

ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

1912.

No. 53.



MARCH, 1913.

CONTENTS.

PARLIAMENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE



CONSERVATIVE SUFFRAGISTS.

By the COUNTESS OF JERSEY.



THE "BLOCKING" OF BILLS.



THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK.



CHRISTIANITY AND SUFFRAGE.



EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL WORK.

HEADQUARTERS — 515 CAXTON HOUSE —
WESTMINSTER.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Madame Rubinstein's Trio of Beautifiers.

"VALAZE" BEAUTY MASSAGE.

If there is anything in the whole domain of Beauty Culture of which one can with truthfulness say that it is a "natural remedy" it is Massage.

The Valaze Massage Apparatus is a new wonderful invention for home use. It improves the appearance of the skin; it overcomes blemishes of the complexion; it sets up a greater activity of the tissues; it increases the circulation; it produces fresh colour, in a word, satisfaction.

The Valaze Massage Apparatus permits Massage being carried on in a really ideal manner without the least exertion, and the sensation it produces is most pleasurable. Apart from its usefulness as a beautifying factor, its action is most soothing and pain-alleviating in neuralgic affections.

Mme. Rubinstein has sole control of this remarkable appliance, of which none is genuine unless stamped with the words "Valaze Massage Apparatus." It is sold in two sizes, the smaller at 15s., the larger at £1 is. The difference is that the smaller can be used for the face, while the larger can be used also for the chest, scalp, shoulders, and other parts of the body.

The Valaze Massage Apparatus represents the only possible solution of the problem of Beauty Massage. It is simple, practical, effective, and a guarantor of complexion charm.

The above Specialities will be forwarded on receipt of remittance. Kindly address correspondence:—

The Secretary,

Mme. HELENA RUBINSTEIN,
24, Grafton Street, London, W.

Paris Address: 255, Rue Saint Honoré.

"VALAZE" BEAUTIFYING SKINFOOD.

You should not be too ready to rely on the antiquated idea that because you have been using a certain "face cream" and your face has not got the worse for it, therefore it must have suited (?) your skin, and is good enough. The final test and criterion of the careful woman is: Has the skin got the better for it?

If you are young, with the pure, delicate, pearly complexion typical of youth, Valaze Beautifying Skinfood will preserve it for you for years to come. But if your complexion has gone from you through ill-treatment or other causes, if the skin is freckled, weather-beaten, blotchy and muddy, if it is sluggish and requires stimulation, Valaze will of a certainty restore that delicacy of colouring, softness and suppleness which you have been unable to obtain before.

And, remember, Valaze is not a "make-up," but a scientific skinfood, which represents the hitherto unknown combination of skin-nourishing and beautifying properties.

Valaze will be forwarded to you on receipt of 4s. 6d. for the first size, 8s. 6d. for the middle, and £1 is. for the largest pot, which is the favourite with the ladies who travel, or who have used Valaze the longest, know and appreciate its wonderful qualities best.

"VALAZE" BEAUTY GRAINS.

Mme. Rubinstein desires to call the attention of every discriminating reader to this her latest Viennese speciality for the hygienic beautifying of the face and hands—by washing.

Its name is "Valaze Beauty Grains," and the prophecy has been made by many ladies competent to judge, that before many moons it will be one of this country's household words. It is a household word now in Vienna, whence the speciality comes.

Only lately this delightful preparation has been made part of the trousseau of Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduchess Elizabeth Marie, the grand-daughter of Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria.

Washing the face with Valaze Beauty Grains keeps the skin charmingly pure and alabaster-like in its transparency.

The daily use of Valaze Beauty Grains improves the skin's texture, and preserves its velvety touch. It does away with coarseness of pores and prevents their becoming enlarged, a blemish which gives such an unrefined aspect to an otherwise handsome face.

When used for washing the hands, Valaze Beauty Grains invest them with a delicate creamy whiteness, and a dainty distinction to their appearance.

The price of Valaze Beauty Grains is only 2s. 3d. per tin, post free.

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, 1/6, 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. 53.

LONDON, MARCH 1ST, 1913.

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.

E. A. MITCHELL-INNES, Esq., K.C., Chairman of Executive Committee.

Hon. Treasurer: J. MASSIE, Esq.

Assistant Secretary: MISS HELEN PAGE.

Hon. Secretary: MISS GLADYS POTT.

MISS G. LOWTHIAN BELL

MRS. MOBERLY BELL

MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN

MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON

MRS. MASSIE

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

MRS. HENRY WILSON

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT,

ESQ., M.P.

LORD HAVERSHAM.

A. MACONACHIE, Esq.

ARNOLD WARD, Esq., M.P.

Co-opted Members: MRS. BURGWIN, MRS. GREATBATCH, EARL PERCY, 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.)

MARCH MEETINGS.

MARCH 1ST, CAMBRIDGE (PENNS).—Mrs. Hicks' Drawing-room Meeting, 3 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.

CAMBRIDGE (CHESTERTON).—St. Luke's Girls' Schoolroom, 8 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. H. Rottenburg, Esq., in the chair.

MARCH 3RD, CAMBRIDGE.—St. Paul's Institute, 3 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. C. C. Perry, Esq., in the chair.

CAMBRIDGE.—St. Giles's Mission-room, Gloucester Street, 5 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. H. C. Haslam, Esq., in the chair.

CAMBRIDGE.—Public Meeting, Guildhall, 8.30 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Rev. A. H. F. Boughey in the chair.

MARCH 4TH, REIGATE.—Women's Liberal Association Debate, 8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

FINCHLEY.—Public Meeting, Redbourne Hall, Church End, 8 p.m. Miss Helen Page, Mr. Murray Carson. Lord George Hamilton in the chair.

MARCH 5TH, LEICESTER.—Annual Meeting, Wyvern Hotel, 3 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

MARCH 7TH, STOCKTON-ON-TEES.—Mrs. Greatbatch.

MARCH 8TH, WITLEY BAY.—The Café. Afternoon Meeting. Mrs. Greatbatch.

MARCH 10TH, WOOD GREEN.—Debate. Miss Mabel Smith.

HACKNEY.—Public Meeting, Library Hall, Stoke Newington, 8.30. J. A. Brough, Esq., Maurice Liverman, Esq. A. J. Hoddy, Esq., J.P., in the chair.

GUILDFORD.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott. Sir Edmund Ellis in the chair.

MARCH 12TH.—St. LEONARDS-ON-SEA.—Madame Wolfen's Drawing-room Meeting, 7.45 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris.

EPSOM.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Greatbatch, Mr. A. Maconachie, Henry Keswick, Esq., M.P., in the chair.

LONDON.—Girls' League Debate. Miss Pott.

FRIMLEY.—Afternoon Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. Colquhoun.

MARCH 13TH, DULWICH.—Debate, Emanuel Hall, 8 p.m. Mr. A. Maconachie v. Mr. Jacob.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—Annual Meeting. Mrs. Colquhoun.

MARCH 14TH, TAUNTON.—Debate, 8 p.m., Municipal Hall. Miss Pott v. Lady Selborne.

MARCH 17TH, GOLDER'S GREEN.—Public Meeting, St. Alban's Hall, 8.15. Miss Mabel Smith. Mr. A. Maconachie.

MARCH 27TH, BRIGHTON.—Y.M.C.A. Debate, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley.

CIRENCESTER.—Public Meeting. Mrs. Colquhoun, Mr. Leo Maxse.

MARCH 28TH, SOUTHWOLD.—Mrs. Greatbatch. The Countess of Stradbroke in the chair.

NEW BRANCHES.

The following new Branches have been opened during February:—
Beaconsfield and District.

President: Hon. Lady Hulse.

Vice-President: Miss Charsley.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss Schmidt, Uplands.

East Berks.

Sub-Branch—Maidenhead.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Voules, Cordwallis College.

Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Marion Roberts, Courthouse Lane.

Shenfield and Brentwood.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dawe, Trevosper, Worrying Road, Shenfield.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on Wednesday, March 12th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. These Meetings are open to all Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Workers of the League, and this notice constitutes the invitation to the Meeting. It is hoped that all who are able to do so will attend them.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty,

33, Hornton Street,
Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

In order to keep the postage on the "Review" at a halfpenny, the list of Branches of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage will in future be published every third month (April, July, October, January), and not monthly as hitherto. In the case of subscribers who have paid one shilling for a year's postage, the subscriptions will be allowed to run on for a period corresponding with the amount saved on the postage of the unexpired portion of their subscriptions.



By appointment to
H.M. KING GEORGE V.

SCHWEPPE'S TABLE WATERS

are consumed in all the great houses of the United Kingdom and are on sale throughout the world.

Schweppe's Dry Ginger Ale

—a delicious drink for luncheon for ladies and children.

Schweppe's Green Ginger Wine

—an excellent digestive. Refuse "something just as good."

Sole Manufacturers:

SCHWEPPE'S, LIMITED,



Hair Colouring Specialist.

Tarlita's Permanent Hair Colouring

Mons. Tarlita begs to give notice to ladies in trouble about the colour of their hair, that he undertakes to remove any unnatural shade caused by imperfect dyes under the form of powders or liquids, or by incompetent operators, amateurs, ill-health, and re-colours it to its true natural colour, or any other shade desired, in one sitting of about two hours, without the slightest injury to the hair. On the contrary, the hair will grow thicker after the treatment, and he guarantees the colour to be permanent, standing washing, atmospheric influences, and retaining its natural glossy appearance, which no other dye can claim. Also that the recipe of this new colouring, together with the method of applying same, remains his secret, and cannot be obtained or practised anywhere else, having no connection whatever with any other firm.

THE QUEEN says: "The supreme work of Tarlita is concerned with colouring the hair."

"In this he is an artist of the first rank, and his remarkable success in this important branch has been the steady growth of years of appreciation."

All communications strictly private.
Consultations Free. Price List on Application.

TARLITA,

443, Oxford Street, London, W.

Opposite Selfridge's.

'Phone 1304, Mayfair. Telegrams, "TARLITA, LONDON."

PARLIAMENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE collapse of the Franchise and Registration Bill has produced a bewildering crop of explanations from the Suffrage ranks. A number of Suffragists, following the lead of Mr. Bernard Shaw, attack the Speaker, only to rally others to the support of the Chair and its ruling; some denounce Mr. Asquith, only to rouse the protests of his followers; some fasten responsibility on the Liberal Cabinet as a whole; others go farther and see in the withdrawal of this particular measure unmistakable proof of the truth of their belief that man is incapable of doing any right action. But all have one point in common, and in this respect are typical of the Suffrage movement as a whole: they are only concerned with the consideration of the moment, and give no thought to the wider aspect of the case. No Suffragist, apparently, can see, or if he or she can see will admit the truth of the situation, which we believe to be this: that any attempt to pass Woman Suffrage through this Parliament is foredoomed to failure. The immediate agency of discomfiture will vary; in the case of the Franchise Bill it was the rules of Parliamentary procedure; in the case of a private Member's Bill defeat may come from a variety of circumstances. Within a year both methods of forcing Woman Suffrage through Parliament have been attempted, and both have failed. Why?

The reason is not far to seek. It is this. Parliament is the organ of the nation—nothing more and nothing less. Matters do come before Parliament, and do receive legislative attention without having been definitely submitted to the electorate; but these matters fall into one of two categories—either they are of secondary importance, or they represent the reasoned opinion of the Party in power, who hold themselves entitled to speak on behalf of the majority of the electors. When, however, a question of first-rate importance is introduced into Parliament that cuts athwart Party lines and leaves each Member free to act according to his own views, without reference to the Whips, the House of Commons has no more moral right to commit the country to a certain line of action than any other gathering of six or seven hundred citizens, in Trafalgar Square or elsewhere. Parliament itself is conscious of the fact; and it is for that reason that, when Woman Suffrage proposals are put forward in present circumstances, chaos and impotence follow. On this subject there is no longer a Parliament to speak—nothing but a welter of individuals, without guidance, without authority, without cohesion. In the case of two totally different measures, we have seen the same sequence of events in Suffrage circles—doubts, divisions and defeat. All Woman Suffrage proposals in the present House of Commons will share the same fate. If any doubt were entertained on this subject, it would be dissipated by the experience of Suffragist Members of the House who set out to devise a common plan of action for the coming Session. The idea had to be

dropped. Labour Suffragists want Adult Suffrage, and produce a split in their own ranks by passing a resolution to vote against any Government Franchise Bill that does not make some provision for Woman Suffrage; Liberal Suffragists favour a Bill on the lines of the Dickinson Amendment to the Franchise Bill, with an age qualification of twenty-five years; Unionist Suffragists at present are not anxious to go beyond the terms of the Conciliation Bill, and, in any case, will not countenance the application of the Parliament Act to a Woman Suffrage measure, while over the whole legislative prospect there hangs the sinister cloud of militancy. What wonder that so far Suffragism has suffered defeat?

What, then, is the outlook for Anti-Suffragists? We must see to it that in the future, as in the past, no Woman Suffrage proposals pass into law until they have come forward backed by a substantial preponderance of opinion in the country, ascertained and expressed by constitutional methods. Nothing is more remarkable than the unconstitutional, or, rather, the anti-constitutional character, of the Woman Suffrage movement. Mrs. Humphry Ward's suggestion for an advisory referendum to women, followed by one to the male electors, has produced a crop of Suffragist letters and speeches, all aimed at discrediting beforehand any result of such a step; all loudly asserting that whatever be the result of such a "juggle," as it has been called, "the movement will still go on." Such language does not disconcert Anti-Suffragists. It is dictated, as they know from experience, by a genuine fear of any true trial of strength, a well-founded fear of defeat. Such an attitude as this serves to confirm Anti-Suffragists in continuing their resistance, by proving, if proof were needed, that in fighting this battle they are fighting the battle of free, ordered, constitutional government.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Towards Disenchantment.

Two Suffrage societies are at the parting of the ways; in one direction lies the narrow ascent leading to disenchantment, in the other the broad downward slope to destruction. There are signs that both the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association and the Church League are trying to establish at least one foot on the road leading to disenchantment, and if they persevere, it will be interesting to see which reaches the goal first. In the House of Commons the face-saving process of still advocating a Conciliation Bill is adhered to by Unionist Suffragists either from ignorance of, or indifference to, the fact that their fellow-Suffragists will not even thank them for such a measure, or tolerate it for a moment longer than they are obliged. The attitude of the Suffrage world towards its Unionist section is, that if the latter persist in believing that Woman Suffrage can be restricted to a million and a-quarter women, it is its own affair; every other Suffrage society has announced its intention to

agitate for votes for women on the same terms as they are, or may be, given to men, and there will be no breach of faith on their part if they throw over their Unionist *confrères* as soon as they have made use of their strange gullibility. But the situation in Parliament, where, presumably, only one Suffrage Bill can be discussed next Session, is rapidly cutting the ground from under the feet of Unionist Suffragists, and they will probably have to choose before long between going the whole length of Adult Suffrage (with the help of Mr. Dickinson's half-way house) and a return to their Unionist principles, which are Anti-Suffrage to the extent of being opposed to the passing of any measure by Parliament that has not been submitted to the electorate.

§ § §

A Second Competitor.

THE second Suffrage society that finds its face turning towards the goal of disenchantment is the Church League. Militancy is its camel, and has been swallowed without any difficulty; but the gnaw of divorce is proving distinctly troublesome. Elsewhere in this issue reference is made to the misgivings of some Churchmen on this subject. At a Liverpool Suffrage meeting the Bishop of Hull found it necessary to devote his whole speech to what he termed "excrescences on the Suffrage movement." Many people, including Suffragists, would challenge this definition, for in their judgment, Dr. Kempthorne's "excrescences" are part and parcel of the Suffrage movement over which the Church League proposes to spread its comprehensive cloak. It may be true that "every great movement is always in danger of being ruined by a certain number of people who hang on to its skirts and try to fix on to it doctrines which they desire to propagate, but which have really nothing to do with the movement itself"; but the world will wonder whether the Bishop of Hull has ever heard what the fly on the wheel said to itself. The Church League was started three years ago, when militancy and the feminist-freewoman tendency were already sturdy growths. Even if Suffragists were ready to take their cue from the Church League, would they be more likely to turn to the Bishop of Hull or to such stalwarts as the Rev. W. F. Cobb, of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, Bishops-gate, and the Rev. Peter Green, of Salford? As things are, the Church League, in order to survive at all, has had to throw out a welcome to the militants, whom other Suffrage societies repudiate, and, still further, *ad captandum vulgus*, has recommended the omission of the word "obey" from its marriage service. The fly on the wheel is so occupied with the dust that it is making that it overlooks the danger it runs of damaging its constitution. "The refusal to admit women to Holy Orders," writes one member of the Church League, "is just as illogical as to deny them the vote." Another considers that "the Church of England has failed to achieve a greater success in the land because it does not admit women to Holy Orders."

§ § §

"Unionist" Suffragists.

ON another page we publish an article by the Countess of Jersey on the Conservative and Unionist Woman Franchise Association, which we would commend to all members of that anomalous body. Unionists who are not obsessed by the clamour for votes for women may well stand amazed

at the inconsistency of those of their Party who call themselves Suffragists. A meeting of the Association was held at the beginning of February, and no one can deny that on this occasion Lord Selborne made a most masterly attempt to put the best aspect on the action of Unionist Suffragists. But what was he compelled to admit?

"I altogether deny the moral validity of any legislation passed under its (the Parliament Act's) provisions, because we are living under a Single-Chamber system, which is not the Constitution of this country, and there is no means at present in existence by which we can be assured that the people, who must be the final judges of legislation, can be consulted."

Yet Unionist Suffragists were prepared to vote for one or more amendments to the Franchise Bill in the certain knowledge that, if they were passed, Woman Suffrage would take effect under the Parliament Act. But if the objection to this Act is that it prevents any Government measure from being submitted to the electorate before it passes into law, how can Unionists with any consistency remain in the Suffrage ranks? For the whole essence of the movement is to force a measure on the country that has never been submitted to it, and that there is good reason to suppose it does not want. And as if to make the position of the Unionist Suffragist still more ridiculous, we have Lord Willoughby de Broke at the self-same meeting using these words:—

"The House of Lords had voluntarily abdicated its function in the State; the House of Commons no longer represented the common-sense of the nation. The House of Commons to-day was a huckstering, log-rolling, vote-catching, salary-seeking assembly."

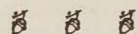
Believing all this, these patriots would yet join eagerly in all the "huckstering, log-rolling, vote-catching" intrigues that are necessary, if a Suffrage measure is to pass this House of Commons. Can madness and blindness farther go? Truly, Unionist Suffragism is an anomaly. For all practical Suffrage purposes it is useless. It cannot speak on behalf of Suffragists at large, for they know that what it stands for—a Parliamentary Franchise for Women based on the municipal vote—is as worthless as it is impracticable. If such a measure were passed at once, while the Unionist Suffragist was wondering at his own daring and enlightenment, the flood gates of Adult Suffrage would be flung wide open.

§ § §

The Labour Party and the Vote.

IN spite of being unanimously in favour of Woman Suffrage, the Labour Party is also to have its troubles over this subject. As the Suffrage movement has now identified itself with Labour-Socialist politics, and the war-chests of both Mrs. Fawcett's and Mrs. Pankhurst's societies are placed eagerly at the disposal of Socialist candidates, it was only fitting that some return should be made by the Labour Party. Accordingly, at its Annual Conference, which opened at Lambeth on January 29th, a resolution was passed to the effect that the Parliamentary Party must oppose any Franchise Bill that did not give votes to women. It was a fair *quid pro quo*, and inasmuch as the Suffrage question is doomed to override all principle and considerations of expediency, the resolution of the Conference might have been expected to pass unchallenged. A few members of the Party, however, are proving recalcitrant. Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., has announced his intention to resign his seat rather than give effect to the

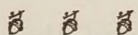
resolution, and he has been joined by Mr. W. E. Harvey, M.P. Altogether eight Members are understood to have revolted already, and the officials of the Party, in order to avoid a crisis at this juncture, are said to have agreed to allow the whole position to be reviewed early in the new Session. As the Annual Conference armed the officials with fuller powers to deal with acts of party disloyalty, the future developments in connection with the Suffrage resolution will be watched with interest.



Equal Pay for Equal Work.

THE *Melbourne Argus* for January 7th contains an interesting article on the payment of clerks. Suffragists who insist on "equal pay for equal work," and believe that by fixing a minimum rate of payment the problem of low wages would be solved, should study recent events in the State of Victoria. Here the settlement of a minimum rate of pay by the Clerks' Wages Board has been followed by unexpected consequences. First, the minimum rate being fixed at £2 5s. per week, many firms have dismissed elderly or less competent employees, whose work is not really worth so much. Other firms who have only some thirty shillings' worth of work to be done each week have dismissed their clerk-typist altogether and made other arrangements. The consequences to women are likely to be even more serious, and must be given in the words of the *Argus* :—

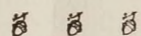
The return read to the Legislative Assembly stated that there were 624 female clerical workers whose average wage was 19s. 11d. per week. Some of these lady clerks were told that the royal road to happiness lies along the path of equal pay for equal work. They were encouraged in this belief by their male colleagues, who assured them that they were pulling down the wage standard and opening up a market of cheap labour for the employer to exploit. A few—and it is a satisfaction to the others to remember that it was only a few—joined in the clamour, and the Wages Board gave effect to their demand in the award. Equal pay has been granted to women, but the employer is now asking for equal work. Many female workers were dismissed without a trial, because employers believe from experience that there is a gap between the male and female worker which the female will never bridge. Others have been given the trial, but there has been a "speeding up," which, sooner or later, in most instances will lead to attacks of nerves and eventually to physical breakdown."



Responsibility.

In the attempt to allocate responsibility for the latest outrages perpetrated by militants, there is a tendency to ignore the real causes and to fasten on the simplest explanation. Mrs. Pankhurst contributes to the mistake by openly insisting upon her own share in the militant campaign. But the leader of the Women's Social and Political Union is only one Suffragist after all, and it would be a mistake for her to suppose that she can monopolise the sole responsibility for militancy. The perpetrators of the outrages can be grouped under two main types—those Suffragists whose inherited tendencies would always have prevented them from being otherwise than a disgrace to their sex; the other, the neurotic type, who really suppose that they are heroines. With the former, the example of women who have already been to prison may well act as an incentive to indulge their natural bent; but with the latter it is the support and encouragement given by a very

different class of Suffragists that convert them into militants. When it is remembered that not a single prominent Suffragist has ever denounced militancy without some reservation that pays tribute to the courage, unselfishness or devotion of the militants; that the Church League for Woman Suffrage has officially refused to denounce militants; that the so-called non-militant societies have actually contributed to the funds of the militants; that the Bishop of Lincoln has solemnly warned Suffragists not to say a word against the militants; it is not difficult to decide where the real responsibility rests for fully half of the militancy that is disgracing this country. Naturally, as the outrages follow their inevitable line of development, we shall have heated denunciations from so-called non-militant Suffragists. But the evil has already been done, and just as long as these latter continue their agitation for the vote, so long will militancy continue. For no Suffragist is likely to forget Mrs. Fawcett's dictum on militancy: "At the outset the so-called militant tactics did good rather than harm to the Suffragist cause. They had the effect of advertisement." *Non tibi auxilio.* Most people who are not Suffragists would dissociate themselves "at the outset" from all forms of immoral advertisement.



A "Free" House of Commons.

A LETTER from Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., to the *Times* on the Woman Suffrage question would be worthy of more attention than it has received if the peculiar views held by the Member for North St. Pancras on the functions of representative government were not well known. Mr. Dickinson does not believe in the contention that a Member of Parliament should be the spokesman of his constituency. He informed a deputation on one occasion that, when a subject cropped up in Parliament that was in any way outside the recognised Party programme, a member must be free to deal with it "in the best way he can" without any reference to the wishes of his constituency. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Dickinson should break a lance on behalf of the present House of Commons as the only fitting arbiter on the Woman Suffrage question. But on Mr. Dickinson's own showing, as soon as a question arises outside the official programmes of the main Parties, the Members of Parliament are, or ought to be, acting "on their own." In other words, they are no longer representatives of the people, but act or vote for themselves only. What right, then, can a few hundred members of the community claim to force upon the country a grave constitutional change on which the 8,000,000 electors have not been consulted?

CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMAN FRANCHISE.

BY THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY.

AMONG the many societies formed for promoting the Suffragist cause one claims special consideration on the score of being Conservative and Unionist. Its leaders are ladies of intelligence, and their efforts to further its views are by way of being strictly constitutional. Yet despite these advantages many people fail to perceive the logic of their arguments and the reason of their actions. Like their militant sisters the Unionist Suffragists shift their ground continually, and when

driven from their first lines of defence throw up hastily constructed ramparts. They may not themselves set fire to the contents of pillar-boxes, destroy orchid houses nor try to blind Ministers; but the mild remonstrances addressed to their militant allies are couched in terms rather of sorrow than of anger, and they are as little disposed to cut connection with them as the Turks are to dispense with the services of Kurds and Bashi-Bazouks.

Taking, however, these nominal Conservatives and Unionists for the minute as being on a different plane from the noisier Suffragettes, we may still ask for their credentials as Conservatives. The very word as applied to them is a palpable misnomer.

Bacon, in his essay "Of Innovations," while allowing that "he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils," lays down the true principle of Conservatism when he says, "It is good not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident." Yet without any pretence of consulting either the present electorate or the nation at large as to the urgent necessity or evident utility of this gigantic revolution, these nominally Conservative ladies wish to try an experiment on the body politic the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee, and for the first time in history to force the franchise on some millions of persons of whom an immense proportion, probably the majority, dislike and deprecate the pretended boon.

ORIGINAL PLEAS.

The original Conservative pleas for this strange proceeding were, roughly speaking, two: one, that it was hard that women of property should be debarred from a franchise exercised by their own male dependents; the other, constantly used in private though more charily in public, that rate-paying and tax-paying women would prove so "naturally Conservative" that once added to the electorate they would almost certainly prevent any further lowering of the franchise to include either men or women.

These ideas more or less underlay the so-called "Conciliation Bill" with which these Unionist ladies hoped to play Canute to the rising tide, while their shrewder Radical allies fully realised that the enfranchisement of the first female contingent would cut the dyke which kept back the flood. While it had to be shown that this Bill would benefit all classes of women, when analysed it proved satisfactory to none. It was clearly demonstrated that though rate-paying women would under it receive a Parliamentary vote in addition to the Municipal one which they already possessed, the large body of women paying taxes on fortunes derived from investments would be no more enfranchised than before, and that some seventy-three per cent. of the new voters would be charwomen, lodgers, and working women of various descriptions, just as deserving of votes as any other women, but not specially likely to prove "naturally Conservative." Anyhow the Bill would not meet the cry "No taxation without representation," while on the other hand it was not nearly democratic enough to win the support of fervid Radicals. The original Conciliation Bill has passed to the limbo of lost causes, but its main provisions were revived in one of the proposed amendments to the late abortive Government Franchise Bill, which was to give votes to women on the basis of the Local Government Register. This was announced as supported by Suffragists of both parties in the House, as was also the very peculiar measure to enfranchise women over 25 years of age who were inhabitant occupiers or wives of electors. This proposed a singular

absurdity. Why if certain chosen women are qualified to vote at all should they wait until the age of 25? Many might willingly retard the epoch at which man is supposed to attain years of discretion; but since the wisdom of our ancestors has allotted him the vote at 21, on what principle should the young woman be given four more years in which to acquire political wisdom?

All these half-hearted attempts to bring a limited number of female voters show the fallacy of the whole so-called Conservative Suffragist position. The moment the franchise is given to any woman the case is given away. If one class of woman should obtain the vote on the same terms as men, every class excluded will, naturally, and successfully, assert an equal right.

Give the vote to the rate-payer and the tax-payer will say, "Where do I come in?" Give it to the tax-payer and the working woman will say, "I need it more." Give it to the university student and you cannot deny it to the factory girl; to the factory girl and you must recognise the right of the domestic servant.

The Conservative and Unionist Suffragist is paving the way for the universal Adult Suffrage which has overseas resulted in a succession of Labour ministries and of Labour measures, which we need not criticise but which are assuredly very far from Conservative.

THE LATEST ATTITUDE.

The latest and most insidious campaign of the Suffragists is conducted on the assumption that Woman Franchise alone can combat the condition under which too many women toil in the labour market, and particularly that it alone can stamp out the social evil. No vote can make women physically as strong as men and enable them to compete with them on equal terms; no vote can oblige either men or women to lead the lives which would conduce to their highest happiness. But surely in dealing with these terrible problems women can exert their influence far more effectually outside than inside the polling-booth. Legislators have shown themselves ready and eager to carry into effect the most stringent measures; and if, instead of scattering broadcast wild statements and wilder accusations, women who have studied social questions would quietly and steadily point out to those in authority what is still to be done, they would find that not votes but work can accomplish the great reforms which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike earnestly desire.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND LEGISLATION.

It would have been thought that with the passage into law of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill this particular measure would have dropped out of the Suffragists' stock-in-trade, for the good reason that it constitutes a striking illustration of what the public expression of women's opinion can achieve without the vote. But during the past month, reference has been made to this Act from a score of platforms, and in practically every instance the assertion has been made that the Bill was blocked a hundred times in the House of Commons owing to the inherent antagonism to social reform that men show when left to their own devices. No doubt this statement is made in some instances in good faith. It does not require much

acquaintance with the Suffrage movement to be struck with the total absence of original thought in Suffragist ranks. The only arguments adduced are based on half a dozen statements which have been refuted times without number—taxation and representation; votes and wages; the social evil; experience in Suffrage countries; equal pay for equal work; the woman and her gardener. These are served up in varying forms with varying degrees of emphasis by numbers of speakers, with implicit trust in the last Suffrage speaker, and in no single case ever taking the trouble to verify the statements or to subject them to critical analysis. And so it has been with the alleged blocking of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Not one in a hundred of the people who have made or listened to the accusation has had any clear conception of what actually took place in the House of Commons.

PROCEDURE IN THE HOUSE.

It may be worth while here to set out the real significance of what is known as the blocking of a Bill. The number of Bills before Parliament is always more than can be disposed of, if discussion is to take place on each. Relative precedence for non-Government Bills is determined by ballot, and only a few heading the list can hope to obtain the attention of the House. The remainder figure in the Orders of the Day, and, if unopposed, may eventually pass into law without discussion. If a controversial measure appears on this list, the only method of securing its discussion is for a Member to say, "I object," when the title of the Bill is read out. The Bill then stands over, and if it is too far down the list to be able to obtain discussion, the process of "objecting" has to be continued *ad infinitum*, unless the Government adopts the measure as one of its own.

No one, not even a Suffragist, will contend that a measure of the importance of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill ought to have been passed by Parliament without discussion. If discussion is to take place, the Bill had to be "blocked." Mr. A. Burgoyne, M.P., confessed to being the author of the rhetorical statement that the Bill had been moved a hundred times, and added that he did not pretend that it was precisely a hundred times. In the debate on the Second Reading, Sir F. Banbury, who had been prominent in blocking the Bill, explained that there was no other course open to him, in order to promote discussion, and he pointed out that even the mover of the measure in the previous Session was ignorant at that time of what was in the Bill, which probably few people in or out of the House had read.

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

The Act in question is now in operation, and has been pronounced officially to be proving beneficial in its effects. No one grudges the Suffragists their self-congratulations; but, if they aspired to a reputation for accuracy, they would have to admit that the Bill, which was introduced by an Anti-Suffragist, had also been widely supported by Anti-Suffragists, who point to it as an example of what can be achieved in legislation without women's votes. The people who oppose legislation such as the Criminal Law Amendment Bill are often ardent humanitarians and men of unimpeachable character, who conscientiously believe that the legislation in question will not accomplish what is desired. It will always be essential, therefore, that such legislation should be fully discussed in Parliament.

No thinking man or woman will deny that much remains to be done, partly by legislation, but even more in the strengthening and purifying of human nature, to remedy the social evils in our midst. Women as the real framers of social conventions, may well ask themselves in what direction they are using this very powerful weapon for preserving social purity. In this, as in all questions of a partly ethical character, legislation will follow, and not precede, public opinion. Certain specific remedies are now very much canvassed, especially in Suffragist circles, but as to these, a word of warning may be uttered. Some of them, such as the raising of the age of consent and the position of the fathers of illegitimate children, have been dealt with in other countries, which are therefore said by Suffragists to be "ahead of us" in social legislation. The proof of this assertion must be sought, not in the number of convictions or heaviness of sentences on male offenders, but in a totally different set of statistics, showing the moral tone of society as a whole. In these respects, and if allowances be made for differences of social conditions, the evidence is by no means clear. Anti-Suffragists do not as a body take up any position on these specific points—they are, like Suffragists, divided as to the desirability or otherwise of certain proposed changes in the law. But on one point they certainly are agreed. They deprecate the discussion in mixed assemblies, and in the presence of young women and girls, of problems which should only be dealt with from a scientific standpoint, and by those whose age and experience of life enables them to take a sane and wholesome view of such questions. Indiscriminate and emotional discussion of the moral evil will certainly blunt the susceptibilities of the young, and may arouse a morbid and unhealthy curiosity, and cannot in any way advance the cause of social purity.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN; ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE.

By the Rev. HENRY W. CLARK.

THE controversy round Woman Suffrage, like controversies round many other questions of "reform" real or so-called, is conducted too much without any "looking before and after." It is conducted, that is, without any adequate attempt at realising the evolutionary process whereby the present condition of things has been brought about and ascertaining whether or no the present condition of things finds an explanation and justification, not apparent upon the surface, in that process when it is understood. And it is conducted, further, without any adequate attempt at realising the consequences which would ensue, if a change in the present condition of things were made. This is really to say, in other words, that the matter is only superficially argued. The two things instanced as lacking in the common discussion of the topic are, in truth, but two aspects of the same thing. What it comes to is that the immediate fact—the fact which stares everybody in the face—the fact that men have votes and women have none—is the only matter regarded; and the emotions stirred by an unthinking but concentrated gaze upon that one fact come to rule the argument through and through. There is little or nothing

of disciplined imagination piercing down to original facts and considerations which time has overlaid, but which are true and valid still; and to results which would follow, not immediately, but at one or two removes, upon change. Under these conditions, needless to say, discussion goes astray; emphasis falls upon the wrong places; essential factors never come upon the field at all; and anything in the way of largeness of grasp becomes impossible. Such phrases as "equality of the sexes," "admission to the rights of citizenship," and the like—phrases largely irrelevant, and in any case involving depreciatory assumptions as to women's present position far too sweeping—hold the ground. And both parties to the discussion, it has to be admitted, contentedly confine themselves to circling round phrases of the kind. The whole controversy, in short, becomes petty, and drops to an ignoble plane.

Yet the present position, be it right or be it wrong, has come out of a long past—a long past during which the world evidently supposed that it was resting upon an axiom in keeping the direct and formative control of political affairs in the hands of men. One would think that some investigation of the reasons which must have lain behind this unexpressed, but real, acceptance of the thing as axiomatic would be well worth while. Moreover, precisely because that past is so long, one would think that the introduction of entirely new forces into the making and government of the State would be examined, as to its probable consequences, with minute care. It is not indeed difficult to understand why the necessity for a backward glance and for imagination's forward look in this matter, great as the necessity is, should remain unrealised by not a few. The fact that democracy has emerged as the dominant idea of current politics obscures the fact that the enfranchisement of women *would be* the introduction of entirely new forces into the making and government of the State, and enables those who wish to do so to represent it as merely one additional step upon a road already far explored. In fact, the evolutionary process has covered up its own tracks, so that the eye is not drawn backward into the direction where its beginnings lie. As those who oppose the suggested experiment would put it, the ultimate principles and considerations, in virtue of which the making and government of the State have been from the start kept in the hands of men, have—just because they have done their work so well—brought about a position in which their very existence may easily be forgotten. The Suffrage question may without difficulty be represented as a much smaller and more superficial one than it really is. It comes to be stated something like this: "Does not the very word 'democracy' involve the enfranchisement of women?"—and at bottom treatment of the problems, whatever considerations in favour of an affirmative reply be insisted on, is largely a matter of interpreting a word. It is conveniently forgotten that hitherto in neglecting even to glance at the now much-canvassed matter at all, society has—whether rightly or wrongly—read off what it supposed to be the eternal nature of things; that the first and fundamental task is to ascertain whether this reading be true or false; and that the second task, should the reading be found true, is to enquire carefully what would follow if it were no longer allowed to guide. But though some may forget, those who are anxious not to be misled will at least attempt an answer to the questions thus framed.

To make some endeavour at the exercise of this "disciplined imagination," at this "looking before and after," is the object of the present paper. Does a consideration of the fundamental principles on which the present situation in regard to the Suffrage is based—a making of them explicit so far as that can be done—enable us to declare that the present situation is reasonable, in the nature of things, and right? And if it does, what consequences are likely to befall if—with its reasonableness, naturalness and rightness forgotten—the present situation be overturned?

A STATE IN THE MAKING.

We need not, as we exercise this "disciplined imagination" in regard to the past, trouble ourselves with theories as to the ultimate origin of society. It will suffice if we suppose some small community of men and women, at some fairly advanced stage of mental and moral development, setting themselves to the making and organisation of something like a State. For at some time or other—whatever the antecedent conditions may have been—some such situation must have emerged. Indeed, if we assume a company of settlers planted down in the heart of some newly-discovered country, free to establish their own habitual lines of conduct, as reason, intuition and the fitness of things dictate, untrammelled by any academically or artificially raised questions—indeed, with no problems except those which the general position *automatically* suggests, and with no preconceptions except in the direction of accepting the replies to those problems which the general position *automatically* supplies—we are near enough to what, *mutatis mutandis*, must at some time or other have obtained. Doubtless, our supposed company of settlers will have simultaneously upon its hands many matters which in actual history appeared in series long drawn out; and in thus imaginatively summoning it we are admittedly "telescoping" various segments of a long-continued process till only one united piece is seen. But, for the use to which we propose to put it, the matter remains unaffected. It was from some such position as that which our imaginary company of settlers occupies that society—although in society's case the problems suggested by such a position may have appeared successively rather than collectively, and the satisfying of one problem may have overlapped the putting of the next—started on its road to the position it occupies now.

What, now, would under these conditions take place? Obviously, the entire constructive work necessitated by the situation—everything connected with the making of the corporate community, of the incipient State as such—would, in the nature of the case, be in the hands of the men. At first, there would even be comparatively little division of labour as between man and man; every male of the society must be prepared to turn his hands to almost any one of the elementary tasks calling to be done, and the putting up of buildings, the subduing and tilling of the soil, the construction of implements, and all cognate matters, would be for the men to do. As to this, there will presumably be no dispute. Nor can there, one would imagine, be any question but that the entire business of government and defence would similarly fall to the masculine lot. As to defence, the point needs no more than bare statement. Also, since in respect of defence the point is self-evident, it is clear that rules

governing the relations of the community as a whole to the outside world, to that portion of it with which the community has any relations at all—its relations with other similar communities or (let us say) with aboriginal tribes—the deciding voice would be man's. So far as concerns rules of "internal" government, a moment's thought suffices to show that these also would, in our nascent community, be left for their settlement in the hands of men, and this as naturally as defence from danger outside. For one thing, it would be realised in such a society as this far more easily than it can be realised in the complicated societies of to-day, that even rules whose first incidence is upon individuals *within* the society must ultimately affect, *through* the results which their observance or non-observance entail, the society's power of maintaining and defending itself as a whole against external harm, and that the making of them is therefore really the question of "defence" at more or fewer removes. But the reason goes deeper and lies here. The *enforcement* of "internal" government is, no less obviously than defence in the other sense, the affair of the men. And the crucial matter is that nothing, under the circumstances supposed, would obscure the natural suggestion that the enforcement and the making of law are but two aspects of the same function, and that they inhere naturally in the same energising personalities. For it must be remembered that at this early stage *everything* connected with the construction and maintenance of the State (if the young association may be so called) is the business of *every* man; *every* man has to be ready for *every* call; the idea of division of responsibilities has hardly arisen; and certainly the idea of any part of the community doing its duties vicariously—the idea of representation—has not arisen at all. The *enforcement* of law, therefore, comes upon every man. It is not at this stage a matter of some—a special executive or a special police or a specialised legal apparatus of any description—discharging the function for the rest. There is nothing upon the field, accordingly, to suggest a gap between the making and the enforcement of law—a gap into which there might thrust itself a question as to who the makers are or ought to be. The "enforcement" of law will be taken as being only the "making" declaring itself, the "making" as being simply the immediate antecedent to the "enforcement"—"enforcement" being, so to say, the physical movement following upon and correspondent to the energising thought behind. But then, the enforcement of law, besides coming upon *every* man, comes upon *every man* alone. That is (putting the two things together) it is coterminous with manhood. And since "enforcement" and "making" are but two aspects of the same function, the inference will be instinctively drawn that making of law is coterminous with manhood too. If all this sounds complicated, it does so only because the thing itself is so simple; for to explain or justify what is axiomatic must always result in something like a cloud of words. Axiomatic to all concerned these things assuredly would be. With *all* men saddled under the obligation of enforcing law, and with *only* men so saddled, the question as to who the law-makers are answers itself. Under the given conditions, to apprehend every man's duty would be also to apprehend where the territory of man's exclusive work begins. And so we come back to the fundamental idea that in our imaginary country whatever belongs to the making and maintenance

of the community *as a whole* is the special task and the special duty of man, and that in the indicated category the making of law—because it is only another aspect of the enforcement of law—finds a place. Also, it should be added, the performance of all these functions is not for man a seizing of privileges or claiming of rights, but an accepting of certain responsibilities and all that they entail. For these things are *thrust upon* him if the community is to survive.

(To be continued.)

CHRISTIANITY AND SUFFRAGE.

Facts and Fancies.

UNDER the heading "Christianity and Suffrage," the *Manchester Guardian* summarises an address given by the Rev. F. W. Cooper before the Manchester Society of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Cooper's reference to "the agitation" suggests further reference to its latest developments, some of which are given in a parallel column:—

THE REV. F. W. COOPER'S
FANCY:

That the agitation for Women's Franchise was part of a great effort to arrive at a more Christian ideal of woman's position in the world.

THE AGITATION:

(a) February 8th.—Telegraphic communication between London and Glasgow cut—by women.

(b) February 10th.—Attack on the orchid house, Kew—by women.

(c) February 10th.—Windows broken in Pall Mall—by women.

(d) February 13th.—Telegraphic wires cut at Birmingham and Coventry—by women.

(e) February 17th.—Twelve golf greens damaged—by women.

(f) February 18th.—Sentences of hard labour passed on five Women Suffragists for breaking windows at Bow after a Suffrage meeting. The magistrate's comment was: "If the defendants choose to behave like common riff-raff, they must be treated like common riff-raff."

(g) February 19th.—Bomb explosion at Mr. Lloyd George's house at Walton-on-the-Hill—women claim to be the perpetrators.

(h) February 20th.—Tea pavilion in Kew Gardens burned to the ground—by women.

The Cathedrals and Woman Suffrage.

Hereford.

It was announced that a short service would be held on February 1st between the hours of 11.30 and 12.30 in the North Transept of Hereford Cathedral, for all those interested in the cause of the enfranchisement of women. A petition was immediately prepared protesting against the profanation of the Cathedral by the proposed service, and calling the Dean's attention to the pain inflicted upon a number of persons by holding in a sacred building what practically amounted to a political meeting. When the protest, which contained about forty signatures, was presented by the daughter of the late Bishop, the Dean announced that he had already decided that the service

should not take place. In view of the frequent attempts made to involve the Church of England in a political controversy, it is to be hoped that other Branches will follow the example of the Hereford Branch and put a stop to such proceedings.

Westminster.

Statements having been made that special services had been held in Westminster Abbey on behalf of the Suffrage cause, the Dean of Westminster has informed the Honorary Secretary of the N.L.O.W.S. that there was no foundation whatever for the statement that a service of intercession in support of the cause of votes for women had taken place in the Abbey. Certain Suffragist ladies had applied to the Dean saying that they wished to devote a day to private prayer and intercession, and they had been informed that the Abbey was open to the public for the greater part of every day for that purpose. In the Dean's own words, "No special service on behalf either of Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist political agitation will receive any sanction from me."

The Religious Aspect.

It is satisfactory to note that the Bishop of Bristol, in consenting to preside at a meeting to consider "the religious aspect of the women's movement" was careful to dissociate himself from the Woman Suffrage cause, which was assumed at the Queen's Hall meetings last year to be synonymous with the "Women's Movement." "He would decline," he said, "to take the chair at any meeting on either side of the movement, whether the side was called the Suffragist or the Anti-Suffragist." So far, so good; but towards the end of the meeting Bishop Browne must have disappointed some of his audience by making the following statement:—"He was perfectly certain it would be better for the world that women should have greater power; but he very much doubted whether it would be better for women themselves."

How can any change which is to be worse for women prove to be better for the world?

The Bishop of Hull's Caveat.

Speaking at a Liverpool Suffrage meeting on February 12th, the Bishop of Hull said:—

"There were certain excrescences on the Suffrage movement which were not really a part of it, and sensible Church-people must do their utmost to deprive them of their powers of mischief. When they found people who supported the movement clamouring for liberty of divorce, it was time for the real supporters of Woman Suffrage, who were Christians, to declare plainly that these ideas were in no way part of the cause. Every great movement was always in danger of being ruined by a certain number of people who hung on to its skirts and tried to fix on to it doctrines which they desired to propagate, but which had really nothing to do with the movement itself. A great deal of talk was heard nowadays about the self-realisation of women. If that phrase merely meant the right of women to live their own lives in the sense of giving to their neighbours the service which they alone could give, it was well and good; but sometimes the phrase was intended to mean that every woman was free to follow her own impulses and desires, without any of the restraints which their most holy faith would fix on all of them. They all knew perfectly well what self-realisation meant with regard to the relationships of the sexes. It meant a great deal more than the recommendations of the majority report of the Divorce Commission, although they were bad enough; it meant a sex relationship which was marriage only in name, and from which loyalty was entirely eliminated. Unfortunately, that view was taken by some people who had fixed themselves on to the Suffrage movement. A certain periodical, which he would not advertise by naming it, was constantly advocating these theories.

Those supporters of Woman Suffrage who were also Christians—as, thank God, the majority were—ought to speak out in absolutely clear terms with regard to the sacredness of the Christian law of marriage.

It was a great mistake (Dr. Kempthorne continued) for supporters of the Suffrage to speak as if there was nothing useful which women could do without the vote. To take that line showed an utterly wrong sense of proportion, and such exaggeration might do the cause infinite harm."

THE POSITION IN PARLIAMENT.

AFTER the withdrawal of the Franchise and Registration Bill the Suffragists in the House of Commons were confronted with the necessity of preparing for a Suffrage measure next Session. The principle of a Suffrage "Cabinet" consisting of Suffragists of all parties, which would draw up a Bill and support it during its passage through the House, was soon seen to be unworkable, for the reason that Suffragists are not agreed among themselves regarding the extent to which they would like to see women enfranchised. Accordingly, the several groups went their way independently of one another, and arrived at identically the same points where they all were before. The Labour Party still adhere to Adult Suffrage, but are willing to support the Bill that will find favour with most Liberal Suffragists. At their annual conference they allowed their support of Woman Suffrage to commit them to a resolution to oppose any franchise measure that did not make provision for the enfranchisement of women; but a number of Labour M.P.'s have revolted against this order, and the subject is to be submitted to another conference.

Numerical strength rests with the Liberal Members in favour of Woman Suffrage, and their measure will consequently have a better chance of occupying the time of the House than any other. By the unanimous vote of the Liberal Suffragist Committee it has been decided that the Bill to be put forward should provide for conferring the Parliamentary Franchise on (1) Women, whether married or unmarried, who, if they were men would be entitled to be registered and to vote in respect of a household qualification, *i.e.*, as inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses; and (2) The wives of such inhabitant occupiers residing on the same premises as their husbands. The franchise, in the opinion of this group, should be restricted to women over 25 years of age. A Bill embodying these provisions is in course of being drafted, and will presumably form the Suffragist *pièce de résistance* in the coming Session.

In the words of the *communiqué* issued by the Liberal Group, "both the Conservative Suffragists and the Labour Suffragists showed themselves no less anxious to co-operate. But, while everyone agrees that a single Bill supported by all parties is the most desirable course, the degree of unity necessary for the drafting of a joint Bill is difficult of attainment." The difficulty will be appreciated when it is remembered that the Unionist Suffragists have not only found themselves unable to guarantee whole-hearted support to anything more than a fresh Conciliation Bill, but have added a rider to the effect that they hold that no measure of Woman Suffrage ought to be passed under the Parliament Act. This attitude would appear to have been adopted late in the day by a group that was prepared to vote for Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill; but if it be maintained now, the value of the support to be given by Unionist Suffragists next Session to the Suffragist cause ought to be problematical.

Only one Suffrage Bill would be entitled to qualify for the "special facilities" to be given by the Government, and it is

not clear how the "degree of unity" necessary for the support of a single measure is to be attained, when it was lacking for the drafting of that measure.

In the meantime a Bill entitled the Franchise and Registration (Local Government Elections) Bill has been brought in by Mr. Arnold Ward, Sir Ryland Adkins, Mr. Campion, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Hills. It proposes that the Municipal Franchise of Women shall be assimilated to that of men. The measure seeks to enact that a woman—and the expression "woman" is to apply to and include a married woman—shall be entitled to be registered and to vote as a county elector, parochial elector, or burgess of a municipal borough in respect of any qualification which, under the law for the time being relating to registration and voting at elections, entitles a man to be registered and to vote, any statute, law, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. It is expressly laid down that nothing in the measure shall entitle a woman to be registered as a Parliamentary elector or to vote at a Parliamentary election. The measure is to apply to Scotland and Ireland.

DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

SUFFRAGIST enthusiasm is very much at a discount in Dublin at the present time. The Franchise Bill fiasco seems to be likely to have a permanent effect upon the future of the Suffrage cause in this country. In this connection an interesting piece of stage-management which failed has just come to light. The visit of Mr. George Lansbury and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to Ireland was advertised in advance as a historic event in the history of Irish Suffragism. Both speakers were to appear at a meeting in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, under the auspices of the Irishwomen's Franchise League, on January 28th. Irish Suffragists were so sublimely confident of the success of the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill that the meeting was arranged so that the result of the Dickinson Amendment would reach Dublin just as the meeting was beginning. Then there would have been a burst of enthusiasm or indignation, wonderfully impressive and, *sans dire*, quite spontaneous.

The whole thing was very artistic, but, unfortunately, the Speaker's ruling put the careful programme out of gear. The meeting had been advertised so extensively that, although their dramatic moment was gone in advance, Mr. Lansbury and Mrs. Lawrence had to appear. In the circumstances, the historic meeting was, of course, an exceedingly flat and cheerless affair. The indignation of Mr. Lansbury, always with an eye on the picturesque, at being robbed of his spectacular triumph was painfully apparent. One would feel, quite sincerely, that he was not angry because the hopes of the Suffragists had been dashed, but because his private craving after the limelight had been thwarted. Mr. Lansbury lost his sense of proportion and decency so far as to accuse the Speaker, of all people, of being guilty of "a great breach of public honesty." Mrs. Pethick Lawrence appealed for a vigorous programme of Irish militancy, and urged her audience to make government impossible. But the audience received the advice in a blank and disconcerting silence. The fact is that Irish Suffragists had concentrated all their efforts upon the Franchise Bill amendments, and the *débâcle* left them hopelessly without any policy whatever.

THE REVIVAL OF MILITANCY.

There was, of course, a revival of militancy after the collapse, but it seems to have been only a flash in the pan, and not part of a concerted or organised programme. Four women broke 20 panes of glass in the Government buildings, Upper Castle Yard, and were all sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour. The incident, by the way, has destroyed the prevalent belief that the authorities had really made up their minds to deal effectively with Suffragist criminals. The usual and wearisome process resulted. The women petitioned for "political privileges," the petition was refused, they adopted the "hunger strike," and after a few days they were released. The attacks on pillar boxes have also been resumed. In this case the Dublin Metropolitan Police, who are usually anything but an incompetent body of men, show a significant incapacity to make any arrests.

IN SEARCH OF A POLICY.

These outrages, as I have said, are not part of a policy, for the excellent reason that Irish Suffragists are at present without a policy. In the circumstances, I dare not attempt to explain their very curious proceedings in the case of the Londonderry by-election. They conducted a very vigorous campaign in the city, but whether it had any effect upon the result is more than a little doubtful. They succeeded in securing an interview with both candidates. Colonel Pakenham, the Unionist, informed them bluntly that he was opposed to Woman Suffrage in any shape or form. Mr. Hogg, the Liberal, said that he would express his opinion on the subject after the election was over, and not before. I confess that I cannot make any intelligent comment on the fact that the Suffragists worked desperately for the Anti-Suffragist, Colonel Pakenham. Mr. Hogg, who was elected, afterwards declared that he was in favour of a limited extension of the franchise to women. This Gilbertian incident has naturally made a very bad impression upon Nationalist feeling in Ireland. Among all their troubles the Irish Suffragist leaders have frankly confessed their bewilderment and helplessness. In the approved Gilbertian method they have decided to adopt the less exciting course of leading from behind. The official organ of Irish Suffragism has just published a pathetic appeal for suggestions towards the making of an Irish Suffragist policy. It asked, quite plainly: "What is to be the policy of Irish Suffragists?" Are they to accept the Government's pledge as sufficient, or to demand a Government measure? Are they to take up a definite Anti-Government policy? If so, should they carry on with it, as its logical concomitant, opposition to the Nationalist party? All these questions, from the Suffragist point of view, demand an answer at this juncture. The movement in Ireland, such as it is, has reached a crisis in its history, and its whole future may depend upon the decision which has to be taken at the present time. We would suppose that the decision would be taken by the leaders. However, the symposium which has followed upon this appeal makes very interesting reading. Its chief characteristic is a note of absolute hopelessness. Everyone who is entitled to speak with any authority for Irish Suffragism has spoken; everyone has recognised the presence of a crisis; everyone has ill-concealed doubts whether it can be successfully overcome; and nearly everyone has a different suggestion to offer. Mr. T. J. Haslam, a well-known Dublin Suffragist, makes the sanest contribution to the medley. Mr. Haslam, who deprecates "militancy," objects equally to threats against any political party. He writes "So far as I know, there is not a single constituency in Ireland in which our supporters could seriously influence the electors." This candid friend of Irish Suffragism is perfectly right. He argues, therefore, that the only thing to do is to convince the electors. But that is easier to advise than to achieve. The Suffragist organisations—a case in point—have been trying to "wake up the West." Meetings have been arranged in places where they had never been held before—Galway, Ballina, and Westport. All three were broken up by unanimously hostile audiences. Altogether the outlook for "the cause" in Ireland is black indeed. The possibility of finding any sort of a policy which can advance it a single step, or, at least, save it from retrogression, seems to be negligible. Meanwhile, the frenzied search for a policy continues.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

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

SIR,—It is surely high time, and more than high time, that the representatives of Unionism who, like Lord Hugh Cecil, persistently assert that "Woman Suffrage is a Conservative measure," should either endeavour to substantiate this statement, or else desist from making it.

All the evidence which is procurable upon this question runs precisely in the opposite direction. Woman Suffrage is an absolute plank of the Labour Party, and if any Unionist or Liberal Suffragist can bring forward, with one exception, the name of any moderately well-known Socialist, Anarchist, or Labourist, who is not also a perfervid supporter of Votes for Women, I am prepared to surrender my opinions upon this

subject. The exception I allude to is, of course, that of Mr. Belfort Bax, the philosopher of Socialism, who, having the temerity to join the Anti-Suffrage League, was incontinently hauled before the tribunal of the Labour Party, and his resignation from one or other of the two bodies peremptorily demanded. To the best of their ability, the members of the Fabian Society hobble dutifully in the rear of every Suffragist procession, and the high priests of that organisation, Mr. George B. Shaw, Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. Galsworthy, and Mr. Granville Barker, &c., are ardent and tireless advocates of any form of petticoat government. The recent adoption in America, by California and other States, of Woman Suffrage is, it is instructive to remember, largely attributable to the exertions of the outrageous Labour Party.

It is a fact likewise replete with significance, that all the communities which enjoy the blessings of female franchise are the most socialistic in the world, and it is small wonder that Comrade Keir Hardie, Comrade George Lansbury, Comrade Philip Snowden, and their associates, are eagerly desirous of inducing us to follow in their footsteps.

In the Finnish Diet, the Socialist Party stands almost on a level of numerical equality with the representatives of all the other shades of opinion reckoned together. In the Australian Federal Parliament, a very similar condition of matters prevails, and no more enthusiastic eulogist of the influence of woman in politics exists than Mr. Fisher, the Socialist, whose political record is sufficiently well known. New Zealand is notoriously the happy hunting ground of Socialistic and Prohibitionist experimenters, and recently published Press announcements of the state of parties in the Norwegian Storting discloses a display of 56 Radicals and 24 Socialists against a beggarly total of 12 Liberals and 12 Conservatives.

In the face of such facts, it passes my comprehension to see how it can be contended that women are likely in any shape or form to prove a moderating force in the war of politics, but if there exists either statistics or arguments calculated to justify this impression, it would be equally gratifying and novel to learn the direction in which they can be discovered.

I am, &c.,

T. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN.

Villa Trollope,

Florence.

CHORLEY BY-ELECTION.

THE recent by-election in the Chorley Division of Lancashire, brought about by the death of the Earl of Crawford and the consequent elevation of Lord Balcarras to the Upper House, resulted in the election of the Unionist and Anti-Suffrage candidate, Sir Henry Hibbert.

Whatever else our vigorous campaign in Chorley proved, one fact was dominant: *Lancashire working women do NOT want the vote.* Whether at our meetings at the mills and workshops or from the evidence gained at the Anti-Suffrage Shop in Bolton Street, Chorley, where hundreds upon hundreds called, it was clearly demonstrated that the working woman is not to be deceived any longer by the argument that the vote has wage-raising power.

Nearly every form of work typical of Lancashire industry can be found among the signatories to the Petition forwarded to Head Office at the close of the election. These include: weavers, miners, overlookers, joiners, winders, fire heaters, bleachers, cloggers, frame tenters, strikers, warpers, moulders, engineers, waggon builders, painters, piecers, shop-assistants, teachers, doctors, solicitors, insurance agents, health visitor, &c.

The evidence strengthens us in our desire to prevent the infiction of Woman Suffrage upon the country.

In the next issue of the REVIEW we hope to include a photograph and short biography of Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, one of the first women Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society and a member of the Executive Committee of this League.

SUFFRAGE AND DIVORCE.

(1) "We welcome the Majority Report of the Divorce Commission."—*President of the Wakefield Women's Suffrage Society.*

(2) "If the Women's Suffrage movement is to be identified with the movement for easy divorce, then very many of its supporters will feel bound to reconsider their position."—*The Rev. J. T. Levens, Alverthorpe Vicarage ("Wakefield Express," December 14th, 1912).*

A NOTABLE contribution to the Suffrage controversy has been made during the month by Mrs. Humphry Ward, as President of the Local Government Advancement Committee. Mrs. Ward, in a letter to the Press, suggests that the municipal franchise should be extended to the wives of electors, and that then a short Referendum Bill should be introduced, providing that on the new municipal franchise, which would include some six or seven million women, a referendum on the question of Woman Suffrage should be taken in terms agreed upon by both parties—first of all from the women municipal electors and subsequently from the male Parliamentary electors. A Bill on the lines indicated has since been introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

LAST October the Lewisham Teachers' Association adopted the following resolution:—"That it be an object of the National Union of Teachers to secure equal pay for all teachers doing equal work, regardless of sex." In November another resolution was passed to the following effect:—"That this Association is still of opinion that Conference should express its sympathy with those members of the N.U.T. who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary Franchise; but, because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it." At the sixth annual meeting of the Association, held on January 31st, these two resolutions were rescinded by overwhelming majorities. In the case of the latter, the result of the plebiscite was 174 in favour of rescinding and 33 against. Miss C. Robinson is the new President of the Association, and the General Committee is composed of six ladies and six men.

SAYINGS OF THE MONTH.

"So long as the whole of womankind remained outside the machinations of politics, there was an independent court of appeal before which all social questions had to be pleaded. . . . There can be no more disastrous condition for a nation than to have all its thinking tied to politics."

"The enfranchisement of woman means the enslavement of woman. Enfranchisement so far has never meant anything else. Those that cast the vote shall perish by the vote."

"It is not the use of a vote that will do woman a mischief, nor the absorption of her mind—even were that likely—in political controversies. It is because the possession of a vote makes her a marketable commodity, brings her under the insinuating influence of all that politics so deplorably means."

H. F. PROVOST BATTERSBY, in *The Saturday Review.*

DAME NATURE'S FOUR CHILDREN.

THE four children of Dame Nature and Father Time were Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. It so happened that they quarrelled, and the author quite by chance heard what they said. Each accused the other of usurping his or her position, and proceeded to improve the occasion by descanting on his or her own particular virtues. Of course, the discord which ensued was greater than ever. It was finally settled by Dame Nature, who told them their proper positions and assigned to them their separate duties. The story is an allegory (we wonder if it was suggested by the curious weather in 1912, when the seasons certainly seemed to have been inextricably confused), and it is told by Leonard Joseph, A.M.I.E.E.

The table he gives, showing the descendants of Dame Nature and Father Time and how they intermarried, is certainly very ingenious. Copies of this book have been kindly presented by the author to the Golder's Green Branch, and they are to be sold for the benefit of the Anti-Suffrage League. The price is 1s. (post free, 1s. 1d.), and those who would like a copy of this charming little allegory are asked to communicate with Miss Duncan, "Penarth," North End Road, Golder's Green.

OUR BRANCH-NEWS LETTER.

Berkhamsted.—A public debate was held in the Town Hall on January 29th, under the auspices of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. The speakers were Miss G. Pott (N.L.O.W.S.) and Miss Naylor (W.S.P.U.); Mr. R. A. Cooper, M.P., presided.

Miss Pott opened her speech by saying that Woman Suffrage would not be good for the community, neither would it advance the interests of the individual. The vote was not a right, but a duty, and had to be used for the good of the whole. As it included not only domestic questions, but questions of Imperial defence, of finance, of international treaties, &c., it should be used by those who were best qualified to judge of such things. Women were, perhaps, capable of deciding domestic affairs, but were they equal to the other questions when they had not been politically educated, and, taken as a whole, were not developing that habit of mind. If it was wrong for women to have the vote, it would still be wrong, even if every one asked for it; but, so far, the majority of women were against the Suffrage.

Miss Naylor said that her idea of the vote was different—she thought that it meant having a voice in the management of one's own affairs, and women had every need of safeguarding their own interests. Government rested upon the consent of the governed; women were governed without their consent.

Miss Pott spoke a second time, and said that women could not govern themselves without governing others. If a husband and wife disagreed and voted opposite ways, the vote would be nullified, and the family unrepresented. Where a man had progressed, the woman had also progressed under the same legislation; therefore the women did not need the vote.

Miss Naylor replied that if the interests of both sexes were equal, why were women at such a disadvantage on some questions compared with men?

As no questions were asked, Miss Pott spoke again for five minutes, and was answered by Miss Naylor. Miss Pott proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the meeting closed with an expression of appreciation by the Chairman of the way in which the speakers had dealt with the subject.

Bermondsey.—An interesting meeting took place on February 11th at the Llewellyn Hall, when Mr. M. G. Liverman (N.L.O.W.S.) opposed the Rev. F. N. Green, of the Men's Suffrage Society. The audience consisted solely of men, and the Vicar of St. James' Church presided.

The Rev. Green endeavoured to support his case by frequent use of the "No taxation without representation" cry. Mr. Liverman, however, had no difficulty in explaining the hollowness of these words. The Suffrage speaker also pointed out that amongst those denied the vote were lunatics and criminals. Whereupon a member of the audience reminded the speaker that women Suffragists were now acting up to both these qualifications by their militant tactics.

Six members of the audience took part in the discussion, and there was no doubt that the Anti-Suffragists were in a majority. As there was no resolution, no vote was taken, and the meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the speakers.

Bognor.—A large audience met in the Queen's Hall on February 6th, for a meeting organised by the West Sussex Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. P. Veysey Fitzgerald presided, and the speakers were Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Mr. Massie and Lady Edmund Talbot.

Mrs. Colquhoun observed, with regard to militant methods, that the policy which needed the support of such tactics was one without sound reason behind it. She objected to giving women the power that went with the vote, because it was impossible to give them the responsibility which ought to go with that power. If women had the vote, they could not get all that they wished, for social reform lay in the moral influence of women, and the determination of the men to put it into force.

She then went on to examine Miss Abadam's assertions with regard to the White Slave Traffic. She denied that there were 5,000,000 women in England who were suffering under frightful economic pressure, because of that number of women workers in England to-day, 2,000,000 were domestic servants. Low wages were not the primary cause for young women going on the street, to quote from many authorities on the subject. As for Miss Abadam's second assertion that the White Slave Traffic was a carefully-organised trade in which many well-known men in politics and commerce held shares, Mrs. Colquhoun challenged her to produce any authority for that remark, and said that such a statement should not be made without evidence. The evil was a moral one and

required very delicate handling; to treat it, it was not necessary to lose all sense of public reticence, or of the respect due to youth and innocence.

Mr. J. Massie, in the course of his speech, said that women could not fully discharge the duties of citizens. The majority of people were opposed to Woman Suffrage, as would be seen if a referendum were taken.

Lady Edmund Talbot said that Anti-Suffragists did not believe that the vote would change the position of women in the working world, for it had not done away with the underpayment and sweating of men. The legislation of the last century showed the good done by men for the working woman, and before votes were given to women the electorate should be consulted.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the speakers.

Bournemouth.—An interesting debate was held in St. Peter's Hall, on January 29th, between Mrs. H. Norris (N.L.O.W.S.) and Mrs. Swanwick (N.U.W.S.S.).

Mrs. Norris spoke first, and said that women did not need the vote either as a right or as a need. The vote was detrimental to the State as a whole, because women were so much in the majority. Women's views were represented by the men of their own class, and it was impossible for them to exercise their motherhood to the fullest extent while they were leading public lives.

Mrs. Swanwick, in reply, said that government by men meant unfavourable conditions for women. Because the difference was not one of class, but of sex, she claimed that women ought to have the vote, otherwise they could not be properly represented.

Several people spoke, and on the vote being taken, 191 were in favour of Woman Suffrage, and 153 against.

Bristol.—The opening meeting of the Debating Society was held at 15 Royal York Crescent, on January 23rd. Rules were made, and the next meeting arranged for February 26th.

On February 8th, Miss Bull, Hon. Secretary of the Bristol East Branch of the Girls' League, arranged a social evening at the Victoria Wesleyan School. The chair was taken by Mr. Bull, who explained the object of the League. 62 members were present, and 18 joined during the course of the evening.

Fishponds (Sub-Branch).—A public debate on the subject of Woman Suffrage was held in the Co-operative Hall on February 12th, under the auspices of the Fishponds Debating Society. Mr. W. Lidgley presided, and Miss Pridden (W.S.P.U.), spoke in favour of the movement, and Mrs. Wentworth Stanley (N.L.O.W.S.) against. An open discussion followed, and the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the speakers.

143 members have joined this Branch of the League since the last report.

Thornbury (Sub-Branch).—A most enthusiastic meeting was held at the Cossam Hall on February 19th. Mr. Hume Spry acted as Chairman in the place of Mr. Algar Howard, who regretted being unable to attend. Mrs. H. C. Trapnell then spoke, and was listened to with great interest, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was unanimously carried.

Mrs. Maurice Tweedy and Miss Alexander gave a delightful play entitled "The Crystal Gazer," which delighted the audience. A letter of sympathy with the movement was read from Miss M. D. Chester Master, President of the Sub-Branch.

Camberwell.—A well-attended debate took place on February 17th at the Welsh Church Hall, when Mrs. Alex. Smith presided, and Miss Mildred Ransom (N.U.W.S.S.) debated with Mr. M. G. Liverman (N.L.O.W.S.). During the discussion which took place Mr. Liverman exposed the weakness of comparison with other countries where they have the Suffrage, and also dealt with the argument of the vote and improvement of wages. It was interesting to note that in her final reply Miss Ransom was compelled to admit that comparison with other countries was futile, and also that she did not think wages would be improved by the vote.

Several members of the audience took part, and on a vote being taken, the resolution was defeated by a very large majority.

Chelsea.—The Chelsea Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage held a meeting on February 11th at 15, Grosvenor Place, by invitation of Mrs. Lewis Hall. Mr. T. H. Carson, K.C., was in the chair.

Sir Henry Craik, M.P., referred to the different phases through which opinion on Woman Suffrage had passed. That of the moment was provocation at militant acts and the want of logic prompting them. Besides the tyranny of force there was a tyranny of weakness, which might be quite as dangerous. The vote was not given for excellence of character or for special cleverness. It was a rough and ready way of learning the opinion of the country.

The following resolution was then put and carried unanimously:—

That this meeting records its hostility to any proposal for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women, and pledges itself to use every means in its power to prevent such a measure from being carried into law.

Miss Gladys Pott said that the principle of voting in order to obtain certain advantages for any class of individual was an application of the iniquitous system of log-rolling and the most immoral form of government. It was said that women would purify politics if they were enfranchised, but she thought that idea was refuted by the militants, who justified their actions as being only what men had done before.

Lady Robson briefly referred to the present situation, which she described as the calm before the storm. She urged her audience to do all in their power to defeat the efforts which would certainly be made by their opponents.

Chiswick.—An extremely successful social evening was held in the Town Hall, on February 3rd, when a large number of people listened to a good musical programme, and later to speeches from Mr. Richard Dawson, Mr. Holford Knight, and Miss Norma Maunder. Colonel Willoughby Wallace, C.M.G., presided, and the first two speakers voiced the Conservative and Liberal feeling with regard to Woman Suffrage.

There followed a performance of "Contrast," a play written by Mrs. H. Norris, which was most capably performed. Thanks are due to Mr. H. Norris and to all those who helped so successfully in the arrangements. Many new names were added to the Chiswick roll of members as a result of this entertainment.

Cupar.—Under the auspices of the local Branch of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, an "at home" was held on February 4th, at the Masonic Hall. Lady Anstruther presided, and addresses were given by Mrs. Greatbatch and Mrs. Grogan. A meeting was held in the evening, at which Mrs. Greatbatch again spoke, and said that until women, as a sex, were as politically capable as men, there was no injustice in excluding them from the franchise.

Dorchester.—A successful meeting arranged by the N.L.O.W.S. was held in the Digby Assembly Rooms on January 23rd, when Mr. Mark Parsons presided over a large audience. Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A., addressed the meeting, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with about six dissentients.

Dorking.—A meeting organised by the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at the Public Hall, on January 27th, when the chair was taken by Mr. Stanley Gordon Clark.

Mrs. H. Norris proposed the resolution passed at Queen's Hall on January 20th. She argued that women taking part in the government of the country would be detrimental to the State, as that was the responsibility of the men. The idea that women's votes would improve the morale of the nation was erroneous, as a woman's influence was strongest in the home, and she could therefore raise the moral tone without a vote.

Captain St. John Hornby seconded the resolution, which was carried with a few dissentients.

East Grinstead.—A public meeting organised by the N.L.O.W.S. was held in the Queen's Hall, on January 29th, with Dr. W. H. Hillyer in the chair.

Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel spoke first, and said that he had never heard an argument in favour of votes for women which showed that women were at a disadvantage. Militant tactics in themselves were sufficient to condemn the movement.

Mrs. Greatbatch said that Anti-Suffragists did not stand in the way of womankind, as was suggested; but they did not believe that the franchise would be of any advantage to a woman's position.

A number of questions were asked, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

East London.—A debate on Woman Suffrage took place at the Borough Polytechnic on February 13th, in connection with the Old Girls' Association. Miss Helen Smith, B.A. (lady superintendent) invited Miss C. V. Mills to put the Anti-Suffrage case before the meeting, and she was opposed by Miss K. Strutt. After the speeches there was a prolonged discussion, and the Anti-Suffrage speaker was asked a number of questions. When the vote was taken there were 17 in favour of the Suffrage, 13 against, and many neutral.

As the audience generally was in favour of votes for women, the result was satisfactory from an Anti-Suffrage point of view.

East Sheen.—On February 14th a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at "The Cottage" by kind invitation of Mrs. Kelsall, President of the local Branch. Mr. Kelsall acted as chair-

man, and announced that the Branch, first started eighteen months ago, now numbered 216 members.

Further speeches were made by Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Maconachie, and the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the host and hostess and the speakers.

Edinburgh.—A successful "At Home" was held in the Oak Hall, Prince's Street, on February 3rd. Mr. C. N. Johnston presided, and Mrs. Greatbatch was the principal speaker. As a result of the meeting a number of the audience joined the League.

The members of the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Women's Association were addressed on February 6th by Mrs. Grogan, St. Andrew's, who listened with interest to her bright and clever speech.

Exeter.—A meeting was held at the Barnfield Hall on February 3rd, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. C. T. R. Roberts took the chair, and Mrs. Norris and Mr. Maconachie spoke.

Mrs. Norris warned the Unionist party that by admitting propertied women to the franchise, they were in reality extending it to other than propertied women, and such a proposal should be submitted to the electorate.

In his speech Mr. Maconachie emphasised this, and said that Woman Suffrage was not a vital question at the last election, therefore, before it became law, it should be submitted to a referendum.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was then carried, with about a dozen dissentients.

Exmouth.—A meeting organised by the N.L.O.W.S. was held on February 4th, at the Temperance Hall, and was presided over by Mr. R. Ley; Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Maconachie were the speakers.

Mrs. Norris said that up to now the great work of the world had been done by men, and if the government were handed over to women, it would become a means of weakness to the State. The Suffragists did not want the vote alone; they wished for a seat in Parliament, if necessary a place in the Cabinet, and doubtless a female Prime Minister as well as a male. The result in that case would be chaos; but, fortunately, the majority of the electorate were against these opinions.

Mr. Maconachie said that the ignorance of the male elector, about which the Suffragists talked so much, was not counteracted by the ignorance of the female elector who would be given the franchise.

Folkestone.—A meeting organised by the N.L.O.W.S. was held in the Town Hall on January 30th. The Countess of Radnor presided, and said it was the duty of all Anti-Suffragists to oppose the Franchise Bill to the best of their ability.

Miss Pott then addressed the meeting, and said that Woman Suffrage would not work for the good of the Empire. A man's point of view and a woman's were different; speaking generally, man's was the broader because his business took him out into the world where he had to view things on a wider aspect. A woman's life lay primarily in the home, and though her duties were equally important they dealt with life from the individual standpoint, and her ideas were necessarily narrower. As the vote involves Imperial questions as well as domestic affairs, a woman's opinion would be dangerous to the welfare of the nation until she had acquired the broader habit of mind. Also women's interests were bound up in the interests of men—one could not progress without the other.

In New Zealand the vote had been given quite successfully, but then the conditions were not the same, for there the supply in the labour market was not equal to the demand. How could the woman's vote purify politics when they asked for it with militancy?

Several questions were then asked, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution carried by a considerable majority.

Glasgow.—An extraordinary general meeting of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League was held on January 27th, at the Christian Institute, Bothwell Street, for the purpose of considering several important changes and amendments in the constitution. Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, Bart., presided, and the audience included many representatives from various branches. The constitution in its revised form and the amendments were carefully considered. The principal alterations were: that there should be one or more presidents, the number not to exceed four, both political parties being equally represented. That the title of the League should be changed to the "Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage." That members shall consist of all persons paying to the funds of the League a sum of not less than 6d. The adoption of the constitution in its amended form was proposed by Mrs. Wauchope of Niddrie, seconded by Mrs. J. M. Macleod, and passed.

The honorary office-bearers of the League were proposed by Mr. A. Aitken, seconded by Mrs. Burnet.

Presidents: Her Grace The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D., Mrs. Charles Lyell, Lord Glenconner, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart. Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Wauchope of Niddrie; Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.

Several debates on Woman Suffrage have recently been held. At the Democratic Unionist Association, Dr. Jane Robertson took the affirmative and Mr. D. B. Kyles the negative. There was a good attendance. The audience was decidedly in favour of the negative, and much disappointment was caused by no vote being taken.

Miss MacLean, Suffragist, and Mr. Bryan opposed one another at a debate in the Canal Boatmen's Institute, Port Dundas. Owing to a severe snowstorm there was a poor attendance. No vote was taken.

In Dundas Street Congregational Church Hall on the 17th inst., Miss Wallace, President of the Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society spoke against Miss Robertson, Anti-Suffragist. The meeting was very well attended and a good many Suffragists took part in the discussion. On a vote being taken, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was passed by a majority of 10—38 to 28.

The Glasgow Branch has started propaganda work in the constituencies. A committee room has been opened at 510, Argyle Street, in the Central Division, for the purpose of enrolling new members, obtaining signatures to petitions, distributing literature, and giving general information regarding the work of the S.L.O.W.S.

Haddenham.—A meeting was held at Aston Sandford Manor, at the invitation of Major and Mrs. Stevenson, on January 30th. The audience was large and representative, and was addressed by Mrs. Harold Norris, who laid emphasis on the fact that the majority of women did not want the vote and, even if they did, they ought not to have it if it was detrimental to the State. Mrs. Norris then moved a resolution strongly objecting to the granting of votes to women, which was carried with two dissentients.

Hampstead.—On February 16th, Miss Mabel Smith addressed a large and appreciative audience comprising several hundred men and women, on Hampstead Heath. Leaflets were distributed, REVIEWS sold, and a collection taken. At the close of her speech, Miss Smith invited questions of which there were a very great many, largely—a somewhat significant symptom this—from foreigners. The vote being taken, the audience declared itself Anti-Suffragist by an overwhelming majority.

Hoddesdon.—A debate was held on January 28th in the Coffee Tavern Hall, between Mrs. Bethune Baker (N.U.W.S.S.) and Mr. Maurice Liverman (N.L.O.W.S.). This meeting was held under the auspices of the Congregational Church Guild, and Mrs. F. A. Overton presided.

Mrs. Bethune Baker moved: "That the time has now arrived when some measure of Parliamentary representation should be given to women." She then proceeded to argue in favour of Woman Suffrage: that the vote had been asked for for 40 years; that it would raise women's wages in England as it had done in Australia; that women's voice was needed in questions concerning women and children, especially in equalising the laws between men and women.

Mr. Liverman replied that Parliament had no mandate from the country with regard to the question; in fact, there was general indifference shown towards the subject by the women themselves. It was impossible to argue as to its effects on England from other countries where the population was much smaller, and where women were not in a majority. Women were well protected under male legislation, and inequalities were being done away with every year. If women wished to govern, why did they not take more interest in municipal affairs? In reality, they were politically ignorant, and to place millions of uneducated voters on the register would reduce the electorate to chaos.

Mr. T. E. Evans seconded the resolution, while Colonel Hassard supported Mr. Liverman. At the conclusion a vote was taken, but no decision could be arrived at as the tellers were unable to agree. The meeting was fairly equally divided.

Kensal Rise.—An informal debate took place on February 19th, on the subject of Woman Suffrage, between Miss Hill (pro) and Mrs. Austin (anti). At the close of the meeting, when the question was put to the vote, the audience seemed to be equally divided, but on a recount being asked for by Miss Austin, there voted five for the Suffrage and nine against.

Kensington.—A canvass (through the post) has recently been taken to discover in what proportion the members of the N.L.O.W.S. are actually working women. The results are as follows:—

Number of members and associates 825, consisting of 340 married and 300 unmarried women members; 78 women associates;

and 107 men. Of these about 250 replied, and of these some 183 are working women.

The total of 183 is made up of 16 teachers, 10 writers, 18 artists, 6 secretaries, 16 business women, 17 nurses, 22 domestic servants, 1 actress, and 78 working women who live at home. Among the teachers are a distinguished woman professor at a college of music, a B.A. lecturer for London University, a lecturer for the L.C.C., an assistant at a Government art school, the head of a Government school of cookery, the head of a Government school of needlework, and the principal of a girls' high school. All these professional women are keen "Antis" and give a handsome annual subscription to our branch.

Of the remainder who answered, the majority reply that though they are not wage-earners they are actively engaged in social, philanthropic, or patriotic work. Two have founded and arranged girls' clubs, seven are on care committees and are school managers, others work for the Schools for Mothers, After-care Association, Prisoners' Aid, Rescue Homes, Personal Service League, C.O.S., and many other leagues.

The replies can only represent a percentage of our members, and it is surprising in such a comparatively wealthy, residential quarter as Kensington to find that our League draws so great a part of its income from self-supporting women.

Kirkcaldy.—The Kirkcaldy branch of the S.L.O.W.S. held a most successful cake and candy sale on January 29th. Miss Oswald Dummickier presided and introduced Lady Griselda Cheape, who gave an appropriate address. The result of the sale was most satisfactory from a financial point of view.

Mrs. Nairn, Dysart House, kindly gave an "At Home" on February 5th, which was very well attended. Mrs. Greatbatch spoke and the audience listened to her address with keen interest.

Leith.—A debate under the auspices of the Leith Junior Liberal Club took place on February 7th on the subject of Woman Suffrage. Miss Alice Low (N.U.W.S.S.) spoke on behalf of the Suffrage, and Mrs. Greatbatch against. A spirited discussion took place and on the final vote being taken, 56 voted against the enfranchisement of women and 53 for. Mr. D. W. Kemp, J.P., was in the chair.

Liphook.—A meeting of the newly-formed Liphook Branch was held in the village Hall on February 12th. Sir James Bourdillon was in the chair, and after a few words of welcome to the large audience, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed the meeting. She gave an admirable address, and explained fully why on physical, social, domestic and national grounds women should not have the vote. The speaker was interrupted by some Suffragettes present, but she often scored points at the expense of the interrupters. Finally, she moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Cecil Wray, and carried by a large majority.

Questions were invited and a large number were put forward, which the speaker answered with unflinching good humour.

Liverpool.—The annual meeting of the Liverpool and District Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on January 23rd, at the Exchange Station Hotel, and was presided over by Alderman Maxwell, J.P.

Miss Gostenhofer, the local Hon. Sec., presented the annual report, which showed an increase of 290 members. Mr. F. A. Goodwin then moved the adoption of the report, and said that the position of the country was amazing, when some reckless politicians, at the instigation of a few Suffragists, were trying to force a Bill through Parliament without consulting the feelings of the nation. It was necessary for the League to do all that they could to oppose this.

Miss Moore (Manchester) addressed the meeting, saying that this was the time for all women, who were not Suffragists, to join together against them.

Miss E. M. Platt then moved a resolution protesting against the consideration of Parliamentary votes for women on an amendment to the Franchise Bill. This was seconded and carried without a dissentient, and it was decided that copies should be sent to the local Members of Parliament.

The Liverpool branch of the N.L.O.W.S. has now the following Vice-Presidents:—Lady Royden, Mrs. F. E. Smith, the Right Hon. F. E. Smith, Esq., K.C., M.P., Colonel Chaloner, Leslie Scott, Esq., K.C., M.P., Gershom Stewart, Esq., M.P., Harold Smith, Esq., M.P. Miss M. Winifred Hughes has been appointed Organising Secretary for the district, and a temporary office opened in May Buildings, North John Street, Liverpool.

Malvern.—A meeting of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on January 31st, at the Masonic Hall. The chair was taken by the Rev. Canon A. C. Deane, and Mr. H. A. Acworth gave an address on the Franchise Bill and on what might occur if it passed the House of Commons. He then proposed the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Wright Henderson.

Manchester.—The report for the Manchester Branch must be taken to cover two months, as, owing to the fact that the Manchester Branch has been helping work at other Branches of the League, their Secretary has been rather frequently away. We feel, however, that our cause is best advanced by mutual co-operation, and activity in one centre should only serve to spur another centre on to fresh efforts. May we here congratulate our recent sister branch, Liverpool, on the strides she made last year.

A great feature of our recent work in Manchester has been the distribution of postcards to be sent to M.P.'s to protest against votes being given in Parliament in favour of any Suffrage Bill or Amendment, before the country has been consulted. Many thousands of these were sent from Manchester and surrounding constituencies; the demand far exceeded our most sanguine hopes.

On January 10th, Miss Cordelia Moir addressed the North Manchester Democratic Conservative League, the Anti-Suffrage resolution being passed with only three dissentients. Several members of the audience who had not previously made up their minds on this question expressed themselves as being Anti-Suffragists after hearing the address; and tribute was paid to the willingness of Anti-Suffragists generally to answer questions as contrasted with Suffrage speakers.

On January 17th, at the Oxford Road Wesleyan Chapel, a debate on Woman Suffrage was opened by Mrs. Tattersall. Miss Cordelia Moir opposed the Suffrage resolution, which was, however, carried, more than half the audience not voting. An interesting discussion took place and several members of the audience gave in their names as supporters of our cause.

On January 17th, by special invitation, Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., addressed a meeting at the Primitive Methodist Schoolroom, Moston. Much interest was shown in the remarks of the speaker.

On January 31st, Miss Cordelia Moir presented the case against Woman Suffrage before the Manchester Central Debating Society. A very keen discussion followed, strong feeling being evinced by both sides. No resolution was put—indeed, half the audience was reluctantly obliged to leave for trains before the other half would close the discussion.

On February 3rd Miss Cordelia Moir addressed the members of the Liberal Society connected with the Stockport Unitarian Church. Her remarks were received with great enthusiasm. The Rev. Mr. Perry, who was in the chair, remarked amid applause that no one could fail to be struck by the difference between the extreme fairness and moderation with which Anti-Suffragists put their case, and the bitterness and partisan spirit in which the Suffragists put theirs. (This Society has been favoured on more than one occasion by addresses from leading Suffragist ladies.) A good proportion of the audience handed in their names as supporters of our cause, promising to do all in their power to forward it, and several persons professed themselves converted.

On February 6th, Miss C. Moir addressed the West Salford Women's Liberal Association and presented the following resolution, "that it would be contrary to the best interests of women and the country to extend any measure of the Parliamentary Suffrage to women." This was passed with considerable enthusiasm, only four or five hands (in a very well-attended meeting) being held up against it. We were glad to be able to call the attention of Sir George Agnew (Member of Parliament for this division) to a result so gratifying to an Anti-Suffrage M.P., as he is.

The Manchester Branch has regretfully been obliged to withdraw its affiliation with the Manchester Branch of the National Union of Women Workers. The Executive Committee of this Branch felt that it was impossible for the affiliation to continue in view of the Suffrage resolution passed by the Council of the N.U.W.W. We believe that a number of members of our Branch who were also individual members of the N.U.W.W. have withdrawn their membership from that body.

Newport.—A whist drive and dance was held in the Assembly Rooms on February 3rd, under the auspices of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Prizes were distributed by Mrs. Wallis in the regrettable absence of Mrs. C. H. Bailey, and the whole evening was declared to have been a great success.

Paddington.—A public meeting was held in the Guardians' Hall, Harrow Road, on January 22nd, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. Cracroft presided, and the first speaker was Mr. Wenyon Samuel. He said that the question of the enfranchisement of women had suddenly assumed importance, and the House of Commons had to give their verdict on the question without any direct mandate from the country. The granting of adult suffrage would throw 13 millions of women on the register; they

would outnumber the male voters, and this meant a general upheaval of all old traditions.

Miss Pott seconded the adoption of the Anti-Suffrage resolution, and argued that the vote was not given to represent the individual point of view, but the point of view of the community. Suffragists had still to prove that the interests of women demanded an expression apart from the representation by men. Suffragettes believed in the principle that the end justified the means; how would this purify politics?

Several questions were then asked, and the resolution adopted.

Portsmouth.—A successful drawing-room meeting was organised by Miss Kinipple, Hon. Secretary of the Portsmouth Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., and held at her house on February 18th. In the absence of the President, Lady Colleton, Mrs. Robertson kindly presided.

Mrs. Pollard was the principal speaker. She deplored the low standard of morals in politics, and said that women had a better and purer influence by keeping themselves outside the political arena.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried, and proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks.

Several new members joined, making a total of 72 since the beginning of the year.

St. Albans.—A meeting in connection with the N.L.O.W.S. was held in the Town Hall, on January 21st. Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., were the speakers, and Mr. H. J. Worssam took the chair.

Mrs. Greatbatch said that the Suffragists did not represent the opinions of the women of the country as they claimed to do, and this claim had necessitated the formation of the Anti-Suffrage League. Suffragists had obtained a false notoriety from the number of educated women who advocated their cause; but women just as highly educated opposed it. Suffragists approached the matter from an individual and sex point of view; Anti-Suffragists regarded the question as it affected the State and Empire, and granting the vote to women would not strengthen the nation, or make our influence greater. It could not be good for the State to increase the electorate by about 13 million voters, of which one sex largely predominated. The interests of women were looked after by men, and Parliament had never refused to deal with any legislation which made for the protection of women and children.

Mr. Mitchell-Innes declared that the majority of women were either apathetic or antipathetic on the question of the suffrage. Militants did not represent any great number of the thinking community, and they covered up their lack of support in noise and violence. The Cabinet itself was divided on the subject, and yet the Government were prepared to push this measure through Parliament.

Several questions were asked of the speakers, and the resolution was carried with about 15 dissentients.

Shenfield.—A debate was held in the Poplar Training School on February 13th. Miss Edwards spoke on behalf of Woman Suffrage, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon against. Although a majority in favour of the enfranchisement of women was expected, when the vote was taken it was found that the Suffrage resolution was defeated by about 60 votes to 9.

Sufficient people joined the Anti-Suffrage League to form a new Branch, for which Mrs. Dawe will act as Hon. Secretary.

Southampton.—A café chantant was held on January 22nd, in St. Barnabas' Hall, by the members of the Southampton Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Mrs. A. Colquhoun addressed the meeting, and reviewed the various amendments to the Franchise Bill, then being discussed in Parliament. She urged those present to continue their efforts to prevent such a calamity, as votes for women would mean, from being committed, even if one or more amendments were carried. The vote was a question not only of domestic politics, but of Imperial affairs, and should be exercised by responsible people.

Mrs. Pollard moved a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was followed by an enjoyable programme of music.

Stoke Newington.—On February 10th, at the Abney Lecture Hall, an animated debate took place between Miss M. A. Coombs, L.L.A. (W.S.P.U.) and Miss Mabel Smith (N.L.O.W.S.). The resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage was quite unsupported, and an amendment to the effect that further educational propaganda throughout the country was desirable, elicited only eleven votes.

Towcester.—A public meeting under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. was held in the Town Hall on January 20th; Mr. Isaac Abel was in the chair.

Mrs. Harold Norris delivered a very comprehensive address, in which she asserted that the House of Commons had no right to give the vote to women until they had the majority of the electorate with them. Women outnumbered the men, and it would be an inconceivable situation for a country where women made laws which could only be enforced by men.

Mr. Harold Williams also addressed the meeting, and a resolution against votes for women was carried by a large majority.

Tunbridge Wells.—An interesting debate was held on January 24th at the Victoria Hall, Southborough, under the auspices of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. In the unavoidable absence of Miss Pott the Anti-Suffrage case was stated by Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, who spoke against Mrs. Corbett Ashby (N.U.W.S.S.).

Mrs. Stanley dealt with the question of Woman Suffrage in the Colonies, where she maintained it had not been beneficial to social life. England was too democratic to confine itself to a limited female Suffrage, and this meant that the female voters would stultify the male. Woman Suffrage would be dangerous to British rule in India and Egypt, and she called upon all women to take a firm stand against enfranchisement.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby spoke from the point of view of the working woman, that the vote would ameliorate her condition, and that the majority were in favour of it.

The speakers then contested certain points in each other's speeches; but no ballot was taken as had been previously stipulated.

Weston-super-Mare.—The members of the Weston Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage held their annual meeting at Messrs. Brown Bros.'s café on January 29th. The chair was taken by Mr. H. Ward, and the report of the hon. sec. (Mrs. E. S. Parker) revealed a gratifying increase in the membership. A resolution stating that in the opinion of the meeting the granting of the franchise to women would be contrary to the best interests of the nation, was proposed by Miss Price, seconded by Mr. H. J. Clatworthy, and carried unanimously.

Whitechapel.—A small but keen debate was held on February 13th, when Mrs. Herbert Cohen (New Jewish League for Woman Suffrage) and Mrs. H. Norris (N.L.O.W.S.) both spoke. On the vote being taken the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by 21 votes to 19.

Windsor and Eton.—The Windsor and Eton Branch held their first public meeting at the Austen Leigh Hall, Eton, on February 20th. Mr. Maconachie was in the chair, and was also one of the speakers. Mrs. Greatbatch spoke first, and gave a most interesting and convincing address. The audience was very enthusiastic, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with an overwhelming majority. A certain number of local Suffragists were present, and asked several questions which were convincingly answered. At the close of the meeting several new members were enrolled.

It is interesting to note that since November the Windsor and Eton Branch have become independent, and are no longer a Sub-Branch of the East Berks division.

EARLY SPRING SUITS



SPRING SUIT, as sketch, in new Shot Checked Whipcord materials. Perfectly cut and tailored. An exact copy of a new Paris model - - **8½ Gns.**

SPRING STREET SUIT, as sketch, made in best quality Navy Serge, trimmed with Black Fancy Silk Braid, with Revers of Velvet and Buttons to tone. Coat lined Silk, well cut - - **6½ Gns.**

Debenham & Freebody

Limited.

Wigmore Street and Welbeck Street, London, W.



At the Festival of Empire Exhibition, 1911

**HARBUTT'S
PLASTICINE.**

WAS AWARDED **GOLD MEDAL.**

Since then, at the large London Stores, the daily papers tell us: "Prince Olaf was greatly interested with the Modelling Clay called 'PLASTICINE.' An attendant modelled Punch and Judy faces, causing much laughter."

THE **COMPLETE MODELLER.**

A Home Modelling Outfit
with 5 Colours and Tools.

Post Free 2s. 10d.

WM. HARBUTT, A.R.C.A.,
BATHAMPTON, BATH.

PROTECTION FROM FIRE.

BRYANT & MAY'S SAFETY MATCHES.

SPECIAL
PATENT

32 AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE.

**Reliable Hospital-Trained
Nurse and Masseuse,**

RESIDING AT

11, DUKE'S LANE CHAMBERS,
CHURCH STREET, KENSINGTON, W.

*Visits Patients' Houses
hourly, daily, or weekly.*

Holding Obstetrical Society of London Certificate;
Queen Charlotte's Hospital, London;
Hillcrest's Surgical Hospital, Incorporated,
Pittsfield, Mass, U.S.A.

INSTRUCTED UNDER MEDICAL SUPER-
VISION IN MASSAGE, ELECTRICITY (WEIR
MITCHELL), SHOTT'S TREATMENT.

Doctors or Patients as reference given.

'PHONE 4892 KENSINGTON.

Apply - - **MISS FINCH-SMITH**
(AT ANY HOUR).

THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY

of using a thoroughly reliable disinfectant in the house, in the kennel and in the stables cannot be gainsaid.

When purchasing a disinfectant it is well to bear in mind that "The Lancet" in its issue of November 20th, 1909, proved that

"COFECTANT"

(Cook's Disinfectant Fluid)

is the most efficient non-poisonous germicide obtainable.

Full particulars and samples will be sent free on application to the sole proprietors and manufacturers,

EDWARD COOK & CO., LTD.,

The Soap and Disinfectant Specialists,

BOW, LONDON, E.

THE TALK OF THE GRAMOPHONE WORLD.

3 Facts.

3 Specialities.

PARSONS' SEMITONE.

IMPROVES THE SOUND OF YOUR GRAMOPHONE.
AVOIDS THE SCRATCHING OF THE NEEDLE.
— MAKES OLD RECORDS LIKE NEW. —

Sold by SPIERS & POND, WHITELEY'S, CIVIL SERVICE STORES,
and all high-class dealers; or send Postal Order 1s. 6d. and
SAMPLE SEMITONE SENT POST FREE.

PARSONS' AUTOMATIC BRAKE.

The latest invention of its kind, and unique in itself, for it stops the Record at the right place every time. It is well worthy of consideration to all users of Talking Machines—is graceful in appearance and in operation, fits on the corner of cabinet, no screwing or clamping is required. When the Record is finished, the guide

comes into contact with the tone-arm, releases a spring and automatically stops further revolutions of the table, thus obviating any possibility of damage to the Record, which frequently happens to Records without this principle. The whole operation is simplicity itself. Nickel finish to sell at 2s. 6d.

Stops the Record at the right place every time. Prevents all Records from being damaged. So simple, a Child can fix.

PARSONS' TRIPLE-CRYSTAL NEEDLE.

6d. BOX OF SIX. 2s. BOX OF 25.

Increases the Sound.

Will play 80 tunes without changing Needle.

Will play Sapphire Records as well as Disc.

'Phone: 2227 Centra

PARSONS' SEMITONE & AUTOMATIC BRAKE Co., 37 & 39, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

WE SPECIALISE THE MAKING OF CLOTHES TO SUIT THE WEARER.



Save **one guinea** by purchasing your new Costume **in the City** (where producing is less expensive than in the West).

We carry the most **up-to-date Stock** of High-class Costumes, Dresses, Cloaks, etc.

Always a large selection of the latest Paris Models, which can be reproduced at most moderate prices, at the same time **guaranteeing perfect cut and fit.**

We ask you to call and

COMPARE OUR STYLES AND PRICES.

You will not be asked to buy.

(Selections sent on approval to any part.)

Orders filled in three days.

Baird, Lewis & Co. Ltd.

3 gns.
Made to Measure.
Write for patterns.

Ladies' Tailoring Specialists,
194, ALDERSGATE STREET, LONDON, E.C.

A BATH CHEMIST'S DISCOVERY.

A Certain Hair Grower
and
Perfect Tonic and Dressing.

Nearly **20,000** Satisfied Users.

"TRITONIQUE"

Sold in 1/-, 2/6, 4/- and 5/6 Bottles, Post Free.

Sole Manufacturers—

STEELE & MARSH,
The Laboratory, 6, Milsom Street, BATH.

AGENTS EVERYWHERE.

Thousands of unsolicited Testimonials.