

ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

1912.

No. 51.



JANUARY, 1913.

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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 newsagent. Annual Subscription, 2/-, post free.

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

No. 51.

LONDON, JANUARY 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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JANUARY MEETINGS.

JANUARY 1ST, MILE END.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. Machonachie.
JANUARY 2ND, DULWICH.—Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mrs. Harold Norris. Chair: Rev. J. H. Jennings.
JANUARY 3RD, EDMONTON.
JANUARY 3RD, AMERSHAM.—Drawing Room Meeting, 3.30. Miss Helen Page.
JANUARY 7TH, EALING.—Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mrs. Harold Norris. Chair: J. Prendergast Walsh, C.I.E.
JANUARY 8TH, MARLOW.
JANUARY 8TH, BRISTOL.—St. James' Parish Hall, Charles Street, 7.30 p.m.
JANUARY 9TH, MAIDENHEAD.)
JANUARY 10TH, SLOUGH.
JANUARY 13TH, PETERBOROUGH.—Debating Society, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth-Stanley.
JANUARY 14TH, CORES END, WOBURN.—Congregational Church Lecture Hall. Debate, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, 8 p.m.
JANUARY 17TH, CROYDON.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Maconachie.
JANUARY 18TH, WIMBLEDON.—Mrs. Carver, Drawing Room Meeting, 5 p.m. Miss Pott.
JANUARY 20TH, WELLINGBOROUGH.—Debate, 8 p.m. Mr. Maconachie.
JANUARY 21ST, WINCHESTER.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Humphry Ward and Sir Henry Craik, M.P.
JANUARY 21ST, PREEES (SHROPSHIRE).—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. H. Norris.
JANUARY 22ND, CHURCH STRETTON.—Afternoon, Mrs. Harold Norris.
SOUTHAMPTON.—Café Chantant, St. Barnabas Hall. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.
REIGATE.—Evening Reception. Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C.
JANUARY 24TH, SOUTHBOROUGH (TUNBRIDGE WELLS).—Debate. Miss G. Pott. Afternoon.
JANUARY 27TH, DORKING.—Town Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Colquhoun.
JANUARY 29TH, BERKHAMPTED.—Town Hall, 8 p.m. Debate: Miss Gladys Pott v. Miss Naylor (W.S.P.U.). Chair: R. Cooper, Esq., M.P.
JANUARY 29TH, BOURNEMOUTH.—Westbourne Men's Debating Club, 8 p.m. Mrs. Norris.
CHELTENHAM.—Meeting, 8 p.m. Mr. Maconachie.

NEW BRANCHES.

The following new Branches have been opened during December:—

Liverpool.

Sub-branch—Blundellsands and Crosby.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Janie Owen, Rhianna, Blundellsands.
Hon. Secretary: Miss J. Owen.

Birkenhead (Sub-branch).

Hon. Treasurer: A. Wilson, Esq., 16, Ashville Rd., Birkenhead,
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Edwin Woodhead, 59, Ashville Road, Birkenhead.

WALES.

Welshpool.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer (pro tem.): Mrs. Thomas, 17, Severn Street, Welshpool.

Newtown.

Branch formed, but no officials elected as yet.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. GEORGE MACMILLAN) on Wednesday, January 15th, 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.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

It is probable that before the next issue of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW the Franchise and Registration Bill will have entered upon the Committee stage. These few intervening weeks until a division has been taken on the Woman Suffrage amendments are of critical importance to Anti-Suffragists. The cause would be safe enough in the hands of the constituencies, for not a single Suffragist member of the House of Commons can fail to realise that, if a straight impersonal issue were presented to the electorate between A, a Suffrage candidate, and B, an Anti-Suffragist, there would not be a single Suffragist in the House of Commons. The result of the Bow and Bromley by-election showed what little influence all the campaigning of a score of Suffrage societies has exercised upon the average constituency. But there is to be no straight issue submitted to the country, and an attempt is to be made once more in Parliament to pass a Woman Suffrage measure over the heads of the electorate by working upon the fears, the sentiments, or the ill-considered promises of Members who were induced to speak before either they or the country had had time to study the question. There could be no stronger refutation of the claim that votes for women will raise the standard of political morality in this country than the illustration of the methods that commend themselves to Suffragists, afforded by this attempt to defraud the people of Great Britain of their right to pass judgment upon a profound constitutional change, before it becomes law. Of what use is it to prattle from platforms of woman's point of view, of women not being represented, of the "rights" of half the nation being ignored, when the very persons who urge these pleas are and will ever be the first, if given the opportunity, to ride roughshod over the wishes of even a majority opposed to their views? A demand for imaginary rights on behalf of women ought to be accompanied at least with the due recognition of the nation's right to decide whether it desires to introduce a fundamental change into the Constitution.

In the first place, then, the hopes of the Woman Suffrage agitation are placed on Members of Parliament, and it is to the same quarter that Anti-Suffragists must look for justice to the democratic principles on which the country prides itself. Last February, when for the first time the question of Woman Suffrage was seriously before the House of Commons, the Conciliation Bill was defeated. There is no reason as yet to suppose, as the Prime Minister has pointed out, that the present House of Commons will stultify its verdict of last March; but considerable pressure is being brought to bear upon individual Members to rescind that verdict, and it is inevitable that in a House of 670 members a certain proportion will treat the subject as of no significance, and will bow before importunity in the interests of a "quiet life." Anti-Suffragists, therefore, have a duty to perform between now and the date of the moving of Sir Edward Grey's amendment in seeing

that such Members' prospects of a quiet life are not necessarily to be realised by a resolve to vote for Woman Suffrage. A wholly false impression of the attitude of their individual constituencies is apt to be conveyed to Members, if Anti-Suffragists seek to justify apathy by an optimistic belief in the safety of their cause. In very few cases has any attempt been made to gauge the opinion of the local electorate, and where a Member has been approached by Suffragists and not by Anti-Suffragists he may endeavour to persuade himself that the former represent the voice of his constituency. The Anti-Suffrage movement has, therefore, every reason to be articulate at the present moment, and we would appeal strongly to all members of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to be as active as possible for the cause during the next few weeks.

Activity may take the form of personal endeavour, or may be exercised indirectly by contributing to the funds of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. To cover the ground that is waiting to be covered both before and after the passing of the Franchise Bill, this League requires large additions to its existing funds. Even if one of the three amendments proposed to the Bill were to be accepted in Committee, the battle is not lost. The House of Commons has before now amended its own amendments and voted for measures in the hope or certainty that they will never become law. Before the Franchise Bill with a Woman Suffrage clause attached to it can come into operation much water will flow under Westminster Bridge, and it will be the duty of those who are opposed to the measure to see that the will of the people prevails. The better course will be that the amendments should be defeated in Committee, and to this end the League is now working. But Anti-Suffragists must realise that the campaign is not terminated with the Committee stage of the Franchise and Registration Bill. There is more need than ever that the majority of the people in Great Britain who are admittedly opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women should testify to the faith within them by giving practical assistance to the truly Imperial work of preventing a measure prejudicial to the interests of the country becoming law against the wishes of the electorate.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Statements of Fact.

It would be interesting to know the effect likely to be produced on a Suffragist audience, if before according their assent to a Suffrage resolution they could bring themselves to believe that 80 per cent. of the statements they had been listening to were false or misrepresented.

We refer not to expressions of opinion but to plain statements of fact. Here is a typical instance. Speaking at Colchester, on November 7th, Miss Florence Baggart said that "the men of England would look pretty small as voters if they saw the way in which the men and women in New Zealand rallied to the polls. In England the women wasted half their time at elections in getting the men out of their houses and in taking them to the polls. There was no need of that sort of thing in New Zealand. Out there it was like the first night of some popular play, the way the people waited to record their vote."

As a Suffragist Miss Baggart, if challenged on this subject, would probably defend herself by saying that she was referring to the manner of polling and not to the results. Whether people go to the poll on foot or wait for a motor car is immaterial. Miss Baggart's audience was intended to infer that a far greater proportion of electors poll in New Zealand than in this country. The reverse is the case. Between 1893 and 1908 there were six elections in New Zealand: the highest proportion of persons on the rolls who voted was reached in 1905, when 83.25 per cent. of the male electors 84.07 per cent., and of the women electors 82.23, went to the polls. In 1908, 79.82 per cent. of the electorate voted: 81.11 per cent. of the male electors; 78.26 per cent. of the women electors. Since 1896 the percentage of the male electorate who voted has always been higher than that of the women electors who went to the poll. At the December, 1910, election the proportion of voters in Great Britain to the total electorate in contested constituencies was 87 per cent.—a figure never reached in New Zealand.

Wages and Votes.

THE series of articles that has appeared in recent issues of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW dealing with the Suffragist claim that the enfranchisement of women will improve the economic position of women workers has now been published in pamphlet form under the title "Wages and Votes." These articles analyse the statements advanced by Miss Maude Royden, in a pamphlet entitled "Votes and Wages," as arguments in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women. It is the chief asset of the Suffrage movement that people who are unaware of the facts are impressed by the oft-repeated claim that votes will raise the wages of women workers. As a rule Suffragists do not venture any reasons why the parliamentary vote should do this, but in her pamphlet Miss Royden has abandoned this discreet attitude, and has boldly attempted to substantiate the claim. The great bulk of her statements are shown by Miss Pott in "Wages and Votes" to be entirely inaccurate. Her premises being wrong, it is obvious that any conclusions based upon them are worthless. Miss Royden writes: "What, then, do we claim that the vote will do for women?" and she enumerates three things: (1) The opening of trades and professions at present closed to them. (2) The provision of technical and other education on a level provided for men and boys. (3) The prevention of sweating by Government. The reference in the first point would seem to be confined to the diplomatic and legal professions and the post of Cabinet Minister. No. 2 exists already, and

in regard to No. 3, Miss Royden's "facts" are quite wrong, and Miss Pott is able to show that "though Government does not attempt to pay men higher than the current market rate of wages, it does make an effort to raise directly the customary wage of women employees."

§ § §

Women Suffrage in Parliament.

FOR cynical indifference to the wishes of the country it would be difficult to improve upon a letter written by Sir Edward Grey for a Glasgow Suffrage meeting. After repeating the Prime Minister's assurance that the Government will accept the decision of the House of Commons on the Woman Suffrage amendments, Sir Edward Grey continues: "This is the one method which is fair to the House of Commons and to the question of Women's Suffrage, and it is the only possible method of enabling the House of Commons to decide this question on its merits, and to make Women's Suffrage, if it chooses, part of a Government measure. . . . Everything depends upon the feeling of the House of Commons." The greatest obstacle to the question is the exasperation which has been caused by militant acts of violence." Here is a question that by no stretch of the imagination can be said to have been an issue at the last general election, that by the admission of Suffragists has not the support of the majority of the nation, and yet a Minister belonging to a Party that regards itself as the champion *par excellence* of democracy writes that everything depends upon the feeling of the House of Commons, and that the greatest obstacle to the question is the exasperation felt by Members of Parliament over militant acts. No hint is given that the wishes of the people shall be consulted, much less allowed to prevail. The greatest obstacle and an insuperable obstacle to an attempt even to move an amendment in favour of Woman Suffrage ought to be the fact that the country is opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women.

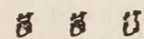
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Pillar Boxes.

THE latest demonstration in proof of the fitness of Suffragists for the Parliamentary franchise has taken the form of destroying by various means the contents of pillar boxes. We do not subscribe to the contention of the perpetrators that they represent the women of Great Britain. They are, however, representative of the bulk of Suffragists, who either do violence by word against facts or by deed against society in general. The dividing line between the two parties is a narrow one, and, as has been proved so often, is easily crossed. Together these constitute the sum total who are demanding that the Constitution of this country should be changed to please them. They do not represent the women of Great Britain, because the latter make no such demand. The good sense of the nation, as well as its traditions, are entirely opposed to any innovation such as Woman Suffrage being introduced before the people have had opportunity to pass reasoned judgment upon it.

"Non-Party."

In a letter to the *Fortnightly Review* Mrs. Fawcett endeavours to explain the relations of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Labour Party. "The Union," she says, "has not departed from its non-party attitude." It has always worked "for that candidate whom it believes to be the best friend of Woman Suffrage. Since last May, however, it has applied that principle to parties as well as to individuals." The result is that, as the Labour Party is the only one definitely pledged to Woman Suffrage the non-party organisation of the Union will be placed at the service of Labour candidates, except in the extreme case where the member to be fought is a recognised champion of Woman Suffrage. The explanation may satisfy Mrs. Fawcett of the logical nature of her own position; it will not meet the doubts of less subtle logicians as to whether one can be non-party and yet promise to support one special party, still less will it meet the misgivings of those who see, in the spectacles of Conservative and Imperialist women working for the return of members pledged to socialist and anti-imperialist measures, a forecast of the attitude of women towards the great fundamental principles which underlie political warfare.



Political Morality.

The claim put forward by Suffragists that the enfranchisement of women will necessarily improve the political morality of the country has recently been subjected to serious challenge, and is unlikely in the future to be accepted with the easy credulity that it has traded upon in the past. No movement could stand exactly in the same position either of public esteem or public tolerance after the publication of a certain leaflet in connection with the Bow and Bromley by-election. The leaflet in question was issued by the Women's Freedom League, with whom were working, in order to return to Parliament a Socialist and advocate of militancy, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and other so-called constitutional organisations. Lord Ebury has called attention in the Press to the extreme lightness with which Unionist principles rest upon so-called Unionist associations when they espouse the cause of Woman Suffrage. In the early days of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association such a possibility as Adult Suffrage was referred to with bated breath; in one pamphlet it was spoken of as a "threatened catastrophe." To-day the Association would lightly throw its whole support into the scale for any amendment, however wide in scope, for Woman Suffrage to the Franchise Bill. But the *locus classicus* of the "Unionist" support of Socialism is provided by Mr. R. Clough, prospective Unionist candidate for Dewsbury, who, in a speech on November 28th, said (*Yorkshire Observer*, November 29th): "There is no need to be disheartened by the Bow and Bromley election, for, however good a cause might be, it is possible so to handicap it that it cannot win." Mr. Clough attempts to discredit the success of a fellow Unionist as against a Socialist opponent. The Suffragist leaders, moreover, by their

resort to political bargaining and to violence, and in using any means and support to attain their ends, prove conclusively that while the women who might raise the standard of political morality will inevitably remain in the background and have no weight, those who push themselves into the limelight will have neither the inclination nor capacity to improve themselves or anything else.

THE COWARD'S CHRISTMAS.

BY LESLIE MORTIMER.

LET us for a moment watch the Coward on her way.

It is a cold, frosty night, but the stars are gleaming in the sky. A bright moon sails through the clouds. It is a night that the rich love, nestled in their warm and costly fur. It is a night that spells death to the poor and desolate.

A little, red-armed, red-cheeked maid-servant opens the door of a house in a small street. She can hardly walk for chilblains, and they cover her small, cold hands. But she has warmth in her heart and a smile on her poor cracked lips. She has worked from five o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock at night, and has at last wrung permission from a harsh mistress to "run to the post for a minute." She has saved a whole pound out of her wretched earnings to send to the poor old mother far away. It will give her meat and drink and a warm shawl and a bright fire. . . . She smiles happily as she slips the letter into the box. . . .

But the Coward is close by, and she holds a little bottle in her hand.

Soon an old man comes by and drops a letter in. His lips are quivering. He is an old General who has fought England's battles bravely, and is now making a desperate appeal to his one and only son. Tears are rolling down his cheeks.

"Oh, come back to us, my dear son, and forgive me if I have ever been harsh or unjust to you. Your mother is dying. She cannot last very long. She cries perpetually for you. She is delirious now, but all she says is 'Harry! Harry!! HARRY!!!' Oh! for God's sake, come!"

He walks away, his wistful face turned to God's stars above.

And ever nearer comes the Coward with her bottle.

A young man comes quickly by and shoots a letter into the box without looking at it. There is agony on his face, too.

"Darling! darling!! *darling!!!* Can you forgive me? Can you ever look into my face again? Write me a line to the old place. How could I ever have mistrusted you! Dearest—the old love is still there."

"Mother darling, only *think!* Uncle Robert gave me ten pounds the other day! So I am sending it on at once. Isn't it dear of him? And now you won't be worried about the rent and Reggie's little worn-out shoes, will you? Oh, how I do pray that this may be the beginning of real happiness for you—for you who have suffered and sacrificed so much."

"DEAR SIR,

"Perhaps you were right, and the will was an unjust one. I have thought over all you have said, and have reconsidered things. I now have added a codicil which will, perhaps, set things right. I post it to you in case I may change my mind—or die—one never knows. And I feel ill to-night."

He died early in the morning, and the will that was to set things right was never found.

For the Coward was very near the box now.

"DARLING GRANNY,

I am eight years old and you have never seen me. Think of that! Mummy and I are very lonely now that Daddy is dead. But she has never regretted marrying him. We were all so happy till last Christmas, when he went to sleep one day and never woke up. Mummy says he was a great and good and noble man. . . . Mummy says she has never left off hoping and hoping and hoping that some day you will forgive her. She says that I am just like Grandpa in looks, and that *you* will know what that means.

She says if he had been alive it would all have been different. He would have forgiven. But you cannot. . . . Granny! This is all a little piece out of my own head. Mummy is *starving*, and we have no fire, and hardly any clothes. She works all day long and never stops. But for a year we haven't had nearly—not *nearly* enough to eat. She is too proud to tell, but I know she wishes she was your little girl once more. And you are so rich. If you could give us even *half-a-crown* we could have some dinner. . . .

A stern, haughty, selfish old woman is eating her heart out in her rich and lonely castle, for some news of the daughter whom she cast out because she married the man she loved. If only Muriel would write—even a line. And then there was the little boy! But she never got the line, and she never saw the little boy, or read the sad little letter. How could she with the Coward so close at hand?

"You say that you are out of work through no fault of your own. If you can give me good references come to my office at 3.30 to-morrow afternoon. Don't be a second late. Punctuality counts with me."

The writer of the last letter returned to dinner at his private house next evening and laughed a little bitterly.

"What's the matter, my dear?" asked his wife.

"Oh, these Unemployed," he said. "They make me sick! I saw the likeliest chap I've ever met a few days back. Looked as if he'd come to the edge of all things and was just going to drop over. Alf's age, too"—(Alf was his dead son)—"and his eyes just lighted up with hope when I said I might take him. Wrote a letter to appoint a time for him to come—and the rogue never answered even! Lord, that's the last time I'll ever be such a softy! He'd a look of Alf, too," he added rather chokily, as he wrestled with his tie.

His wife kissed him silently, and they went down to dinner hand in hand.

A little later on a slight, handsome woman walked rapidly towards the box and slipped in a thin, flat parcel. It was a type-written story, addressed to the editor of a

well-known magazine. As the woman turned her lovely face to the stars, her expression was a prayer.

"He *must* take it," she thought wildly. "My brain is on fire. I wrote it with my heart's blood."

But what would the Coward care for *that*?

She drew quite close to the box—and emptied into it a dark fluid—dark as her own soul—which successfully destroyed everything in it.

And now, oh Coward, let us see what your Christmas Box has done for England!

The little maid-servant's mother never got her pound. And, afar off in her wretched cottage, with the rain coming in at the roof and door, she sobbed and cried in the darkness, that even her Annie had deserted her!

The old General's wife never met her son again—the Coward saw to that!

The lovers—who were made for one another—never "kissed again with tears" And in Heaven there is no marrying nor giving in marriage.

The "Mother darling" who was to get ten pounds to pay the rent with and buy some more shoes for poor little Reggie's ill-clad feet—well, we know what the Coward did with that!

The will that was to make "all things right"—what chance had it in the hands of the Coward Suffragette?

"Darling Granny" never saw her little grandchild, and the daughter starved to death unknown.

As for the "unemployed," who lived for weeks on the hope of receiving a letter from the kind-faced business man—well, he ended in the Thames, which is a watery, chilly place to spend one's Christmas Eve in. He was identified, curiously enough, by the business man, whose card he had in his pocket. There was nobody else to identify him. And on the card was written in red ink—NO HOPE.

"Wonder why he never wrote? I offered him a job," said the business man, blowing his nose, as he regarded the sharp features and emaciated frame.

"No—I don't know who he is. Gave the name of Ezra Jennings. Very likely false! Sounds as if it came out of a book."

That night at dinner, he said out loud, quite suddenly, after a long and unusual silence:

"He was just like Alf—God help him!"

Certainly only God could!

His wife looked at him with a scared face. But he said no more.

The slight, handsome woman who had posted a small parcel that day, went home and waited. At first with hope, for the story was clever and had been written with the blood and tears that publishers so often call ink.

But she waited too long. She was starving. There is always one trade at which a starving woman can earn her bread. We all know what that is.

And now, oh Coward, having drunk the blood of the poor in body, the tears of the agonised in heart—are you satisfied?

No. I think you are not satisfied. That is only one pillar-box out of many—and there are many of you.

But to the greatest Coward of all, hiding safely in your Paris rat-hole, I say "A Happy, *Happy* New Year to you." For you have drunk of the blood and tears of harmless human beings.

THE ART OF EVASION.

WHATEVER may be the number of Suffragists in Great Britain, it is safe to say that two-thirds or more are supporters of the movement because they have been led to believe that the Parliamentary vote will increase the wages of women workers and so improve their lot. These Suffragists have no interest in sex-equality, know nothing of the Socialist, "freewoman" and other extremist tendencies of the movement, have no patience with militancy in speech or action, and do not desire to see women Members of Parliament or any other of the inevitable by-products of Suffragism. They are satisfied that the conditions under which women work to-day are in many cases very unsatisfactory, and they would welcome any nostrum that promised improvement. As they have not studied the subject—and, needless to say, economic subjects are far harder to master than the ordinary political questions of the day—they are ready to accept implicitly any statement made to them. Suffragist speakers have traded on this general ignorance. From the Suffrage point of view there has been no more profitable misrepresentation of facts than the statement that five million women workers are earning only 7s. or 7s. 6d. a week. The audience is always given to understand that this is an official statistical fact, and consequently it is accepted as true. Some idea of the extent to which this untruth is circulated may be gathered from the list of some of the Suffrage speeches made during the last month, in which the misstatement has appeared. It will be understood that more Suffrage speeches are made than are reported in the daily Press, and that all the statements made in the course of a speech which is reported are not given in the Press.

Anti-Suffragists try hard to overtake this misrepresentation, but the disseminators are carefully evasive. The most glaring instance of the employment of the wage-appeal in the Suffrage movement was provided by a pamphlet, written by Miss Maude Royden, entitled "Votes and Wages." Miss Royden was asked to substantiate her statements in a public debate, but declined. The pamphlet has been subjected to a scathing criticism in these columns, and those who have read Miss Pott's articles will know how devoid of foundation are most of the arguments put forward on behalf of the "higher-wages" contention. Mr. Cameron Grant is another Suffragist who devotes whole speeches to the economic aspect of the vote. As will be seen from a summary of certain correspondence that has passed between him and a member of one of his audiences, Mr. Grant, when challenged on the figures used by him in the course of his arguments, replies: "The figures given by me, namely, 14s. per week (speaking in round numbers) is not so far out after all"; the correct figure being 15s. 5d., and adds: "I am glad to hear from you that the figures (i.e., those supplied by his correspondent to refute his own statement) are 'authoritative.' It saves any further discussion." Another speaker, Mrs. Ursula Roberts, who enters at length in a certain pamphlet on the question of wages and their connection with the social evil (a connection denied by Vigilance authorities, but a favourite theme with women Suffragists), writes: "The difference between these figures (7s. 6d. or 8s.) and 10s. is, from my point of view, negligible." Here we have Suffragists introducing a technical question, in which the unit of reckoning may be

a farthing, as an argument in favour of woman Suffrage, and when discrepancies ranging from 9 to 25 per cent. or more are pointed out, they naively announce that they may be considered "negligible."

When the public indicated that it would not support Woman Suffrage on sentimental or hysterical grounds, Suffragists attempted to discover arguments in support of their cause. One after another has been taken from them, and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that they cling despairingly to the most profitable misstatement. It is to be hoped that at any meeting where the speaker talks about five million women workers earning 7s. 6d. a week a member of the audience will point out at the proper moment that of the five million (actually 4,660,000) some 2,231,467 are domestic servants or professionally employed; of the remainder, 1,789,310 are employed in the textile and clothing trades, leaving 630,223 women to be distributed among other trades and to comprise all outworkers, among whom the sweating complained of exists. Any reform that would genuinely improve the condition of even half-a-dozen outworkers, if not prejudicial to the interests of the State, would be welcomed. Anti-Suffragists are able to show that the Parliamentary vote cannot possibly affect these unfortunate people, as there are sweated men as well as sweated women, and there is *a priori* evidence against any contention put forward by Suffragists, when it can be proved that all the premises on which they base their arguments are inaccurate.

SUFFRAGISTS AND A REFERENDUM.

THE South Wilts. Women's Suffrage Society has done good service in tearing down one of the veils with which Suffragists endeavour to mislead the public in regard to the position of their movement in the country. As the result of deputations on the Suffrage question, Mr. C. Bathurst, M.P. for South Wilts., offered to contribute half the cost of a referendum on the subject in his constituency, with a view to learning how his constituents or the women, or both, desired him to vote. The referendum was to be carried out impartially by the Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist organisations. The local Anti-Suffragists welcomed the scheme, and it would have been thought that the Suffragists would have been no less keen to prove the great hold on the country that "fifty years of constitutionalism" and six years of militancy have secured for their cause. Not so the South Wilts. Suffragists, however. Before answering the invitation of the Anti-Suffragists to join forces in carrying out the referendum the Wiltshire Women's Suffrage Societies discussed Mr. Bathurst's challenge in the columns of the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*. The Chairman of the Salisbury Suffrage Society and the Honorary Secretary of the South Wilts. Suffrage Society wrote as follows:—

"The referendum is a method which gives an equal value to the opinion of those who have carefully studied the subject and to that probably larger number who have given it no serious consideration. He (Mr. Bathurst) is probably confident of the result of such a poll, and we think that this confidence would very possibly be justified; and therefore we who desire the vote for women on its own merit, and largely for the sake of the very people who as yet know least of its importance, would feel strongly that this would not be a means of 'finally settling' the question."

There are here three interesting admissions which would of necessity doom to speedy extinction any cause

that looked to reason and common sense as sources of support:—(1) *That the majority of the nation are opposed to Woman Suffrage*; (2) *that the great bulk of women have, in common parlance, "no use for it"* ("know least of its importance," is the actual expression used); and (3) *that the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women is bound to be prejudicial to the interests of the country.*

The opposition to Woman Suffrage has little need to go beyond the three points which the Wiltshire Suffragists acknowledge to be cardinal features of the situation. If the nation does not want Woman Suffrage, and if the women of the country themselves take no interest in it and clearly are not conscious that they lack what the vote is supposed to give them, then by no manner of reasoning can it be argued that Woman Suffrage ought to be regarded as within the realm of practical politics. The country and Parliament know perfectly well that the Wiltshire Suffragists have stated the facts of the case correctly. And yet we have the spectacle of the House of Commons seriously contemplating this "constitutional outrage" of admitting women to the franchise without the express sanction of the constituencies.

The third admission of the Wiltshire Suffragists is even more gratifying, inasmuch as, while it also states an obvious fact it is a fact that the most honest Suffragists would endeavour to ignore. An insuperable objection to the referendum, we are told, is that it "gives an equal value to the opinion of those who have carefully studied the subject and to that probably larger number who have given it no serious consideration." If that be so, and if the fact invalidated the referendum in South Wiltshire, how still much more unanswerably does the fact that the Parliamentary franchise would attach equal value to the votes of women who have carefully studied Imperial politics and to those of the very much larger number of women who give these subjects no serious consideration, invalidate and demolish the demand for Woman Suffrage.

"THE MISUSE OF WOMAN'S STRENGTH."

By ELLEN KEY.

THE adherents of the emancipation movement are right in asserting that outward circumstances have as strong an influence upon women as upon men, that the nature of woman can be modified according to that which is required of her, towards that which she is entitled to claim. Upon this hypothesis is grounded the hope that when woman evolves her masculine as well as her feminine individuality, she will have reached the highest height.

But here is the point where feminine logic makes its unhappy *salto mortale*. I must remind the followers of the Woman's Rights movement that, hitherto, any other goal than that of the legal and intellectual freedom of woman has been inaccessible; that, on this point, their leading arguments clearly overleap something.

The logical train of thought that I might emphatically oppose to them is this: just because woman's nature allows itself to be modified according to what is desired, and for what one gives her the right, we must face the decision whether we, in the future, shall give up the preponderance of feminine culture—the deepening and refining of life in the home, as the highest aim for woman to place before

herself, or, the devoting of her abilities to the special cultivation of masculine problems—Work and Production in material and scientific spheres.

Shall we place in the first line the claim that the highest possible evolution of woman is as a woman, or as a man?

Shall we take it for granted that woman's strength can find its highest employment in feminine or in masculine domains?

For the disciples of Emancipation, this question is quickly decided. "May woman," they say, "be only perfect man, only perfect woman, when intellectually developed? We believe, with unshakable certainty, that no one need fear that our nature will be disturbed. Nature, herself, will take care of that." But will they not see that if, on the one hand, experience teaches us that woman's nature is modified in its intellectual direction by the claims made upon it, the laws by which it is governed, so, in like manner, will the nature of woman in the maternal and sympathetic relations of life meet with modifications through the claims mankind makes upon it, the laws which limit it? Do they not understand that when one side of nature—the intelligence—is stunted for lack of cultivation that such is also the case with the other sides? And that the feelings, at least, need almost as much training as the mind? Should not one consider, then, the sympathies that are bound up with certain ideas which become strengthened thereby, and round which gather the dreams of mankind, its hopes, its habits, its work and its memories; that through unceasing repetition these sympathies become more ardent and manifold, and tend to concentrate themselves, more and more, into a certain representative circle, while shutting themselves out of any other which may be contemporaneous?

Does not one know that, at the beginning, a stray sympathy is continually forced to absorb all other feelings, so that later, through the slackening of bonds and weakening of barriers, it may soar up to be the autocrat?

This is the reason, also, why a man who is the strongest in a certain direction, is not, at the same time, the most harmonious, the best developed on all sides; indeed, even in those natures which are the most many sided, there is always some particular partiality. This is an experience no one can deny. The greater the extent of our activities, the less intensively do we work in each division of them; the more interests we embrace, the less strong will be our ideas in any particular one.

Under the unceasing, modifying influences of stray sympathies with Phantasm, Will, and Thought proceed new spiritual conditions. Everything else will have become worthless. What was once valuable only as an expedient, will now have become one's main object, and that which formerly claimed our utmost striving has sunk to a matter of secondary importance.

The Book which gave us our first and deepest wisdom of Life, says to us, in a few words, the same:

"Niemand kann zween herren dienen."

WOMEN AND THE LAW.

UNDER the above title the following interesting letter was contributed to the *Observer* in November. It deals with several points that are the subject of misrepresentation on Suffrage platforms:—

"SIR,—I am obliged to Mr. Stanley Phillips for explaining, through the columns of the *Observer*, wherein he considers the laws relating to the rights of parents, divorce and intestacy grossly

unfair to women. But I fancy that his explanation will be as unconvincing to your informed and unbiased readers as it is to me. Like all other advocates of Women's Suffrage, he appears to be influenced by sentiment and prejudice to such an extent as to be guilty, unintentionally I am willing to assume, of misstating facts, or, where he does correctly state them, of drawing wrong conclusions from them. He asserts, as to the rights of parents, that 'practically the father has all the rights, the mother none. A mother has no legal right to the custody of her own children during the lifetime of the father; she has only the right of access to them until they are sixteen years of age, if granted by an order of the Court. The father has the sole right to their custody.' He further informs us that the father has the exclusive right to appoint a guardian for the children, and that a mother is not a parent in the eyes of the law.

"These statements are, to put it mildly, perversions of the law, and, to use Mr. Phillips' own words, are 'grossly unfair,' but, unfortunately, they are accepted as literal truth by many credulous people, particularly women, who do not seek to test them.

"To my mind it is impossible to study dispassionately the history of the law without being convinced of the desire of our legislators and our judges to be absolutely fair to women. The old fundamental principle, that by virtue of the marriage a husband and wife become one person in law, was based as much upon consideration for the woman as for the man. It allowed but one will only between them, which, as Bacon tells us, 'is placed in the husband as the fittest and ablest to provide for and govern the family.' Human nature being what it is, it often occurred that in particular cases the husband did not happen to be the ablest and fittest to govern. But if instead of giving the will to the man the law had given it to the woman (and surely one or other must have it), is it not likely that in just as many cases the woman would have proved to be not the ablest and fittest to govern the family? But to remove the difficulty and hardships and the occasional 'unfairness' which resulted from the old domestic system, the Married Women's Property Act was passed. The effect of that Act is not only to make the wife independent of the husband, so far as the control of her separate property is concerned, but, where supplemented, as it has been, by later legislation, to give her considerable advantages over him.

"So far as the rights of the parents to the control of their children are concerned it is true that the law constitutes the father the natural guardian of his infant children, and gives him the care and custody of them, but, as Mr. Justice Lush, in his admirable book on the 'Law of Husband and Wife' points out, 'since this privilege is reposed in the father for the children's benefit and not his own, the Court will deprive him of it if he is unfit to exercise it, and will delegate the right to the mother.' So long ago as 1839, by Talfourd's Act, the Court was given express power to take children under the age of seven out of the custody of the father, or of a guardian appointed by him, and to give the custody of them to the mother until they attained that age. The Infants Custody Act, 1873, extended the period of her control until the children were sixteen. Then followed the Guardianship of Infants Act, 1886, popularly known as 'The Mothers Act,' under which the Court, upon the application of the mother, may make such order as it may think fit regarding the custody of any infant of whatever age, 'having regard to the welfare of the infant, and to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes as well of the mother as the father.' This same Act, furthermore, despite Mr. Phillips' assertion to the contrary, gives the mother co-ordinate rights with the father in the matter of the guardianship of their children.

"It is difficult to conceive of laws fairer to both parties, the husband and the wife, than those now on our Statute books, and yet Mr. Phillips, apparently aware of their existence, but not wishing to give their purport, contents himself with asserting that the laws 'are grossly unfair to women.' It would be profitless to follow him through his statement with respect to intestacy, which, in my opinion, is equally misleading. As far as divorce is concerned, the wife is at present at a disadvantage. I should not say the law is grossly unfair to her, but it does give the husband an advantage over her. Happily there is good reason to believe that the inequality will soon be removed.

"As I said last week, I have an open mind with respect to the right of women to exercise the vote, but, unfortunately, nearly every argument that I have heard in its favour has been based upon almost as unstable premises as those of Mr. Phillips.

"Faithfully yours,

"AN INTERESTED READER."

SUFFRAGE STATISTICS.

"NOT SO FAR OUT."

The following correspondence explains itself:—

MRS. DONNER to MR. J. CAMERON GRANT.

August 1st.

DEAR SIR,

At the Suffrage meeting held at Ascot on July 24th you very kindly asked me to send you the statistics from which I quoted as to the wages of women engaged in the textile trades.

In the course of your speech you stated that the average weekly earnings of women employed in the cotton industry (the most highly skilled of the industries in which women are employed) amounted to only 14s. At the conclusion of your address I drew your attention to the Government Report on the earnings of labour which gives the average of women's wages in the cotton industry as varying from 14s. 9d. to 23s. 10d. weekly, according to the different districts. You were evidently under the impression that this represented the wages of the weavers only, as they are the most highly paid workers in the manufacture of cotton.

I have gone most carefully into the statistics of the cotton industry and find that I was absolutely correct in my statement that the figures I quoted were for all female workers in the cotton trade. The most highly paid workers, *i.e.*, weavers attending six looms, receive an average of 30s. 7d.; the least highly paid, *i.e.*, fustian weavers, receive an average of 12s. 11d. The average of all women engaged in this industry amounts to 18s. 8d.

I will not trouble you by going into the average wages in all the textile trades (which include, as you know, the cotton, woollen and worsted, linen, jute, silk, hosiery, lace, carpet, hemp, smallwares, flock and shoddy, elastic web, hair, fustian and cord, cutting, bleaching and printing industries), many of which represent unskilled labour. I find, however, that the average wage of all women over 18 years of age employed in the industries quoted above is 15s. 5d. weekly.

These statistics are absolutely authoritative, and are drawn from the Report of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople in the United Kingdom in 1906. No. 1, "Textile Trades." (Cd. 4545.) The Report can be obtained from Wyman & Sons, and the table of Averages of Wages is to be found on page 8.

It is necessary to avoid being controversial at a meeting of a private nature such as the one held on July 24th, otherwise I would have ventured to ask you upon what grounds you base your statements that whereas some 60 years ago "the proportion of men and women employed in industry stood at perhaps 10 women to 100 men, to-day it stands at the proportion of 50 to 50." I do not find that this is substantiated by the Census and other Government Returns. I quote the Census returns for 1891 and 1901, and as the Census for 1911 is not yet to hand I give the 1911 Insurance Bill Actuarial Report. These figures are for "Occupied Persons":—

Census, 1891	..	8,883,254 men	..	4,016,230 women.
" 1901	..	10,159,976 "	..	4,171,751 "
Actuarial Report,				
1911	..	10,399,900 "	..	4,287,300 "

These figures clearly prove that many more men are employed than women, and moreover that women's employment is not increasing so rapidly as men's.

The latest returns issued by the Factory Inspectors in 1902 give the number of men employed as 3,274,876, compared with 1,852,241 women, which does not show anything like an equal proportion of male and female labour. In the industries you quote in "Man, Woman and the Machine," *i.e.*, metals, machinery, &c., the Census returns of persons employed in these industries are as follows:—

1891	..	842,199 men	..	56,001 women.
1901	..	1,304,911 "	..	81,723 "

These figures again show a greater increase in male labour. I fully understand that you had to obey the ruling of the Chair and decline to answer my question *re* an increased rate of wages causing an increase in the price of the articles produced, but I fail to understand why the Chair adopted the view that the question was a party one. It has nothing to do with either Protective Tariffs or Free Trade. It is simply a logical conclusion that, if the wages bills are increased, the manufacturers must guard their profits by putting up the price of their goods. It will also tend to drive trade abroad, as employers of labour will prefer to establish their

factories in foreign countries where the scale of wages is not so high as it is in England.

I can tell you of a factory in Bermondsey employing women workers only that was removed to Belgium some seven or eight years ago. It was found that, as the wages of women had increased so enormously during the last 20 years, it would be more profitable to remove the factory to Belgium, where the wages, and consequently the cost of production, are cheaper than in England. The instance that I mention is of particular interest in that the work done by these women in Bermondsey was only one of many processes in the preparation of rabbit fur for the latter's trade. It therefore necessitated the export and import of articles in course of manufacture and the cost of their freight both ways. Nevertheless, it was found cheaper to pay this freight than to continue to employ English labour.

I maintain that such an artificial increase in the wages bills will cause great unemployment throughout England; and for this reason, as well as for many other reasons, the enfranchisement of women is to be deprecated as a danger to the national prosperity.

Yours faithfully,

J. M. DONNER.

J. CAMERON GRANT, ESQ.

MR. CAMERON GRANT to MRS. DONNER.

September 2nd, 1912.

DEAR MRS. DONNER,—

I am sure you will excuse my having been so long in replying to your letter, but the holiday season must, among other things, be my excuse.

In the first place, I fear that I must at the very outset differ as to what you say I stated in my speech. It is only the difference of a word, but it makes a very great difference. The word I used was the "textile" industry, not the "cotton" industry. If I said the cotton industry, it could only have been a slip, but I am not aware that I made the slip; it would be inconsistent with what I have already written and published, and, moreover, my Chairman and others whom I have since met in town, and whom I had the opportunity of asking, said that they were positive that I did not even make the slip of using the one word for the other.

I have too much to do to question matters of fact, and therefore would unhesitatingly accept any statements made by you as to wages, &c., drawn from Government Reports and Blue Books, and am not aware that I ever have questioned them.

If you say you have worked out that the average wage of all women engaged in the cotton industry amounts to 18s. 8d. per week, and if you have worked out these averages properly, taking account of the relative numbers employed in each special department of the industry, there is nothing to be said, for the figures you give I have never questioned; moreover, I am glad to see that, taking your own letter and your own figures, you are practically in agreement with me, and we are both in agreement with the Report of the Inquiry into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople in the United Kingdom. Doubtless you are familiar with it—it is in seven volumes, and Textiles are dealt with in the first volume (Cd. 4545).

I think I stated that the average wages of all women engaged in the textile industry was in round numbers 14s. per week. You found that the average wage of all women over 18 years of age is 15s. 5d., so, even leaving out the younger women and girls, who of course should be included, you find that the figure given by me—namely, 14s. per week (speaking in round numbers)—is not so far out after all. If, however, you include—what would be included in any fair system of averages—the wages paid to younger women and girls, even the 14s. figure will come out too high, as the average wages paid to the younger women and girls, from figures based on the same Reports, works out at 8s. 11d.

I am glad to hear from you that the figures are "authoritative." It saves any further discussion.

I would like, however, to point out what I have pointed out before, that the reason that the women in the cotton industry get the comparatively high wages you mention is because they are necessary to the men in that industry (the matter here is too technical for me to discuss), and they are admitted for this reason to a practical share in the men's union, and have in this one case the power of men's votes behind them, and so are a salient example of what the vote can do in keeping up a wage value.

With regard to the second portion of your letter, I again limited myself to certain industries, to which the figures you give for "occupied persons" bear no relationship.

The latest returns of men and women employed, as I defined them, are not yet obtainable, but in the last Census they worked out about equal, and it was expected that in the next Census the number of women employed would probably considerably surpass the number of men.

To take only the textile industry—apparently the one you favour, and which should be the one to tell most against my argument—there are only 492,175 men employed in it, as against 663,222 women. These are the Board of Trade figures from the Report already quoted.

As for much of what I said, it is based on personal experience, and a little of that is sometimes worth a good deal more than statistics, which, unless very carefully dealt with, may be made to say almost anything.

With regard to the latter part of your letter, I do not think you can have realised the logical deductions to be made from it. It simply amounts to a plea for slavery—a plea for an economic slavery far worse than that of the sugar or cotton fields of last century. Stripped of any glozing, it is a statement that to keep up our industries we require large masses of men and women, whose economic conditions are to be such that through them they can be compelled to take very low wages, just sufficient to keep body and soul together, in order that some of us may have the advantage of exploiting their cheapness.

I would sooner every industry in England were wiped out than that such a state of things should hopelessly continue. I admit that it is to a very great extent an existing condition. A late Liberal Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, asserted and emphasised the fact; we have got to change it.

As an engineer, an employer of labour, one who has been in the past a large employer of labour, and may be so again in the future, allow me to say that it is an utterly wrong way of looking at the question.

What I stand for is high production, high efficiency, and high wages. I want my men and women paid well, able to live well, and both industrially and socially be treated as I would wish myself to be treated were I in their place.

I think you said you were, like me, a Conservative. If you are, let me tell you, as a friend and as (what we would call in another tongue than ours) a co-religionist, that we are living upon the crust of a sleeping volcano. If my views prevail, and they are truly Conservative, all will come well and continue well for England; but if the other views are held, and are forced for a time upon an unwilling and discontented mass of people, to whom we give education and vistas of opportunity, without the power of realising ideals or progressing towards any distant and more ideal vision than the greyness with which they are surrounded, we will see such an upheaval in this country of ours as will make pale into insignificance the revolutions of the past. No dynastic trouble will ever equal the economic outburst that may yet come upon us. I, for one, wash my hands of all such ideas, and feel confident that if wise economic changes are soberly and wisely introduced we will have an industrial England rich beyond the dreams of avarice, happy beyond the flights of fancy, and strong and powerful beyond any present hopes of statesman or patriot, because its foundations will lie secure upon the strong base of equality and justice, cemented and tempered by the trust of bonds—the doing unto others of that which we would have others do unto ourselves.

Forgive me writing in this strain, but I write from the heart, knowing how dangerous it is in these matters to write, speak and act as if one only possessed a head.

Believe me,

Yours truly,

JOHN CAMERON GRANT.

MRS. DONNER.

MRS. DONNER to MR. J. CAMERON GRANT.

September 10th.

DEAR SIR,

Thank you for your letter of 2nd inst. Knowing how deeply interested you are in the matter we both have so much at heart I venture to write again to place my opinions before you. May I deal with the points of your letter in the order in which they come?

I must begin by disagreeing with your statement that it is fair to include the wages paid to girls in the average wages of women workers. Girls and apprentices, or learners, could never obtain the wages of experienced workers, and they ought not to be confused

with such. Official statistics invariably distinguish between "women" over 18 years of age, and "girls" under 18 years of age.

The figure you quote, 8s. 11d., as representative of the average wage of girls under 18 is not a fair figure to take in this matter as it includes half-timers. The wage of girl full-timers should read 9s. 7d. But I maintain that the figure I quoted in my previous letter, i.e., 15s. 5d., is the only correct figure to take as being the average wage of all women in all textile trades. It is very misleading not to differentiate between the woman worker and the girl learner. I cannot agree that your figure of 14s. is "not so far out after all" when compared with the official figure of 15s. 5d. When we take an average weekly wage of 15s. 5d. and compare it with an average weekly wage of 14s., we find it represents an advance of nearly 9 per cent. This is a larger figure than any about which the most important economic contests and strikes have taken place with regard to the weekly wage of workpeople.

You say that the cotton industry is a "salient example of what the vote can do in keeping up a wage value," and that the women are necessary to the men in that industry, and "are admitted for this reason to a practical share in the men's unions, and have in this one case the power of men's votes behind them." In the evidence given before the Fair Wages Committee in 1908, Miss Collett, Senior Female Investigator for the Board of Trade, made the following statements: "Women drawing the same rate of wage in this industry (cotton) is not at all peculiar; you will find it very difficult to find a place where doing the same work they are paid a different rate." And again: "It has always been a woman's rate. The women got the first start in cotton because they went into the factory while the men stayed at the hand-loom at home. There was no question of a different rate. They went into the factory first and have always been in a majority, long before there was a union." (Cd. 4423.)

You say that the comparatively high wages of the woman worker in the cotton industry is due to her share in the men's union. Let us take the jute industry, which has shown so remarkable an increase in women's wages during the last 50 years. Reference to the Report of Trades Unions (Cd. 6109) shows that the Dundee Workers' Trades Union was formed in 1885. There is no older one mentioned. In the Returns of Wages (Cd. 5172) we find the average rates of women's wages for jute spinners in the Dundee neighbourhood are as follows:—

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
1860	6	9	1871	8	9 to 9 3
1866	8	0 to 9 0	1875	10	6 to 12 0
1869	9	0 to 9 6	1883	11	0 to 13 0

During all these years no Trades Union existed, so there was no power of the vote there to "keep up the wage value" (as you say), and yet women's wages advanced enormously!

You say, "With regard to the second portion of your letter, I again limited myself to certain industries, to which the figures you give for 'occupied persons' bear no relationship." In my first letter I particularly quoted, and I quote again, from your own pamphlet, "Man, Woman and the Machine." The passage I refer to is on page 7. "The proportion of men and women employed in industry . . . stands to-day at about 50 to 50." May I point out most emphatically that you did not limit yourself to certain industries; and that, therefore, the figures I gave for "occupied persons" apply? You make the general statement "employed in industry," and this, as you did not specify any trades, must be taken to include all trades.

In your letter you say the "latest returns of men and women employed as I defined them are not yet obtainable, but in the last Census they worked out about equal, and it was expected that in the next Census the number of women employed would probably considerably surpass the number of men." I have given you the Census returns for 1891 and 1901 for persons employed under the heading of Metals, Machinery, &c. I quote them again:—

1891	842,199	men	56,001	women.
1901	1,304,911	men	81,723	women.

Please refer to the recent Parliamentary returns for Non-Textile Industries (Cd. 6239), which include the majority of those trades specially mentioned by you in speaking of the competition of women with men in industry (page 10 of your pamphlet). In order to compare the figures given for 1901 with those for 1907, we must omit laundry hands, as laundries only came within the full scope of Factory Inspection in 1907:—

1901	2,507,770	men	604,424	women.
1907	2,617,596	men	713,773	women.

The increase of men and women was, in point of numbers, almost precisely the same in this group of trades.

In the most recent returns for Factories and Workshops (Cd. 6239) we find that in 1907 there were 3,274,868 men and 1,852,241 women inspected. It must be remembered, in connection with these figures, that, inasmuch as workshops in which no women or young persons are employed do not come within the Factory and Workshops Act, the men employed in 32,000 out of the 105,000 workshops inspected are excluded.

Miss Collett's Tables of Occupations in which men and women compete are of interest. (Cd. 4423.)

I. Tailoring, dress and needlework, textile, boot and shoe, clerks, drapers, teachers:

1891	1,066,848	men	1,380,706	women.
1901	1,145,951	men	1,483,734	women.

Showing an increase amongst men of 73,203 and amongst women of 103,028.

II. Occupations not included in the last group:

1891	7,739,567	men	1,178,707	women.
1901	9,011,925	men	1,338,616	women.

Showing an increase of 1,272,328 men and 159,909 women. The net increase (all trades in which men and women compete) in favour of men is 1,082,594.

You evidently base your assertions on the fact that in some branches of sub-divided trades the perfecting of machinery has led to the larger employment of women. But the statement in your pamphlet does not define those sub-divided trades. It includes all industries, and I must emphasise again that industries in general show a majority in favour of men of some four millions over the number of women employed, and that there is also a greater proportional increase of men than women.

I have nowhere stated that there are more men than women employed in the textile industries (the reason I favour these industries is that they are the only ones for which we have absolutely reliable official comparative tables). However, the increase in the relative numbers of men and women employed between 1901 and 1907 in the textile industries is given as men 4.6 per cent. and women 3.2 per cent. (Factory Return, Cd. 4692.)

I am very sorry to find that I have failed to make my meaning clear to you in the latter part of my letter. It is very difficult to make Suffragists realise that we, Anti-Suffragists, are prompted in our opposition to female enfranchisement, not by a desire for a state of "economic slavery," but by an honest belief that the power of the vote will not remedy those evils which we know exist in the present conditions of women's work. I maintain that wages are affected more by the conditions of trade than by the franchise. May I point out that between the years 1886 and 1906 women's wages in the textile trades have shown an increase of 22 per cent., as against an increase of 20 per cent. in the men's wages. This does not look as if the possession of a vote had much influence on the question of wages. Let me add, in conclusion, that my aims and ambitions for the betterment of my fellow-women are as lofty as your own, and that I am only drawn into this explanation of my views because I believe that the Suffragists are mistaken in their efforts to achieve that betterment through the franchise. Moreover, I believe that, in preaching their dogmas, the Suffragists are bringing discontent, and, should they become enfranchised, will bring inevitable distress amongst the thousands of unfortunate women workers whom they are misleading into the erroneous idea that the vote is the magic wand which will remedy all evils in their present condition.

MR. J. CAMERON GRANT TO MRS. DONNER.

October 14th.

DEAR MRS. DONNER,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 10th September, which is very interesting, but I cannot go into matters further, simply from lack of time. I would have acknowledged your communication before, but I have been abroad, and only returned last week.

We must agree to work, each of us our best in our own way, for what we consider the good of our country, and, in so doing, I am sure that ultimately we will not be very far apart.

I am,
Yours truly,

J. C. GRANT.



POLITICAL DOLL SHOW.—THE SUFFRAGE ENTRY. "When Woman Suffrage was first forced upon the public notice it had to stand on its own merits, and the bulk of the people would have nothing to do with it. . . Suffragists, being unable to make anything out of the bare figure, proceeded to dress it up in fancy clothes in order to render it more acceptable."

Our illustration depicts the efforts of the Church League, the N.U.W.S.S., the Suffragist Member of Parliament, the C.U.W.F.A., and the Men's League to put the fancy clothes on the unacceptable figure.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE VOTE.

THE following letter appeared recently in the *Devon and Exeter Gazette* :—

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

"SIR,—Will you allow me, through the medium of your columns, to draw attention to certain points in Miss Abadam's address at the recent Woman Suffrage meeting at Exmouth. She stated that, until women had the Parliamentary vote, they would have no control over the building and planning of their houses. As the provision of workmen's dwellings and the making of building bye-laws have for many years been vested in Municipal Authorities and Urban Rural District Councils, for which women are eligible as members, and already have the vote, this statement is obviously incorrect.

"Miss Abadam stated that the Factory Acts, restricting the hours of women's labour, pressed very hardly on those who are engaged in the lace trade and in florists' shops. In the lace trade she said that women could not be employed in the well paid department of carrying out the patterns, as they had to cease work at a fixed hour, and if a design was left unfinished it was spoiled. The Board of Trade report on the textile trades, for 1906, expressly stated that the planer machines, which are used to embroider patterns on a plain net foundation, are worked by three classes of women operatives, who earn from 16s. 11d. to 21s. 10d. per week—a not inadequate remuneration as times go. The lace industry was included in the Factory Acts in 1861 in consequence of the unsatisfactory conditions revealed by Mr. Tremanheere's report. Women and children were frequently kept up all night to fill the bobbins when the men's machines needed replenishing. By this Act women and children were not allowed to work before 6 a.m., or after 6 p.m. (2 p.m. on Saturdays). The sequel to this limitation of the hours of labour was, after a short interval, a steady rise in wages.

"The particulars of the women florists' agitation are contained in the following extract from the *Times* report of Sir C. Dilke's speech in the debate on Supply, June 15th, 1909 :—'As regards florists' shops, it was unfortunate that the House of Commons, the trade, and a public meeting had been misled by a circular issued by the Manchester Women's Trades Union Council, or by the Secretary (Miss Eva Gore Booth). That circular told them that an exemption order, afterwards stopped, had been granted by the Home Office to allow women to work in the evening, between 8 and 10, outside the workshop, to decorate ball-rooms and supper-rooms. It was alleged that the withdrawal of the exemption made it impossible for florists to keep on their women, and that an enormous number of Englishwomen would be thrown out of work, and that florists would employ men, foreigners, in their place. Where was this enormous number of women who would be thrown out? He had made inquiries and found only two women who might, under certain hypothetical circumstances, be thrown out of work, but if there was likely to be any special call on the women for a ball or a supper, the employer could work them all night by giving them time off either in the morning or afternoon.'

"Yours truly,

"ISABELLA M. TINDALL.

"Marino, Sidmouth.

December 12th, 1912."

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE following is a report of the speech delivered by Miss Pott at Cheltenham on December 3rd, in the course of a debate with Mrs. Frances Swiney, President of the Cheltenham Women's Suffrage Society.

Miss Pott remarked that the position of the Anti-Suffragists was very often misunderstood. Their position was not one of satisfaction with the present condition of things, but one of disbelief in the efficacy of the vote as a remedy for evils which were admitted. The obligation rested upon those who favoured Woman Suffrage not only to show that existing conditions were imperfect, but that their precise remedy would improve those conditions. The mere fact that the laws did not exactly suit present requirements was a proof, not that there was anything wrong with the law-makers, but that we had progressed since the laws were made; and what they wanted to find out was whether there was any proof with reference to experience that laws which admittedly had been

outgrown were not altered. The argument of the Suffragists was that women found themselves in great difficulties to-day, that the vote had always been in the hands of men, therefore the difficulties from which women suffered were due to the fact that men only had the vote. That, she suggested, was an entirely fallacious syllogism. She might put forward an equally fallacious one, viz., that men and women had progressed, particularly during the last fifty years, that for fifty years the vote had been in the hands of men, therefore the fact that men had the vote was responsible for women's progress. She was there to argue that to give women the vote would not be for the good of the Empire. What was the vote, and how ought it to be used? Suffragists claimed the vote as a right. She declared, without hesitation, that under a system of representative government no one had a right to the vote, unless it were conferred by law alone. It might conceivably be a right if it merely gave the persons exercising it the power to govern themselves, but the vote did more: it gave them the right to govern others, and because of that those others had the right to say on whom the vote should be conferred. The vote was not a right, not a privilege, but a duty and a responsibility, which lay in the hands of the community as a whole to place upon the shoulders of those persons who, in its experience, were most likely to use it for the good of the community as a whole, and not for their own individual benefit. It was no answer to this to say some persons who now possessed the vote were using it for selfish or for class purposes: because some men were making an improper use of the vote was no reason for going back upon a sound principle. What should they look for in a good voter? Considering that the Imperial Parliament had to deal not only with domestic matters, but with questions of the Army, the Navy, defence and offence, international treaties, our colonies and dependencies, was it not essential that the persons who formed the larger proportion of the electorate should be those who had the sense of relative values? All questions had a value, but some had a greater value than others, and voters should have an appreciation of what was the greatest good of the greatest number. What was it that gave the ordinary person this sense of relative values? Was it not the business concerns of life?

There were two great classes of duties which must be performed if civilisation was to continue, the one public and the other private. Nature had marked out man, the physically stronger of the two sexes, for the public duty, the wealth-producing part, and she had made woman the more capable of dealing with the private side. They could, to a certain extent, reverse those positions, but if they did they would lose the superior strength which Nature had implanted in man, and they would lose also that inestimable mother instinct that Nature had implanted in every woman who was worth her salt. (Applause.) The continual attention to detail which was so necessary a part of her life had the effect of making the average woman forget the importance of the whole; the continual contemplation of the individual caused her to put the interests of the individual before those of the community. The interests of the two were not always identical, but often the reverse. This was illustrated by the effect of the introduction of machinery on hand-workers. Government, she went on to say, was a continual compromise between the rights of one individual as against those of another, and what our legislators had to decide was whether a given proposal was likely, having regard to experience, which was the only proof they had of anything, to be beneficial to the community as a whole. That was where the question of the business capacity of the voter came in, the capacity to weigh one interest against another. If that were so, her syllogism was this: that business capacity was necessary to make a good voter, that women as a whole, in consequence of their ordinary avocation, did not attain to this business capacity, and that therefore women would not make good voters, and should not be given the vote, no matter how many of their number asked for it. What the Suffragists had to prove was wherein women's interests differed from men's. Representative government did not mean that every single individual should have the vote, but that all classes and interests ought to be represented, and her contention was that women's interests were at present represented. What proof had the Suffragists that women's interests had been neglected? Of course, nobody agreed with every law that had been passed, but she maintained that the general trend of legislation during the last 60 or 70 years had been favourable to women, and that in it their interests had received consideration. Four-fifths of the grievances of women set forth by John Stuart Mill in 1869 had been removed. If it were claimed that this was due to women's influence, how could the Suffragists say women had no influence on legislation in their own interests? And if they said it was not brought about by women's influence, how could they

argue that men had neglected their interests? She did not mind on which of the horns of this dilemma the Suffragists elected to climb down. It was said men could not understand women's point of view. If so, what was the use of giving women the right to vote for men to go to Parliament? Time had only allowed her to touch on a few points, but she hoped that she had said enough to show the vote was not necessary for the protection of women's interests, and that the enfranchisement of women would constitute a danger to the Empire.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT.

OWING to pressure upon our space we have been prevented hitherto from referring to the striking series of addresses given by Father Day, S.J., at Manchester. The first was delivered as the Recreation in Ancoats lecture, and was followed by a number of sermons. The following summary of the lecture is taken from the *Manchester Guardian* :—

"Father Day said that the feminist forward movement had now attained to a position of unique prominence owing to the persistent energy and genius of its promoters during a period of well over fifty years, and could no longer be dismissed as an unimportant or passing agitation. It was a matter of very great social importance, an established fact touching the deepest foundations of social life; and, accordingly, it must be reckoned with seriously by the statesman, the philosopher, the moralist, and by all with any share in directing and shaping the affairs of the country. It was further significant that this movement was deep-seated in modern social conditions, he said, of which it was the immediate social upshot. This proposition he maintained by arguing that railways, steam, and electricity, and the replacement of muscular strength by the motive force of machinery had opened to woman wider possibilities of travel in the stead of her former limitation to the narrow circle of home and family life; had lessened very considerably the domestic industries which formerly occupied her, and admitted her to industries from which she had formerly been excluded; and had, in the consequent general expansion of commerce, opened to her innumerable other employments. All these occupations and positions, he said, accustomed her to work and gain her living for herself, to lead a freer and wider life outside of the house, to work side by side with man, and even to enter into competition and rivalry with him. To these material causes must be added the moral influence of the modern love of riches and pleasures, which, by postponing or preventing marriage, was steadily increasing the already existing excess of unmarried women who were thrown on their own resources to earn a living. From these changed habits and manners of women's life there had arisen a new social situation, sharply contrasting and conflicting with the spirit of the laws and conventions of a former time. The necessary adjustment was gradually proceeding, but not fast enough to suit the 'new women,' who were fresh to liberty and not a little intoxicated by it.

"Father Day went on to deal with and criticise the nature of the movement, which he defined to be 'an organised endeavour of a section of advanced women to shake off a number of traditions and conventions which in the past have fettered their freedom of action in comparison with men, and to secure for their sex a wider emancipation and extended rights, including the Parliamentary franchise.' He distinguished feminism from Suffragism as the genus from the species, feminism having an immediate relation, he said, to a wide range of questions affecting the essential relations of the sexes, and Suffragism being directly concerned only with votes for women. 'The ideal inspiring the feminist movement is Woman's Rights,' he continued, 'and its claims are made in the name of justice. Are these claims right and equitable or wrong and unjust? Is the movement, as a whole, good or evil? As regards the various claims, we should have to consider them individually to form a judgment. But of the substantive movement in its present form it is safe to say that it cannot be approved, and that it must be condemned. It is in antagonism to both faith and reason, and it is deeply corrupted by evident errors. Let me prove this. In the first place feminism propagates an emancipation of woman which is opposed to morality and religion. To remove

any doubt about this it is only necessary to dip into feminist literature in which anti-Christian and anti-moral opinions find the freest and fullest expression. It is no secret that the great majority of feminists, both male and female, are strongly opposed to marriage and to the regular relation existing between the sexes which we now know as morality. In place of both marriage and morality they would establish a system of free love and casual irregularity. Their attack on the social fortress of marriage and the family is persistent and constant.

"The evil of this attitude of feminism is evident. The emancipation it would compass could only lead to the degrading bondage of women and the destruction of society. The moment when woman, free from her duty to man and to her family, free from all they call her slavery, a mother at her pleasure, a wife without a husband, shall proclaim the victory of feminism, that moment will sound the knell of her degradation worse than death. From that time, too, the dissolution of society will commence, and the whole fabric of civilisation will fall to pieces and crumble more rapidly than by any form of political anarchy which has yet invaded the world.

"Another extravagant element vitiating the feminist movement is the claim advanced of absolute equality as between the sexes, a physical, intellectual, social, and political equality—an equality which converts a woman into a man, and makes it as natural for her to be a policeman, a statesman, or a bricklayer as a house-keeper or a nurse. Now the assertion of such an equality is nothing short of a lie and a blasphemy. It contradicts reason and flaunts in the face of Providence. Man is not woman and woman is not man. Which sex is superior and which inferior is a matter of opinion, and, I was almost going to say, a matter of taste. Both sexes are imperfect. Each requires the complement of the other. There are qualities in the one which are lacking in the other. Manliness and womanliness are correlative attributes. Obviously this relationship of dependence between the sexes is quite sufficient to show that the claim of equality is absurd and preposterous. The fact is that the physiological basis of sex constitutes a fundamental difference between man and woman on which rest certain permanent distinctions of mind and character which, while preventing the two from being equal in capacity, enable them to supplement each other's defects and to perform different works and duties equally essential for the welfare of the race. Concerning the claim of political equality the Suffragist agitation is raised. The question is not so much concerned with woman's right to the vote as with her equal right with man to govern the country. Now this equality of right must be absolutely denied her. The right of citizenship or of sharing in the government of the country is founded on the power to contribute to the sum of physical force which is required to maintain the State against its enemies, to promote order, to coerce violence, and to protect the weak. No one can be called a citizen, in the full sense of the word, who is not able in an emergency to defend his country and to repel force by force. The very functional capacities of a woman prevent the possibility of her fulfilling these necessary duties. As to the granting of the vote to women, that is an open question. The State has the right to refuse or to grant it. It is a matter of expediency and not of justice. One thing is clear, and that is that the change contemplated is one of tremendous moment. The political differences between classes of men are insignificant in comparison with the profound and immutable differences of sex. Accordingly any system of franchise granted to women, however limited it may be (and it would have to be exceedingly limited, for a franchise on equal terms between man and woman would stultify itself at the outset by at once placing man in an inferior position to woman through her advantage in numbers), would herald a revolution of the first magnitude. It is not, therefore, a privilege to be lightly dispensed or conceded as the result of a snap vote of a majority in Parliament in connection with a Conciliation Bill or an amendment to an Adult Suffrage Bill.

"As a preparatory step the country should be consulted through a general election, and previously to that some form of 'referendum' should be resorted to with a view to acquire a certain knowledge of the real wishes of the whole of the female population of the country. On the subject of militant methods there is no need to enlarge. Violence in woman is an ethical degradation of her being. The man who strikes a woman is a coward. The woman who strikes a man is lost to shame. The militant methods of Suffragism are an outrage on civilisation. The only charitable view to take of them is to regard them as the unfortunate outcome of a morbid and hysterical mania."

At a later date, Father Day inaugurated a series of sermons on the feminist movement. In the first he began by showing that

St. Paul taught that woman was the equal of man by nature and grace. But that equality which was founded on a common nature was "in Christ." It was moral and spiritual. Moreover, it was relative or conditional, not absolute. As such it admitted of accidental inequalities founded on divers capacities for various functions and duties. And therefore St. Paul went on with equal fearlessness to declare that subjects should submit to their superiors, servants to their masters, and wives to their husbands. The teaching of the Church was (he proceeded, as reported by the *Manchester Guardian*) the same to-day as it ever was, and it might be summed up in the following principles:—

(1) The Church upholds the natural equality of the sexes and allows of no discrimination between them on moral or religious grounds.

(2) She favours every tendency, whether it be intellectual, moral, social, or political, which is calculated to develop the personality of woman on lines in harmony with her nature.

(3) At the same time she recognises a diversity of qualities and capacities connected with the physiological distinction of sex. These qualities, which permeate the whole mental and moral character of man and woman, are not opposed but complementary to one another. In themselves they neither constitute superiority nor inferiority, but by producing aptitudes for different functions they give rise to accidental inequalities. Such inequalities the Church holds to be a part of the original Divine plan, and essential for the welfare of the race.

(4) The Church is therefore opposed to every system which claims an absolute equality in all things—social, political, and domestic—between man and woman. The two sexes are two halves of one whole. They are mutually dependent on each other. They may be equivalent, but in practice they can never be equal.

"Let us now," Father Day said, "turn to modern feminism. One idea dominates the present movement, one word sums it up—emancipation. One other idea is added to the first and completes it—the equality of the sexes. Women are convinced that they suffer certain injustices—economic, domestic, social, and political; accordingly they have organised a movement to resist and redress them. In this movement, as might be expected, several distinct currents of opinion have mingled. There is the current of revolt. There is also the current of legitimate demand of reasonable reform. As a result we have two sharply defined forms of feminism—the moderate and the revolutionary. Moderate feminism has an affinity to the ideals and principles of Christianity, and in some cases its theory is in complete harmony with the teaching of the Church. Revolutionary feminism, on the other hand, is altogether opposed to Christian principles. While the moderate feminists are content to demand the suppression of definite social and legal abuses which paralyse women's actions for good, and to claim for beneficent purposes the extension to their sex of certain privileges hitherto enjoyed exclusively by men, the revolutionary feminists demand a root-and-branch reform which would undo and reverse the comparative status and hitherto accepted relation of man and woman. And the grounds on which they rest these claims are the absolute equality in all respects of the sexes. In the name of this lie they demand equal social, political, and domestic rights. Such claims are evidently monstrous. They are in clamorous antagonism with nature and with nature's God. In view of them who can refuse to see in this movement a revolt of pride on the part of woman? How the claims of the movement antagonise marriage and the home, and how immoral they are we shall consider later in detail. It is sufficient now to recognise that they are a gross folly and impiety. The feature of irreligion is especially marked in modern feminism. The 'new woman,' whilst waiting to free herself from the other bonds which nature and society have imposed on her, has begun by freeing herself from religious obligation. The newspaper which in France is the organ of advanced feminism has not its equal in freethinking and anti-clerical invective. In a multitude of other ways modern feminism proves itself to be intimately associated with atheism and revolutionary Socialism. It behoves women carefully to consider their position, and to weigh the case for their claims in the balance provided by the sound common-sense of mankind, and the truths of the Christian religion."

A SUFFRAGE DEBATE.

At the Chirton Hall, Seaford, on November 26th, there was an interesting debate on Woman Suffrage, presided over by the Rev. Hugh Parry.

Mrs. Timpany (Brighton) spoke for the enfranchisement of women. She was answered by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, who said that there were many laws under which women benefited to a greater extent than men. Women were so eager to maintain the cause of women, yet if a quarter of the money spent on the Woman Suffrage movement during the last five or six years had been spent on general reforms how much good would have been done to the country as a whole?

Various other people spoke, and a vote was taken, which resulted in a majority of twelve against Woman Suffrage.

THE HUNDRED-HEADED HYDRA.

As a slight indication of the extent to which misleading and inaccurate statements are made at Suffragist meetings, we give below a list of some of the speakers who within the space of a month made use of the favourite mis-statement regarding conditions in the labour market as an argument for Woman Suffrage. It is hardly necessary to point out again that the facts regarding the "five million workers" are as follow: Actual number, according to the last census, 4,660,000; of these, 2,058,528 are domestic servants, and 172,989 are in professions of various kinds, leaving 2,428,533 women industrially employed, of whom 1,789,310 are in the textile and clothing trades, earning on an average 15s. 5d. and 13s. per week, leaving 639,293 women workers for all other trades and as outworkers.

Rev. F. LEWIS DONALDSON, Leicester, November 17th:

"In industry in the United Kingdom towards 5,000,000 of women and girls over the age of ten are employed, most of them under shameful conditions of overwork and underpay. The average woman's wage (says Miss MacArthur) throughout the kingdom is about 7s. 6d. per week."

Mrs. RACKHAM, Lynn, November 14th:

She was certain that woman's position in industry would be better if she had the vote.

Viscountess GORT, Hamsterley Hall, November 16th:

"They must think of the 5,000,000 who were forced out of their homes into the factory to earn their own living and to compete in the labour market."

Miss MAUD VICKERS, Hastings, November 19th.

Miss WAINWRIGHT, Hastings, November 19th.

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST, Tunbridge Wells, November 18th:

"Everyone that knew anything about social conditions knew that the average wage of the women workers was not more than 7s., and that 99 out of every 100 women were in the sweated trades."

Sir JOHN COCKBURN, M.D., K.C.M.G., Colchester, November 7th:

"Why did women accept low wages? Practically because they are not citizens."

Mr. S. LITHGOW, L.C.C.:

"They knew as a matter of every-day practice that the woman who had no vote—the married woman without a vote—had no power. . . . In connection with the question of wages, what chance had a woman in her struggle for employment against men? Her wages were something like 7s. a week, and sometimes as little as 5s."

Sir VICTOR HORSLEY, Suffrage Club, December 3rd:

"Fundamentally, the enfranchisement of women was the one weapon by which the minimum wage would be secured."

Mrs. SHAW MACLAREN, Aberdeen, December 11th:

"The average wage of women in industry was 7s. 6d. a week."

[This speaker contrived to introduce into her speech a whole series of Suffragist untruths, including the statement that the vote raised wages and that sweated labour was responsible for the social evil.]

Mr. MALCOLM MITCHELL, Leatherhead:

All classes of men and women needed the vote for their protection, and he instanced the working woman, of whom there were five and a half millions, earning an average of 7s. 6d. a week.

TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION.

SPEAKING at Cheltenham on December 10th, Mr. Agg-Gardner, M.P., said that "he had always held that a good basis for the franchise was contained in the constitutional maxim that taxation should be accompanied by representation."

It is surprising to find that anyone in the position of a Member of Parliament can be found to subscribe to a principle that has no foundation in fact or logic. Taxation is not "accompanied" by representation. Suffragists of a certain intellectual calibre mouth the jingle about taxation and representation, and seem to believe that they are propounding an eternal truth. The more enlightened among their own members, such as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. W. Dickinson, have been honest enough to point out that the words are meaningless in the way in which Mr. Agg-Gardner and youthful Suffragist speakers at street corners seek to apply them. But the Member for Cheltenham was clearly of opinion that his audience at the Annual Meeting of the local Women's Suffrage Society was not likely to be critical. He went on to say: "To his mind it was extremely unfair that questions involving taxation—questions of peace or of the declaration of war, for example, which resulted in the imposition of fresh taxation—should be decided apart from women." Most Suffragists point triumphantly to the assertion that the electorate is *not* consulted in regard to peace or war as a complete refutation of the contention that women must not be given a dominant voice in Imperial affairs.

THE CANKER AT OUR HEART.

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

SIR,—The militant Woman Suffrage agitation seems likely to prove the executioner of its own cause, so far as granting the Parliamentary vote to women is concerned, for surely no level-headed community will now wish to extend the Franchise to these people with their grievance against "Man the Brute." Yet I fear there will be an aftermath to the movement which will have a very deleterious effect on the generation now growing up. I refer to the teaching of the Suffragettes on sex questions as put forward by them at street corners and in their literature. To my sorrow and unspeakable disgust, I have lately read a good few of their books considered by them fit for perusal by young girls. Moreover, a Suffragette informed me the other day that she believed in telling her children *everything* before they went to school, as "the body is the temple of the soul." Poor young things, their childhood will be of short duration! Every thinking woman knows that social evils exist, and she heartily wishes to see them remedied, and, if possible, cured; but she also knows that all men are not monsters in human form, nor does she desire to have them represented as such to the minds of innocent children.

Taking into account the splendid stand the London school teachers have made against the Suffrage element within their ranks, surely all branches of the N.L.O.W.S. might start propaganda work to bring home to fathers, mothers and guardians the very real danger children run by being brought into daily contact with the offspring of the Pro-Suffrage mothers, or the greater risk still they are taking by allowing them to be talked to on sex subjects by maiden ladies, who always know better how to bring up other people's little ones than they themselves do.

I am, &c.,

G. L. M.

It is with great regret that we have to record the loss sustained by the Sevenoaks Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. in the death of its Vice-President, Mrs. Pycroft.

O SI SIC OMNES.

For setting fire to letters in a pillar-box in Hull, the offender was remanded for a week and ordered to be birched at home. He was a choir boy, and his father's name was Whipham.

RECENT Suffragist meetings at Brighton have not met with the success that their organisers would have desired. At one a resolution from the audience "expressing the utter disgust of those present at the manner in which Suffragists are behaving" was carried with only two dissentients.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE AND MILITANCY.

SPEAKING at Oxford on Sunday, November 3rd, to a Suffragist audience, the Bishop of Lincoln, President of the Church League for Women Suffrage, is reported to have said: "The first thing he would beg of them was never to say anything against their militant sisters."

MANY Suffragists are not satisfied with the attitude of the Labour members towards Woman Suffrage, in spite of the assurance of Suffrage leaders that the Labour Party has consistently supported the movement. They may find some consolation in contemplating the inherent difference in the respective outlooks of the two organisations towards the enfranchisement of women. Suffragists want votes for women, Labour members want votes from women.

Mrs. F. D. ACLAND is one of the many Suffragist speakers who consider that any kind of statement does for a Suffrage platform. Speaking at Truro on November 20th she is reported to have said: "There were six million women workers. Much of this was sweated labour, and women should be given an opportunity of putting an end to this sweated labour." The number of women workers is under 5,000,000; it is probable that considerably under 500,000 can be called sweated workers, and it is certain that the vote will not raise their wages by one penny.

AUSTRALIA AND THE VOTE.

The picturesque story of what women's votes have done for Australia makes many a Suffragist mouth water. When we read the encomiums passed by Sir John Cockburn and others, we wonder whether any one of them stops to think that, if the women of Australia had voted unanimously against or were in theory unanimously opposed to compulsory service or what not, no one would be any the wiser, and their action would not have affected the attitude of the Commonwealth. In the United Kingdom the case would be very different, if the Parliamentary vote were given to women, who are in a majority. Listening to Sir John Cockburn one is led to infer that he will return to Australia and solemnly assure the Australians that Unionists are Home Rulers if a British Parliament should pass the Home Rule Bill, or that Liberals are Protectionists because another Government introduced Tariff Reform.

LEST WE FORGET.

THE present boom in trade, the favourable position of the Woman Suffrage movement in this country, Mrs. Pankhurst's "triumph" in the Bow and Bromley by-election, and the seasonable weather are by common consent attributed to the great Suffrage march from Edinburgh to London. Mr. Asquith replied to the deputation in the following letter written by his secretary:—

"MADAME,—The Prime Minister desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, and to state that the petition which you presented to him has received his consideration.

"I am to inform you in reply that the Prime Minister has nothing to add to the various statements he has made on the subject of Woman Suffrage both inside and outside the House of Commons.

Yours faithfully,

"ERIC DRUMMOND."

"10, Downing Street, December 4th, 1912."

THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION.

The honour of the last word on the Suffrage question rests with Miss Theodore Mills, "Hon. Sec. W.S.S.," who writes thus to the *Gloucestershire Echo* :—

"With regard to Norway, Miss Pott was correct in saying that women's wages had been raised before they had exercised the vote, but it was not before the vote was won, but immediately after. . . . This is a point on our side, not Miss Pott's, for it shows how immensely greater the power of the vote is, than the actual casting of a ballot."

Surely Miss Mills has inadvertently stumbled upon the solution of the whole Suffrage question. A special Bill must be passed by Parliament which shall confer the franchise on women but not empower them to vote.

Their power will be "immensely greater" than if they actually cast their votes.

"The plea of militancy," writes Miss Margaret Ashton in the *Manchester Guardian*, "can now hardly be thought valid against Woman Suffrage, as it has even penetrated to the House of Commons itself, being used by male objectors to Home Rule." Sentences like these are calculated to throw into the depths of despair anyone who could be induced to believe that Suffragists will ultimately be given the vote and a seat in Parliament. The claim of the militants that they are merely doing what men did in order to be given the vote when they burned down Nottingham Castle has been satisfactorily refuted by Mrs. Fawcett and other Suffragists. But here is Miss Ashton seriously arguing that interruptions in the House of Commons which the Speaker decided were not "disorder" are on all fours with window smashing, theatre burning and the destruction of private letters. Now that principle has been shown not to belong to the Suffragist vocabulary, there is no need to dwell on the point that Miss Ashton thoroughly believes that two blacks make a white.

The total irrelevance of comparisons between Australia and Great Britain with reference to the question of Woman Suffrage is clearly shown when statistics are analysed. According to the census of 1901, the total number of women workers in the Commonwealth was 344,000. Of these, 150,000 were in domestic service and 41,000 were described as "professional," which would include clerks and teachers. There would be left, therefore, 153,000 women workers for the whole of Australia to look after. It would hardly seem to call for paeons on the advantages of Woman Suffrage that this handful of people should not include sweated workers. In New Zealand the figures are naturally even more minute. There are only four towns in the Dominion with a population over 40,000, the largest being equivalent to Eastbourne with 64,000 inhabitants, four other towns have between 10,000 and 12,000 inhabitants, fifteen others have 5,000, and the remainder less than 5,000. There can be no comparison between conditions in our overseas dominions and the conditions in the Mother Country.

AS WE SEE OURSELVES.

MISS ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc., writes to the editor of *The Standard* :—

"The spectacle of the N.U.W.S.S. being patted on the back by Mr. Lloyd George . . . is, to my mind, one of the most unpleasant incidents of the whole Suffrage campaign. This sort of thing drags down any movement, and in reading those words of the Chancellor's I thanked Heaven as never before for the W.S.P.U. and the great appeal to woman's dignity, self-respect and sense of human equality with men, which from the first has been the keynote in the ranks of those who follow Mrs. Pankhurst."

Hitherto we have always been undecided which to admire most—the dignity, the self-respect or the sense of human equality with men in the Suffragette removed from a meeting in a horizontal position for unseemly behaviour or gloating over the destruction of somebody's private correspondence.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

"We all know of the reckless and disgraceful deeds of a coterie of women in England," writes the *Kreuz Zeitung* (Berlin), "from which thousands of innocent persons have to suffer. We are constantly reading with indignation of the malicious manner in which these women carry out their attacks, and the vulgarity they show in planning those outrages by which they hope to gain their ends." In view of these circumstances, adds the journal, it is an insult to the national feeling of Germans that a Suffragist should be permitted to send out invitations to a lecture she proposes to give in the Berlin Ladies' Club. When Englishwomen pay so little heed to self-respect and forget that they have been brought up as ladies, they should not come over to Berlin and expect any sympathy from German women. The *Kreuz Zeitung* reminds Suffragists that the end does not always justify the means, and says that, however strongly Englishwomen may defend their tactics, the sincerest wish of all Germans is: "May Heaven preserve us in this country from such excesses."

SUFFRAGIST AIMS.

THERE ought to be no mistake at this state of the Suffrage movement regarding the real aims of the Suffragists; but some of the milder advocates may still be heard to say that all that is asked for is the Parliamentary vote for a few women. Their moderation and their social standing carry weight in some quarters. It would be interesting to know whether they are conscious of misrepresentation and would justify it "for the cause." Other Suffragist speakers are more honest, and do not trouble to disguise the full extent of Suffragist ambitions. Miss Margaret Ashton, who is a Town Councillor of Manchester and a prominent Suffragist, speaking on November 24th, stated that Adult Suffrage "was, of course, what women wanted," although she feared they might not get it. She went on to declare that "women never had been represented in the nation; they would bring an entirely fresh point of view." Now, if these words mean anything, it is that men are incapable of representing women in Parliament, and that in consequence Suffragists are determined to have women members of Parliament. In many Suffrage circles the possibility of women sitting in the House of Commons has been derided as a foolish Anti-Suffrage fear. We have now the statement confirmed by a prominent Suffragist, and Parliament, if it were not already aware of the fact, may be confident that, if it extends the franchise to women, the Suffragists will not rest content until they have actually won seats in the House of Commons. In the meantime Suffragists have yet to answer the following questions: (1) If women have never been represented in the nation, how do they account for the great strides made in the "woman's movement" during the last fifty years, to which Mrs. Fawcett has repeatedly drawn attention? (2) If these great strides are due to women's influence, then how can it be true that women have never been represented?

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OUR BRANCH-NEWS LETTER.

Abingdon.—A public debate took place in the Corn Exchange, Abingdon, on Friday evening, December 13th, between Miss Gladys Pott, of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and Miss Munro, of the Women's Freedom League. The audience numbered some 400 persons, who listened with the keenest attention to both speakers, who alternately put forward the arguments for and against the enfranchisement of women. At the end of the debate questions were invited by the Chairman (Mr. Donkin), after which the following resolution, moved by Miss Gladys Pott, was voted upon by the audience:—"That the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is contrary to the interests of the British Empire." This was carried by an overwhelming majority; only some 20 persons voted against it. Amongst those in the audience were Lady Norman, Mrs. Massie, Mrs. George Morland, Mrs. Reynolds, Mr. and Mrs. Buckeridge and others. The local Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League held a social tea before the debate, at which 120 members were present.

Banbury.—A large meeting was held at Banbury on November 26th, under the auspices of the local Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The Rev. C. J. Shebbeare was in the chair, and the principal speaker was the Countess of Jersey.

The Chairman said that the danger from Woman Suffrage lay in the House of Commons and not in the constituencies, and it was for Anti-Suffragists of both parties to see that no candidate for Parliament received their support unless he pledged himself, if possible, to vote against Woman Suffrage, or at least not to vote for Woman Suffrage during the lifetime of the Parliament to which he had been elected.

Lady Jersey said she wished to take as her text a passage from Bacon's Essays. In his Essay on Innovation, after pointing out the utter fallacy of those who, when they saw an evil, would not attempt to remedy it, he used these weighty words: "It was not good to experiment in the State except the necessity be urgent and the benefit evident." There were many things throughout the world that demanded remedies, and they all tried to the best of their ability to apply remedies to the evils that were before them. If the remedy tried in all good faith failed, they might try

another; but if they tried an experiment on the State they risked wrecking that State, and it was very difficult indeed, once having wrecked a State, to re-establish it.

To extend the Parliamentary franchise to women was to try a very great experiment. Surely it was hardly right, hardly wise, to try such an experiment before having it placed as the sole issue, or at all events as the main issue, before the country. Lady Jersey went on to discuss whether, in Bacon's words, the necessity was urgent and the benefit evident, and yet a third point was there not at least serious danger attending such a trenchant measure? She dealt with the Suffragist arguments about the gardener's vote and no taxation without representation. The making of laws, she continued, was a very small matter. It was the carrying out of laws that was really of importance, and every single one of them could do their part in carrying out the laws which existed already—laws with regard to the education of their children, the nursing of the sick, or another work in the world. The vote had nothing to do with the matter of wages or with the social improvement of women generally; but that did not mean that social improvement was not to be effected by women. They were told that the social position of women would be improved by the vote for women. New Zealand was often quoted in regard to the women-franchise, and she could not help repeating the statement that between the years 1895 to 1910 the infant mortality in children under one year in New Zealand declined 14.3 per 1,000, but in the same time it declined in the United Kingdom 56 per 1,000. Then the improvement in the social condition of women in the United Kingdom, where women had not the vote, had been greater than in the States or elsewhere where women had the vote. Women in this country had the municipal franchise, and they were consulted in various matters connected with the social improvement of the people. Lady Jersey said that she would ask any woman, if she had the energy to devote from other matters, where she would be done much good by having the vote. She said the vote would be of little use to her. By the agitation which had taken place harm had already arisen, and she thought that greater dangers loomed ahead. There were those women who advocated very strongly votes for women, and who seemed entirely to have lost their heads in the matter. They had allowed those questions of which she had ventured to speak to them to sink into the background, and they had now positively started what she could call only a sex war. She could not help saying that literature that was being circulated and speeches that were being made were pernicious to the very last degree. Lady Jersey quoted literature in support of her assertion, and added that she said with all sorrow and with all seriousness that things which young girls were called upon to listen to in certain places were sufficient, she would not say to ruin, but to debase and injure them for the rest of their lives. So far from the statement being true that the men were going to take advantage of women, she believed all fair-minded Englishmen desired to do everything they could for the upraising, protection, and advancement of women. There were no Anti-Suffragists either who did not wish to advance the position of women in every way they could.

It was in the work which women had already done, helped by the work they were going to do hereafter, that they would promote the welfare of the community far more than by helping to make alterations in the laws which might or might not be desirable, but which could hardly be sorted up at a General Election. Women had always been consulted, and the tremendous social improvements that had taken place had been largely due to the exertions of women.

Lady Jersey then spoke of that aspect of the Suffrage movement which caused the minds of young girls to be poisoned by what they heard and read. She appealed to mothers to protect their daughters from this evil, and to every woman to do what she could for her country by helping women to raise up to the higher level of bringing up their children to be good citizens.

A vote of thanks to Lady Jersey, proposed by Mr. T. O. Hankinson and seconded by Mrs. A. T. Johns, was carried by acclamation. Lady Jersey replied, and the meeting was brought to an end by a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Miss Gurney and seconded by Mrs. Cartwright.

Bolton.—We have received the following communication from the Hon. Secretary of the Levenshulme, Burnage Sub-Branch, in connection with the Bolton By-election:—

"We have held nine open-air meetings, at which Mrs. W. Harrison and Mr. H. W. Barber have spoken. Meetings have been held at Messrs. Dobson & Barlow's Works, The Union Mills, Victoria Square, and St. George's Road, and several other places. We have met with no opposition or interruptions of any description, and

have distributed several thousand leaflets and cards to be sent to the successful Member asking him to oppose Woman Suffrage. Five hundred people called in the Committee Rooms to sign the petition against votes for women; this is an average of more than a hundred a day. We have collected about eighty signed cards to be sent to the new Member, and I feel sure that he will receive several hundreds from those we have distributed. One hundred and ten copies of the REVIEW have been sold, together with several other pamphlets.

"The following ladies and gentlemen have very kindly given their services during this campaign: The Misses Smithies and Croggon, of Manchester; Misses Hill and Podmore, Bolton; Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Barber; Messrs. Beaumont and Molloy, Manchester; Mr. Whittaker, Bolton.

"We arranged to hold a large open-air meeting on November 23rd as a final meeting, but owing to heavy rain we had to abandon the idea; however, we spent the day in distributing literature.

"Our Committee Rooms, 177, St. George's Road, were situated in a prominent position, and have been the centre of widespread attention from the Bolton residents.

"We are hoping to see an increase of membership of our Bolton Sub-Branch as a result of this campaign."

Brislington.—A public debate on the question of Woman Suffrage was held at the Grove Hall on December 6th, in connection with the Brislington and St. Anne's Men and Women's Association. There was a large attendance, presided over by Mr. J. Lean, Chairman of the Brislington Liberal Branch.

Mrs. Harold Norris addressed the meeting first, and prefaced her remarks with a resolution against granting female franchise. She said that for women to have votes in order to remove the disabilities under which they work would mean the weakening of the Empire. Votes to a few women meant votes for all, and this would involve a complete change of the electorate. A Government chosen by a majority of men was a Government chosen by a majority of the physical force of the country. The political competence of men was greater than the political ability of women; and every class of woman was represented by the men of her sphere.

Mrs. Hicks replied that women of to-day were not ruled by force, as formerly. Men could not know as much about things connected with women, as the women themselves. The woman of the working class suffered more than any other person and was quite unrepresented; hence, the vote would directly benefit them.

The Suffragettes did not wish all women to have the vote, but as so many of them to-day had fewer domestic duties, they had more time for political affairs, and their co-operation would be extremely valuable.

A discussion followed, and a ballot on the resolution showed a large majority against Woman Suffrage.

Bristol.—The annual meeting of the Bristol Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at the Queen's Hall, Queen's Hotel, on November 28th. The meeting was presided over by Mr. W. H. Bateman Hope, and the chief speaker of the afternoon was Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

Miss E. Long Fox read the annual report, which stated that there had been an increase of 804 members. She attributed the success of the past year to the great meeting at Colston Hall on February 16th, which had done so much to arouse enthusiasm in the district. During the summer several meetings had been held and three new Branches formed; while the sub-branch at Thornbury was in a flourishing condition.

The Chairman then moved the resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. She maintained that the majority of women were not in favour of the vote, and exemplified her remark by the recent Bow and Bromley election, where the electors returned the candidate who was against Women's Suffrage. She went on to say that the vote involved certain Imperial questions which called upon a man's greater physical capacity to decide. Votes for women would lead to adult suffrage; adult suffrage would mean women candidates for Parliament; and this was not what the nation was prepared for while there were still so many other varied activities for women.

A large and enthusiastic gathering of members of the Bristol Branch of the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage assembled at Royal York Crescent on November 20th to hear an address from Mr. T. W. Barry in opposition to Woman Suffrage. Miss Long Fox presided, and there were upwards of 200 present. Mr. Barry emphasised the fact that nothing could be further from their minds than to seek to depreciate the position or the importance of women. It was because they were keenly alive to the enormous

value of their special contribution to the community that they opposed what seemed to them likely to endanger that contribution. They were convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men was for women not only vain but demoralising. It led to a total misconception of women's true dignity and special mission. It tended to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteristic labour and the best gifts of each to the common stock.

A well-attended and enthusiastic social gathering in connection with the Bristol Branch of the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage assembled at 120, Barrow Road, on November 27th, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. G. Stephens. Mr. Jack Lewis presided, and briefly stated the objects of this organisation. Mr. Walter Smith, in an address, embodied many facts and illustrated by convincing arguments that the majority of women were disposed to entirely relinquish all affairs of State and Empire to men. After some discussion a resolution was carried unanimously to the effect that:—"This gathering requests the hon. member for Bristol East to vote against any Bill, or amendment to any Bill, which includes the granting of Parliamentary votes to women."

Under the auspices of the Bristol East sub-committee of the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage, Councillor Langlands addressed a very large meeting at the Hebron Chapel School-room, Barton Hill, on December 4th, and after a telling speech, he proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting prays the hon. member for Bristol East to oppose any measure which includes, or may be amended to include, provision for granting the Parliamentary franchise to women until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country." This was seconded by Mr. H. C. Trapnell, and carried, and a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman (Mr. Walter Smith).

Chelsea.—On December 4th, a debate on Woman Suffrage, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., took place at a reception at the residence of the Misses Stuart, Upper Cheyne Row, Chelsea. Mr. G. K. Mills presided, and the gathering included Lady Buxton, Lord Glenconner, Mrs. Eardley-Wilmot, Lieutenant-Colonel Welby, Admiral Sir E. Fremantle, the Hon. W. and Mrs. Sidney, Lady Owen-Mackenzie, Miss Gladys Pott, and others. The debate was opened by Miss Gladys Pott, who said she was afraid the position of Anti-Suffragists was sometimes quite misunderstood. They were primarily a society not for trying to show they were satisfied with the present condition of things around them, but a society banded together under the conviction that the suggested remedy of the Suffrage was not a remedy for the particular evils which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists agreed were evils in the world around them. It had not yet been proved that the vote in the hands of women was a remedy for the evils that obtained. She denied that women's interests had been neglected; Factory Act legislation since 1840 amply demonstrated that. Mrs. Francis Acland, of the London Society for Women Suffrage, replied, and said that Suffragists claimed freedom, the privilege and responsibility of the vote. A general discussion followed.

Cheltenham.—At the invitation of the Cheltenham Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League, a public debate took place in the Supper Room of the Town Hall on December 3rd, between Miss Gladys Pott, of the N.L.O.W.S., and Mrs. Frances Swiney, President of the Cheltenham Women's Suffrage Society. The room was crowded and the audience divided themselves into two parties.

Mr. G. A. Peake announced the terms of the debate, viz.: "That the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be contrary to the interests of the British Empire," and then the rules under which it was to be conducted. Each of the openers would be allotted 25 minutes, then each would be allowed a further 10 minutes, after which five-minute speeches would be allowed to members of the audience who sent up their names in writing. No vote would be taken on the subject of the debate.

Miss Pott's speech we have quoted elsewhere. Mrs. Swiney replied that throughout her opponent's speech there had been no mention of the word justice, and it was on this plea that she based the claim of women to the vote.

Dean Swift had said that: "Government of the governed without their consent is the very definition of slavery"; and this was the state of women when they were treated in the same way as criminals and lunatics.

Justice was allowed to women in the Colonies and to the small nations of the world; but it could not be given to women at the centre of a great Empire. The country which we spoke of with such pride was really in dire need of reform; this was proved by the thousands who left England every day for her Colonies.

Physical force was not the power to bind a community together; the spiritual forces of soul and spirit which would make for real union could be well supplied by women. The majority of town councils, of trade and labour councils, were in favour of Woman Suffrage. Heads of all religious denominations, great men of science, of art, of literature, were all on their side; and Mrs. Swiney concluded her speech with quotations from Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil.

In reply, Miss Pott argued that to base the claim for the vote on justice was not a proper definition of terms. To whom was justice to be paid? She challenged Mrs. Swiney to prove that persons who had gone to the Colonies had left this country because they were homeless and out of work. It was no argument to say that because the women in Australia had the vote, therefore the women in England should have it. It would be equally logical to say that because Australia had Protection, England should have Tariff Reform.

Woman's influence for purity in politics was not proved in the case of the Bow and Bromley election, and although conditions of life in our great cities was bad, there was no proof that they would be better if women had the vote.

Mrs. Swiney quoted from various Australian and New Zealand statesmen as to the beneficial effect of Woman Suffrage in those parts of the Empire. She also compared the hopeful outlook on life of the colonial with the hopelessness of the Londoner.

Various other people spoke, and at the close a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the speakers and to the Chairman.

Colwyn Bay.—A public debate was held on December 2nd on the question whether social reform is impeded by the withholding of votes from women. Colonel A. A. Sarson took the chair.

Miss Crosfield moved:—"That the exclusion of women from the Parliamentary franchise blocks the way of social reform." She argued that some of the most menial work was being done by women, which did away with the men's idea of chivalry towards the other sex. She said that it was due to the women's franchise agitation that the "White Slave" Traffic Bill had been passed. Women should have the same rights as men; in Australia and Norway, where women had the vote, the wages of men and women were equal.

Mr. R. Thomson, who opposed the resolution, contended that such a statement was not true in substance or in fact. Parliamentary history for generations had been replete with social reforms; its aim was a desire for the progress of both sexes. Withholding the vote from women could not, therefore, block the way to further reforms.

Miss Clayton seconded the resolution, and a number of other speeches were made.

Crouch End.—A meeting of the Crouch End Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at the Coleridge Hall on November 22nd. Mr. G. H. Bower took the chair, and the principal speaker was Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. She argued that votes for women meant that the balance of power in elections would be in the hands of the Suffragists. The emancipation of women meant the emancipation of men from their family and social responsibilities.

Dorking.—A successful public meeting was held at the Reading Room, Westcott, on December 3rd. Mr. R. W. Barclay presided over a large attendance, amongst whom were Mrs. R. W. Barclay, Miss Loughborough (Hon. Sec.), Major Hicks (Hon. Treasurer), Lady Florence Blunt, Miss Pennington, and others.

An interesting speech was made by Miss Helen Page, and at the conclusion the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried, with three dissentients.

Several new members were enrolled as a result of this meeting.

Golder's Green.—A well-attended drawing-room meeting was given for the Golder's Green and Garden Suburb Branch on Monday, November 18th, by Mrs. Kirby, at 92, Hampstead Way. The Rev. B. G. Bourchier was in the chair, and interesting speeches were made by Mrs. Blomfield and Miss Lindo Henry. The former drew attention to the small use which women make of the municipal powers which they already have and by means of which they might so greatly help other women and children. Miss Lindo Henry said that a much better way of raising women's wages than the Parliamentary vote was to have a consumers' union, such as is being tried in America, the members of which refuse to deal with firms who employ sweated labour, and insist on a reasonable wage being paid to workers. After the speeches, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put to the meeting and carried with no dissentients. A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman and speakers, and also to the hostess, who kindly provided tea for those present.

Hackney.—A public meeting was held at the Hackney Town Hall on November 26th, under the auspices of the local Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Councillor E. A. Clifford presided, and in opening the proceedings he read a letter from Lord Curzon of Kedleston, which said that such meetings were "having an invaluable effect, as showing how strong, and indeed universal, is the feeling against Woman Suffrage; how greatly it is disliked both by women and men; how foolish it would be if this country were to make a political experiment that has never been tried by any great nation; and how scandalous it would be if such a resolution were carried by a Parliament elected on entirely different issues, with no vestige of a mandate to legislate about Woman Suffrage at all."

Sir Maurice Levy then moved the resolution opposing the extension of the Suffrage to women. He said that by thus extending the franchise it meant that women would eventually wish to sit in Parliament and in the Cabinet. How little real desire there was among them to share in administrative work could be proved by statistics; for out of 24,814 Guardians, 1,327 were women; out of 11,140 Town Councillors, 24 were women; out of 10,166 Urban District Councillors, 6 only were women; and there were only four women County Councillors in the county.

The woman's movement was showing itself as dangerous to public life and property, and they could not feel justified in giving the vote to those who proved themselves to be incapable of it.

Once given, it would be impossible to limit the franchise, so that at election times the women would be the dominating factor.

If women laboured under unfavourable industrial conditions, it was largely because of their lack of organisation; if they combined, their influence could remedy most things; but for men to give women the vote would be for them to surrender their position as individuals responsible for the maintenance of the Empire.

Mrs. Harold Norris seconded the resolution, and said that women's enfranchisement would weaken the State. It was useless to compare the British Empire with other countries where women had the vote, because the complications and responsibilities were entirely different.

She pointed out the illogical behaviour of the militant Suffragists, who expected to be protected by a force for which they refused to pay.

Mr. Arthur Pott also spoke, and showed that economic history did not bear out the statement that better wages followed the granting of the vote.

Many questions were asked, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

Hampstead.—A debate organised by the Hampstead Branch of the W.S.P.U. was held on December 5th at 312, Finchley Road. Mrs. Norris kindly lent her drawing-room for the occasion. The chair was taken by Mrs. Gouch.

Mrs. Harold Norris opened the debate and spoke strongly and convincingly against Woman Suffrage.

She was opposed by Miss Gladice Keevil, who dwelt principally on the grievances of women under existing laws.

Each speaker was allowed 20 minutes, and at the conclusion no vote was taken, as this had been stipulated beforehand.

Hastings.—A well-attended meeting on behalf of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on December 3rd at the Christ Church Parish Rooms, St. Leonards. Brigadier-General Caulfeild presided, and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Harold Norris.

Mrs. Norris said that the primary reason why they were opposed to Woman Suffrage was that they considered that it would mean a weakening of the State. A vote implied physical force; in a general election the result, roughly speaking, was that the majority of the physical force of the country was on the same side as the majority of the votes. Mentally and physically women were not as strong as men, because their duties had always been different.

A general election depended upon public opinion, and this was as much or perhaps more in the hands of women than of men; practically, however, thirteen million women voters beside twelve million men would totally upset the equilibrium of the State.

Suffragists contended that women were unrepresented in Parliament; but the changes that affect the working man are bound to affect the working woman; hence a man in considering himself is also considering a woman.

The vote did not mean a rise in wages; there was no connection between the two. What the Anti-Suffragists regretted was that so many women had to work. The ideal was a State in which there were few working women, where the man was the husband and father who earned good wages to support his family.

In conclusion, Mrs. Norris pointed out that legislative reforms

depended upon the morals of a nation, and in raising the morals women had the greater share.

The Chairman then invited questions. The invitation was at once taken up by a number of Suffragists at the back of the room, who kept Mrs. Norris busily engaged till the close of the meeting.

Hawkhurst.—Two excellent meetings have been held, one at Elm Hill by invitation, at which a new Sub-Branch was founded; the other took the form of a debate at the Church Institute, in which several well-known residents joined in the discussion. Questions were answered by Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Ross Thomson, and the meeting ended with a tea party, which was much enjoyed.

Highbury.—A drawing-room meeting was held on December 9th, by kind permission of Mrs. Merriam, 79, Highbury New Park. Interesting speeches were given by Mrs. Lane and Mr. Robertson. Mrs. Lane pointed out that a rise in wages did not depend on the vote; in Australia and New Zealand there had not been a great increase in women's wages since they had been given the franchise.

Mr. Robertson emphasized the inefficiency of the woman worker as compared with the man. He declared that women do not use the power that they already possess in the municipal vote, because, taken as a whole, they are less interested in politics than a man.

A vote of thanks was passed to the speakers and to Mrs. Merriam; and one or two people present have since joined the branch.

Kensington.—A MEETING AND A PLAY.—On Thursday, December 5th, the Kensington Branch held a meeting at Queen's Gate Hall, when the speakers were Mrs. Colquhoun and Mr. H. S. Williams. Mrs. Macmillan took the chair, and an Anti-Suffrage play was performed.

Mrs. Colquhoun dealt with the logical results of the economic independence of woman, and read from Suffragist books descriptions of the home life of the future, when the mother, equally with the father, is engaged in outside and professional work, and the house and children are delivered over to "trained experts." It did not seem quite clear where these trained experts would come from, since the whole field of work would be open to women, and the tendency to despise "menial occupations" would certainly lead to a plethora of women in the more attractive professions and a slump in house servants. Mr. Williams, in a well-informed and circumstantial speech, dealt with fallacies concerning women in the labour market. He gave striking figures respecting wages both at home and in Woman Suffrage countries, and asserted that the last census of labour showed a distinct tendency for the decrease (in proportion to population) rather than an increase in the number of wage-earning women. Had the census included the present year, this tendency would have been more marked, for it is the bad cycles of trade, through one of which we have just passed, which drive an increasing number of married women to work. Mr. Williams agreed with Mrs. Colquhoun that in opposition to the Suffragist ideal every woman should take a share in the industrial and professional work of the world, the Anti-Suffrage theory is that no woman should be forced to labour outside her home.

The play which followed is a one-act comedy by "Emil Lock," a member of the Kensington Branch, who most kindly undertook all the arrangements. The scene is "When the Vote is Won," prior to the first election after the granting of votes to women. The constituency is one in which women's votes are to men's as three to one; and an energetic committee of ladies has invited the prospective member—not to ascertain his views, but to tell him theirs, that he may know what he is expected to do. They make it clear to him that he is to go to Westminster to represent their interests. One woman, however, demurs to this view of his duties, and in a fine, patriotic speech urges that the interests of the Empire and the nation come before all sectional or sex questions. She eventually carries the day with the candidate, who loses his chance of the seat, but gains a charming wife. The characterisation of the different types of Suffragist was particularly clever. Lady Wilson, acted by Mrs. Herbert Bennett, was the modern Mrs. Jellaby to the life; while Miss Bennett as Mrs. Garland gave a clever rendering of the fashionable Suffragist with no real convictions. The foolish, shallow Elizabeth Ryan of Miss Amy Abercromby, who would only go to a church where the clergyman was in favour of Woman Suffrage, and who had pledged herself not to contribute to any cause, even charity, "until woman is the absolute equal of man," is a type most of us have met; while Miss Elsa Hall looked the strong-minded Suffragist to the life, and made her points with great effect. Mr. Raymond was a most life-like curate, whose appeal for personal service for the poor met with little enthusiasm from ladies in the full tide of political manoeuvres; while Mr. Kenneth Basham as the late and Mr. Harry Gribble as the prospec-

tive candidates filled their parts admirably. We have kept the part of Edith Wilson till the last, because as the champion of the Anti-Suffrage view of woman in politics Miss Edith Vivian naturally won our keenest admiration. Her long patriotic speech was delivered with a sweetness of voice and gentle sincerity of manner which were most convincing, and we were never in a moment's doubt as to the choice of the candidate. Perhaps the most welcome note in this cleverly written little propaganda play is that in which the heroine is made to urge her lover not to try to ingratiate himself by acceding to requests which his judgment condemns, but to "be a man," and act on a man's judgment and with a man's sense of full responsibility for what he believes to be the welfare of the country as a whole. Inquiries respecting this play should be addressed, under cover, to the author, care of Mrs. Colquhoun.

Liverpool and Birkenhead.

Birkenhead.—A meeting of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held at 16, Beresford Road, by invitation of Miss Gostenhofer. The Chair was taken by Mr. Joseph Heap. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke, and a Birkenhead Branch of the League was formed and officials elected.

Ainsdale.—An interesting debate was held in the St. John's Parochial Hall. The Chair was taken by Mr. Nield. Miss Covell from Southport spoke in favour of the Suffrage, and Miss Cordelia Moir (Manchester) spoke against it. An animated discussion followed, resulting in the Suffrage resolution being defeated by a large majority.

Blundellsands and Crosby.—With the object of forming a Blundellsands and Crosby Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., a drawing-room meeting was held on the afternoon of December 11th, at "Rhianna," Blundellsands. Mrs. J. W. P. Laird presided, and a most excellent address was delivered by Miss Moir, of Manchester. At the close of the meeting several people signified their intention of becoming members of the new Branch.

Manchester.—This has been a very busy month for Manchester, as shown by the large number of debates which have taken place, and there is an increased activity among our members. We had a good number of offers of help, voluntarily, to assist us in the committee-rooms during the by-election at Bolton, and to all such helpers we offer our best thanks.

On November 27th, Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., put our side of the case before the Moston League of Young Liberals. The audience were very sympathetic, although not very large. A public discussion took place, but no vote was taken.

On the same date Mr. H. W. Barber addressed a meeting at the Temperance Rooms, Sale, under the auspices of the Sale British Social Party. No vote was taken, but much interest was shown, and Mr. Barber was asked to come again.

On December 3rd, a debate was held at Oldham, under the auspices of the Oldham Co-operative Debating Society, between Miss Fraser (Suffragist) and Miss Cordelia Moir (Anti-Suffragist). There was a large and interested audience. No vote was taken, but the feeling of the meeting seemed fairly divided in sympathy.

On December 4th, a debate took place under the auspices of the Urmston Women's Co-operative Guild in the large Co-operative Hall, Urmston; the speakers were Miss C. Leadley Brown (Suffragist) and Miss C. Moir (Anti-Suffragist). There was a very small audience present. The Suffrage resolution was passed.

On December 5th, a very interesting debate took place between Miss Lovell (Suffragist) and Miss Cordelia Moir (Anti-Suffragist), under the auspices of the Ainsdale Literary Society, at Ainsdale. It was particularly interesting, as neither Suffrage nor Anti-Suffrage society had any part in its arrangements, and one could not know beforehand what the feelings of the audience would be. A very brisk discussion followed the debate; a Suffrage resolution was put and was overwhelmingly defeated amid great enthusiasm, and a considerable number of persons have given in their names as anxious to join our League and to help in the formation of a Local Branch.

On December 13th, a debate was arranged by the South Manchester League of Young Liberals and the South Manchester Branch of the Women's Liberal Federation jointly. It was a wet and stormy night and the audience was disappointingly small, only about half a dozen members of the League of Young Liberals being present and about 20 members of the W.L.F. The vote was confined to members of these two organisations, although there were some outsiders present. The Suffrage resolution was carried by 15 votes to 11, but in view of the fact that only the keenest Suffragists of the W.L.F. would venture out on such a night, this result cannot be regarded as significant.

Marple.—The Annual General Meeting of the Marple Branch was held on Monday, the 16th inst., when a resolution moving the

adoption of the report and balance sheet was carried. It was satisfactory to note there was a balance on the right side, and some of the ladies present offered to double their subscriptions this year in view of the need of financial support for our cause.

A debate was arranged by the Women's Liberal Association at Rochdale on the 19th inst. We were given to understand there was a strong local Suffrage organisation, and it is the first time any representative of our League has been in the town, so that it was quite encouraging to find that, although the Suffrage resolution was carried, it was only carried by a small majority, and there appeared to be a considerable anti-Suffrage feeling among the audience, which was almost entirely composed of women.

Mayfair and St. George's.—A numerously attended meeting of the Mayfair and St. George's Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held at 45, Eaton Place, by invitation of the Hon. Lady Tryon, who was in the chair. An interesting address was given by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who also spoke of her experiences during the Bow and Bromley election campaign. Miss Helen Page, from the Central Office, made an urgent appeal for funds to carry on the work of the League. Lady Haversham proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Helen Page, who has just given up the Hon. Secretaryship of the Branch. Lady Dawkins proposed, and the Rev. E. S. Hilliard seconded, a vote of thanks to Lady Tryon and the speakers.

Newbury.—A largely attended meeting was held in the Lecture Hall, Newbury, on December 11th, under the auspices of the Newbury Branch of the N.L.O.W.S.; the Hon. Mrs. Farquhar in the chair.

A resolution against votes for women was moved by Mrs. Greatbatch and seconded by Mr. A. Maconachie, who argued against the "Norwegian" amendment, especially on the ground that it would be inherently unjust to men that a man's vote on political affairs could be neutralised by that of his wife. It was the man who was the head of the house by nature and by law. He was held responsible by the State for the maintenance of the home and its inmates, and had all sorts of civic liabilities laid upon him from which the wife was exempt. And he was, in the normal and usual case, the breadwinner on whom all the rest depended. It would be perfectly monstrous that in such circumstances his wife should be able to counter and cancel all his wishes with regard to public policy, which, in nine cases out of ten, he was also far the better judge.

The resolution was carried with one dissident.

Newtown.—From Newtown, where a Branch has just been formed, Miss Hughes writes that she has addressed a meeting of about 40 men at Messrs. Jones & Leach's timber yard. One of the proprietors, who was there, told her afterwards how surprised he was to see the men listen so attentively, as this was very unusual. She concluded, therefore, that they were interested in the subject, and that they were agreed that it was a good cause, for the resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed unanimously.

Oxford.—The Oxford Branch gave an At Home on December 5th, when Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke on behalf of the N.L.O.W.S. The Municipal Assembly Room was filled, and about 320 members and associates were present.

Mrs. Massie (who presided) said that there was no greater fallacy than the Suffragist argument, which said that the vote implied better wages and better conditions of work. In the case of domestic servants wages had increased, not because the women had the vote, but because the supply had not been equal to the demand; and the same was true of all work.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon then gave an interesting and spirited address.

She said that the Suffragists could not realise the seriousness of what they were demanding, since a vote necessarily implied a certain amount of responsibility in the government of a country. The preponderance of a million or so women over men would mean that the greater part of safeguarding the Empire would lie with the women, and this was impossible; chiefly because if women looked after their proper affairs they would not have time for the affairs of a nation.

Suffragists evidently disregarded the duties of home and motherhood for those of Imperial legislation; but Anti-Suffragists could not support this.

The minimum wage would not benefit women—it would rather add to their troubles; for if the wage were fixed at that earned by the man, thousands of girls would be thrown out of work. If, on the other hand, the minimum was to be a woman's wage, a man could not marry, as he would earn just enough to support himself.

The vote was demanded by comparatively few women; the majority of the women were against the Suffrage.

After the vote of thanks had been passed, there followed an enjoyable entertainment. Several friends were kind enough to provide music, and the Misses Jelf performed a duologue, entitled "At Cross Purposes," specially written for the occasion.

At the close of the evening, 50 to 60 new associates were enrolled.

Portsmouth.—There was an animated meeting at the Albert Hall, Southsea, on the evening of December 12th, organised by the Portsmouth Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Major Dixon (Southampton) took the chair, and said that although the Suffragists were in the minority, yet they made such a disproportionate display of their demands that it had become imperative for those who were opposed to Woman Suffrage to let their voice be heard.

Miss Pott then spoke. She argued that in spite of the assertions of her opponents, the vote in the hands of women would not work for the good of the Empire. The vote implied not only social reforms but questions of Empire and defence and when the interests of the community clashed with those of the individual, the latter must give way to the former. Women, as a body, were so busily engaged in their daily life with small details of the house that they did not develop the sense of relative values, and would therefore not make good voters.

Laws of the last fifty years proved that legislation did not neglect the interests of women, and if this was attributable to woman's influence their views could not be said to be unrepresented. It was no argument to say that because Woman Suffrage worked well in Australia, it would work well in England; circumstances and conditions must be considered in this as in all other questions.

Several questions were asked and ably answered by the speaker, and at the conclusion no resolution was called.

Purley and Sanderstead.—A successful drawing-room meeting was held on November 15th, at Cobham, Sanderstead, by kind permission of Mrs. Masters. Miss E. B. Stuart was the speaker, and the chair was taken by Mrs. Griggs, who gave a short address.

The resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried unanimously, and after the meeting several new members were enrolled.

Reading.—A debate took place on December 17th at Reading School in connection with the School Debating Society. Mrs. Stocks spoke for the Anti-Suffragists against Miss Maxwell of the N.U.W.S.S. (Bracknell Branch). It was a keenly-contested debate, in which a number of the members of the society took part. Eventually the Anti-Suffrage motion won by 52 votes to 43.

Richmond.—An interesting meeting, organised by the Richmond Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., was held on November 17th, at the Central Hall, Parkshot. The speakers were Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. Arthur Pott. Mr. Alderman Edgar, J.P., took the chair.

Mr. Pott dealt chiefly with the economic arguments against Woman Suffrage, proving that work and wages have no real connection with the vote.

Miss Trevor (President), on behalf of the Secretary, presented Mrs. Norris with a bouquet and made an excellent speech.

The room was well filled, various new members were enrolled, and the resolution was carried with only two dissentients.

For this successful evening thanks are due to the various local Branches for their strong support.

Streatham.—A successful meeting was held at the Streatham Town Hall on November 27th. Mr. Clifford Thomas presided, and the principal speakers were Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel, LL.B., and Miss Mabel Smith.

Mr. Wenyon Samuel said that the question as to whether women were in favour of the vote had been decided in the Bow and Bromley district by the Suffrage candidate being defeated by 800 votes. He was sure that this would always be the case, for questions affecting women could be adequately dealt with by the present system of government.

An Empire depended for its success on consistency. We could not have that when women who wished to vote for an Imperial Parliament were so divided.

Women in Finland could not be compared with women in England, because they belonged to a small country, to one that had no army.

Miss Mabel Smith referred to the impossible reforms which the Suffragists claimed, would be brought about when women had the vote. The reforms were so impossible that, fortunately, they could not impose on anybody.

In England, women's direct voice in legislation was not necessary; for although men nominally ruled, yet they in their turn were ruled by women, and so far they had done it successfully without a vote.

A number of questions were asked at the close of the meeting, and a vote of thanks to the speakers and the Chairman was passed.

Wantage.—A debate upon Woman Suffrage took place in the Victoria Cross Gallery, Wantage, on Saturday evening, December 14th, when a resolution against granting the Parliamentary franchise to women was carried by an overwhelming majority. The chair was taken by Mr. Robson, and the speakers were Miss Gladys Pott, of the N.L.O.W.S., and Mrs. Tanner of the Women's Freedom League. Questions were invited from the audience, the replies being greatly appreciated by the partisans of the respective speakers, and throughout the evening the greatest interest was shown in the proceedings. Miss Pott argued that the vote in the hands of women was not only undesirable in the interests of the Empire, but would prove no remedy for the difficulties about which the Suffragists talked so much. Mrs. Tanner defended militancy as being a necessary weapon with which to awaken an apathetic public, but this was not received with any sympathy from the audience. Votes of thanks to the speakers were moved by Lady Wantage and Dr. Loveday.

Weybridge.—A representative meeting of the Weybridge Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. was held on November 30th, at Field Place, by kind permission of Mrs. Jool, when the President, Mrs. Charles Churchill, and the Committee were at Home.

An address was given by Mr. J. Gore Browne, K.C., confuting in a logical manner the Suffragist contentions that the possession of the vote would remove social evils and increase the purity of politics.

The speaker emphasised the disregard of all law and order evinced by militant Suffragists, and the political immorality of the

alliance between Suffragists of all shades of opinion and the Labour Party.

A charming play followed, acted by Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Arthur Knollys, and Miss Gibbons; and instrumental and vocal music was given by the Hon. Mrs. Grosvenor and Miss N. Thornton.

Woking.—Major Sir Edward Clayton C.B., J.P., presided over the second annual meeting of the Woking Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., held on November 28th, at the Central Assembly Rooms.

The report of the year was read, which was in many ways most encouraging. The Hon. Mrs. Grosvenor moved the adoption of the report, and Major-General Cotter seconded.

Miss Page, from head-quarters, gave an interesting account of the work of the League during the year, and outlined their future policy.

The Girls' Anti-Suffrage League.

The Girls' Anti-Suffrage League held their third annual ball on Friday, November 29th, at the Grafton Galleries. The guests numbered over 300. Amongst the patronesses were Lady Bruce, Lady Burrows, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, the Countess of Cromer, the Lady Haversham, Lady Hyde, the Countess of Jersey, the Dowager Countess of Limerick, Mrs. Percival Ridout, Miss Gladys Pott, the Lady Robson, the Lady Harcourt Smith, Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Mrs. Percy Thomas, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and the Lady Weardale. There were also present Capt. Monteagle Browne, the Countess of Carnwarth, Lieut.-Colonel Gore, Mrs. Hill, Mrs. George Macmillan, Mrs. Hird Morgan, and Mrs. W. F. K. Taylor.

LEAFLETS.

- 3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. Price 1s. per 100.
- 4. Queen Victoria and Women's Rights. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. Price 1s. per 100.
- 8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. Price 1s. per 100.
- 9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
- 13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- 15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
- 16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- 18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
- 24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- 25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- 27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
- 29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- 30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- 31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
- 34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. Price 7s. per 1,000.
- 36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
- 37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
- 38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.
- 40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- 43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
- 45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
- 47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
- 51. Suffragist Fallacies. A Mandate (?). Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 52. Manifesto. Why the Nation is Opposed. 4s. per 1,000.
- 53. Power and Responsibility. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 55. "Votes for Women" Never! Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- 56. The Prime Minister's "Conciliation" Bill Against Votes for Women. Price 5s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- g. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- h. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- i. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- j. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- k. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.

- l. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- m. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- n. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d.
- o. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- q. Why Women should not have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
- r. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.
- s. "Songs for Suffs," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
- t. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
- The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
- Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
- u. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
- v. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.
- w. Suffragette Sing-Song. Price 2d.
- x. A Memorandum on Woman Suffrage, by Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P. Price 1d.
- y. Woman Suffrage: Its Meaning and Effect. By Arthur Page, B.A. Price 1d.
- z. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
- AA. Lecture by Miss Pott. Price 1d.
- The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

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

Lord Charnwood's Pamphlet, "Legislation for the Protection of Women," price 2d.; Mr. Harold Owen's book, "Woman Adrift," price 4s. 6d. net; and "The House of the Suffragette," by Nita Simmonds, price 6d., may be obtained on application to these Offices.

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Assistant Secretary: Miss Gunning, 43, Belsize Park Gardens.

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NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD—
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wacstaff.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Housden, 19, Compton Road, Highbury.

HIGHGATE—
President and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. J. W. Cowley, 11, Croftdown Road, Highgate Road, N.W.
Hon. Treasurer: Colonel J. W. Cowley.

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President: Mary Countess of Ilchester. [S.W.]
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mason, 83, Cornwall Gardens.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 23, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Luck.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes II, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S—
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Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of Ancaster.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.
Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*): Miss Benkingsop, who will be at 1, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W., on Mondays, 10 a.m. to 12.30 to answer enquiries and give information.

PADDINGTON—
President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale.
Deputy President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs. Percy Thomas, 52, Colcherne Court, S.W.
All communications to be addressed to Miss Hogarth, 41, Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W.

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Hon. Secretary: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower, Tower of London, E.C.

MIDDLESEX.

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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirkconel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.
Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.
All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the present.

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EALING SOUTH—
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All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan as above.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Harland, Harefield Vicarage, Uxbridge.

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Secretary: Miss F. Daynes, Longnor, Shrewsbury.

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LEEK—
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SUFFOLK.

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Chairman: Mrs. Jutson.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Haward, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe.

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WOODBIDGE—
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate, Woodbridge.

SURREY.

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Vice-President: Miss Harris.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rindall, West View, Reigate
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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville," Salisbury Road, Worthing.

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks, 37, Clifton Road, Rugby.
SOLIHULL—
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Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Field, Talton House, Stratford-on-Avon; G. Wells Taylor, Esq., Avon Cottage, Stratford-on-Avon.
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Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Olivier, The Close, Salisbury.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Hill, Avonturn, Alderbury.
Chalke Valley (Sub-Branch)—
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Hon. Secretary: William Flux, Esq., Hanley Swan.
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Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.
Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.
STOURBRIDGE—
(See Birmingham District.)
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Vice-President: Mrs. Charles Coventry.
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Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbot, 77, St. Mary's Road, Manningham, Bradford.
District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Miss Casson, 73, Ashwell Road, Manningham, Bradford; Mrs. G. A. Mitchell, Jesmond cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.
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Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley Rectory, Leeds.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Kendell, Oriol Lodge, Scarborough.
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Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood Park Road.
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.
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Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.
Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
NEWPORT (Mon.)—
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(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
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Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.
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CUPAR—
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Vice-President: Lady Low.
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Assistant Secretary: Mrs. D. Wallace, Gowan Park.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochee.
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Kilmaolm (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, Lynnden, Kilmaolm.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Ainslie, 76, Pollok Street.

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Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary Gardens, Nairn.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Killock, Craigour, Milton Road, Kirkcaldy.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Pye, Bogie, Kirkcaldy.
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Vice-President: Mrs. Harriet.
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Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
Secretary: Miss White, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

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ABERDOVEY—
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Hon. Secretary: Miss S. Williams, "Ardudwy," Aberdovey.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bell, "Môr Awelon."
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Hon. Secretary: Mr. Arthur Hawkes, The Library.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Hughes, "Bodnant," Upper Bangor.
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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. J. T. Lewis.
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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. W. Jones, "Bryfdir."
Hon. Secretary:
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Evelyn Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.
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Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Lloyd Jones, "Bryn Seiont," Twthill, Carnarvon.
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool House.
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Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gladstone Jones; Miss Glynn, "Plas Grollym," Criccieth.
MACHYNLLETH—
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer (pro tem): Mr. Alfred Jones, The Square.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rees, Trinalt.
NEWTOWN—
Branch formed, but no officials elected as yet.
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