gladstone Solomon had given a most interesting and convincing speech, the resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried by a large majority.

Manchester.—Manchester this month has devoted its efforts to the N.W. Manchester by-election. Committee rooms were opened in Cheetham Hill, the centre of

the division, from 11 a.m. till late in the evening every day. Callers were interviewed, postcards addressed, &c., by many enthusiastic volunteers. Numerous open-air meetings, many of them impromptu, were held. Meetings were held in Stevenson Square, public crofts, and street corners in the busy part of the city.

A very successful meeting took place on August 6th at the corner of Fennell Street, near Victoria Station, when an interested audience of business men on their way home from the Corn Exchange were present. At all the meetings cards were distributed to be sent to the candidates by electors, requesting them not to vote for any measure of Women's Suffrage till the question has been put as a main issue at a general election. However large a number of these cards is distributed at open-air meetings, it is invariably found that the demand exceeds the supply. Throughout the whole campaign no opposition was encountered, speakers, specially ladies, were loudly cheered; in particular a lady speaker, Mrs. Harrison of Oldham, when putting forward the working woman's point of view, was much appreciated. A large number of voters came to the committee rooms to sign a petition against Woman Suffrage.

A crowd of over two hundred people attended an open-air meeting held near the White Lion Hotel, Withington, Manchester, on August 9th. Mr. H. W. Barber took the chair and an address was given by Mr. Martin. The audience were obviously Anti-Suffrage in their sympathies, and there was no opposition.

Newcastle.—The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority at a meeting held under the auspices of the Newcastle and Tyneside Branch in the Geographical Institute, Newcastle, on July 26th. Mr. H. S. Mundahl presided, and interesting speeches were made by Mrs. A. Colquhoun and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P. for Watford.

Mr. Ward, in moving the resolution, said that he wondered why the Suffragists were wasting their time in attacking the Government. Their real enemies were in the Anti-Suffragist coalition in the House of Commons. This coalition of Liberals and Unionists, though divided on practically all other questions, would wreck any Government, Liberal or Conservative, which tried to take up the women's cause and make it their own.

Mrs. A. Colquhoun seconded the resolution, and Miss Stuart spoke in support of it.

Saltwood and District.—In spite of the weather, we had great success at the Saltwood Flower Show on July 31st, where we had a tent for the sale of literature and badges. The Flower Show was held in the grounds of Saltwood Castle, the residence of Mrs. Deedes, President of the Saltwood Branch, who very kindly lent us the tent. We are very grateful also to Miss Stigand, the Hon. Treasurer, who worked with great enthusiasm in organising this venture, and was responsible for its success.

Mrs. H. Norris gave two addresses to large audiences outside the tent, and a number of people signed the Anti-Suffrage petition.

Sheffield.—Success attended a series of open-air meetings which were held in and around Sheffield recently. The working classes were in evidence at all the meetings, and a great many questions were addressed to Mr. H. B. Samuels, who was the speaker.

The first meeting was held at West Bar Green, and the audience, composed principally of working people, was very attentive and appeared to be thoroughly interested.

A good deal of heckling took place at the second meeting outside the municipal buildings, but the questions put were soon answered.

The third meeting was held at Hunter's Bar, a west-end suburb of Sheffield.

Southsea and Portsmouth.—At the kind invitation of Miss Kinipple, a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at 7, Portland Terrace, Southsea, on July 18th. Mrs. Gillum Webb, President of the Southsea Branch, was in the chair, and a capital address was given by Mrs. Pollard, who urged her women hearers to do all the social reform work they could through the municipal vote, and read a long list of the public works that would be benefited by the care and influence of women.

Miss Tonge proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, urging the immediate enrolment as members of the N.L.O.W.S. of all sympathisers with the Anti-Suffrage movement.

Ten new members joined the Branch at the conclusion of the meeting.

Thame (Oxford).—Our new Branch at Thame has started with an initial membership of 170. The inaugural meeting was held in the grounds of the Vicarage on July 24th, by kind invitation of the Rev. and Mrs. Bowring.

The Rev. Bowring, who took the chair, expressed his cordial agreement with the objects of the N.L.O.W.S.

Miss Newcombe explained the objects of the League, and a delightful address was given by Mrs. Massie, dealing cleverly with some of the best-known Suffrage arguments.

Mrs. Shaw also gave a brief address, and a vote of thanks to Mrs. Massie was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Shaw.

Dr. Newcombe expressed the thanks of those present to the Rev. and Mrs. Bowring for their hospitality.

Uxbridge.—This new Branch was formed at a drawing-room meeting given by kind invitation of Mrs. Wakefield at her residence, New Belmont, Uxbridge. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon delivered a delightful address, and an interesting paper by Mr. Alan Fremantle was read, Mr. Fremantle, unfortunately, being prevented from attending by illness.

Mrs. Wakefield has very kindly consented to act (*pro tem.*) as both Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, and we hope a President will shortly be appointed.

The Girls' Anti-Suffrage League.

The Girls' Anti-Suffrage League has just issued its second Annual Report, an interesting little document, with a preface written by "M. E. S.," the author of "An English-woman's Home." A great deal of useful work has been done by this League during the past year, the membership doubled, and some very interesting meetings have been held. Branches are now in Oxford, Newport, Isle of Wight and Bristol, and there are a great number of working-girl associates belonging to the League. The third annual ball is fixed for Friday, November 29th, next, at the Grafton Galleries. It is hoped that every member will attend, and take at least two tickets, which will be 2s. 6d. each.

RICHMOND—
President: Miss Trevor.
Hon. Treasurer: Herbert Gittens, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Willoughby Dumergue, 5, Mount Ararat Road, Richmond.

SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE—
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottersmill, Haslemere.
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Arthur Molyneux, Esq., Downlease, Grayshott.

SURBITON—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dent, Chestnut Lodge, Adelaide Road, Surbiton.

WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT—
President: Mrs. Charles Churchill.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gore-Browne.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Weybridge; Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.

WIMBLEDON—
President: The Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.
Vice-President: Lady Elliott.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: F. Fenton, Esq., 20, Ridgway Place, Wimbledon, S.W.

WOKING—
President: Susan Countess of Wharncliffe.
Vice-Presidents: Lady Arundel, H. G. Craven, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Petergrine, The Firs, Woking.

SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Quex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.
Co.-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.

CROWBOROUGH—
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Conan Doyle.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crowborough.

EASTBOURNE—
President: Mrs. Campbell.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (*pro tem.*): Mrs. Campbell, St. Brannocks, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.

EAST GRINSTEAD—
President: Lady Musgrave.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Stewart.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Woodland, Turley Cottage, East Grinstead.

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—
President: Lady Webster.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Bagshawe.
Hon. Treasurer: Stephen Spicer, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Madame Wolfen, 6, Warrior Square Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Walter Breeds, Esq., Telham Hill, Battle.

HENFIELD—
President: J. Eardley Hall, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Blackburne, Barrow Hill, Henfield.

MIDHURST—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Vigers, Ambersham, Midhurst.

LEWES—
President: Mrs. Powell.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucas, Castle Precincts, Lewes.

WEST SUSSEX—
President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt, Wilbury, Littlehampton.

WORTHING—
Chairman: Miss Boddy.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cooper, 5, Bath Road, West Worthing.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville," Salisbury Road, Worthing.

WARWICKSHIRE.

RUGBY—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Vanden Drend.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks, 37, Clifton Road, Rugby.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON—
President: Lady Ramsay-Fairfax Lucy.
Hon. Treasurer: N. Carter, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Field, Talton House, Stratford-on-Avon; G. Wells Taylor, Esq., Avon Cottage, Stratford-on-Avon.

WARWICK, LEAMINGTON AND COUNTY—
President: Lord Algernon Percy.
Hon. Treasurer: Willoughby Makin, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: C. W. Wrench, Esq., 78, Parade, Leamington.

WILTSHIRE.

SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—
President: The Lady Muriel Herbert.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Fussell.
Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson, The Red House, Wilton.
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Ethel Cripps, Hillbrow, Fowler's Road, Salisbury.

Alderbury (Sub-Branch)—
Vice-President: Mrs. Ralph Macan.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Hill, Avonturn, Alderbury.

Chalke Valley (sub-Branch)—
Vice-President: Miss R. Stephenson, Bodenham House, Salisbury.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Hulbert, Bodenham, Salisbury.

Wilton (Sub-Branch)—
Vice-President: Mrs. Dubourg, The Mount, Wilton.
Secretary: Miss O. Carse.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

HANLEY SWAN.
President: Mrs. G. F. Chance.
Hon. Treasurer: A. Every-Clayton, Esq., S. Mary's, Hanley Swan.
Hon. Secretary: William Flux, Esq., Hanley Swan.

KIDDERMINSTER—
President: Mrs. Eliot Howard.
Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: J. E. Grosvenor, Esq., Blakebrook, Kidderminster.

MALVERN—
President: Lady Grey.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.
Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.

WORCESTER—
President: The Countess of Coventry.
Vice-President: Mrs. Charles Coventry.
Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

YORKSHIRE.

BRADFORD—
President: Lady Priestley.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, 77, St. Mary's Road, Manningham, Bradford.
District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Miss Casson, 73, Ashwell Road, Manningham, Bradford; Mrs. G. A. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

BRIDLINGTON—
No branch committee has been formed; Lady Bosville Macdonald of the Isles, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.

HULL—
Chairman:
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme.
Hon. Secretary:

ILKLEY—
President: Mrs. Steinthal.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

LEEDS—
President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

METHLEY—
President: Mrs. Armstrong Hall.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley Rectory, Leeds.

MIDDLESBROUGH—
President: Mrs. Hedley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Gjer, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, Northallerton.

SCARBOROUGH—
President: Mrs. Cooper.
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness, 19, Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss Kendell, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD—
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood Park Road.
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.

WHITBY—
President: Mrs. George Macmillan.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss Priestley, The Mount, Whitby.

YORK—
President: Lady Julia Wombwell.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

LONDON—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.
Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

ISLE OF WIGHT—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

NEWPORT (Mon.)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

OXFORD—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jelf, 34, Norhan Road, Oxford.

IRELAND.

DUBLIN—
President: The Duchess of Abercorn.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
Secretary: Miss White, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
President: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.
Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCHES:

BERWICKSHIRE—
Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, LL.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

CUPAR—
President: Lady Anstruther, Balcaskie.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lamond, Southfield, Cupar.

DUNDEE—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochee.

EDINBURGH—
President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.
Chairman: Lady Christison.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. J. M. Howden.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

GLASGOW—
President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

Camlachie and Dennistoun (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 32, Belgrave Street, Camlachie.

Killmacolm (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, Lynnden, Killmacolm.

Tradeston (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Ainslie, 76, Pollok Street.

NAIRN—
President: Lady Lovat.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary Gardens, Nairn.

KIRKCALDY—
Vice-Presidents: Miss Oswald and Mrs. Hutchison.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pye, Bogie, Kirkcaldy.

LARGS—
President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Vice-President: The Lady Kelvin.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeanette Smith, Litterraith, Largs.

ST. ANDREWS—
President: Mrs. Armour-Hannay.
Vice-President: Mrs. HaTmar.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

WALES.

ABERYSTWYTH—
Hon. Treasurer (*pro tem.*): John W. Brown, Esq., Ty Hedd, North Road, Aberystrwyth.
Hon. Secretary: Mr. Arthur Hawkes.

BARMOUTH—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mr. Llewellyn Owen, "Llys Llewellyn," Barmouth.

CARDIFF—
President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68 Richards Terrace.

CRICCIETH AND LLANYSTUMDWY—
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Gruffydd.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gladstone Jones; Miss Glynn, "Plas Grollym," Criccieth.

NORTH WALES (No. 1)—
President: Mrs. Cornwallis-West.