

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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POSTAGE ON THE "REVIEW."

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

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AT HEADQUARTERS.

MEETINGS of the Executive Committee have been held on July 4th, 18th, and 26th. As there were several vacancies for co-opted members the following were asked to join the Committee and accepted the invitation: Mrs. Burgwin, Mrs. Greatbatch, Earl Percy, Lord Charnwood, and Mr. Heber Hart. The Literature Committee has also been re-constituted under the chairmanship of Lord Charnwood, and now includes the following members:—Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Lockhart, Mrs. Jeyes, Mr. J. Massie, and Mr. Heber Hart.

"THE SIN OF WITCHCRAFT."

It is of common occurrence for Suffragist writers and speakers to make merry over the fears of their opponents. Convinced of the righteousness of their cause or heedless of its merits, they scout any and every foreboding that the grant of Woman Suffrage may not entail all that is claimed for it. To some enthusiasts woman is the gentler sex, the mother, not merely the producer, of the race, the repository of its domestic virtues; and it seems impossible that her assistance in the management of the affairs of State should fail to make for purity of public life and for moral progress. To others, woman is of equal importance to the body politic as man, the parliamentary vote is an inherent right, therefore woman ought to possess it and nothing else matters. Much, however, has happened to throw doubt upon the infallibility of this political idyll.

If justification for Suffragist views be insisted upon, the doubter is referred to countries where women already have the vote. But the analogy breaks down at once. On the one hand the conditions and re-

sponsibilities of the States where Woman Suffrage is being tried do not stand comparison with those of this country; on the other hand, in no Woman Suffrage State do women stand convicted of the excesses that have marked the demand for the vote in Great Britain. Suffragists have been known to make answer that the trouble is not a concomitant of female enfranchisement but of the Anti-Suffrage movement, or that no great electoral reform has been introduced without violence. The first answer is but a quibble; in regard to the second, the riots and outrages referred to have been largely the work of the lower orders, whose lawlessness has profited by intense public excitement or disorder; they have not been deliberately planned and carried out as a set policy as in the case of Suffragists who would establish their fitness to share in the government of the country. It is an important distinction. The bulk of the women who are claiming the vote have shown that they regard militancy, the boycott, the abnegation of all principles, in order to obtain the one end in view, as legitimate devices in political life. These are the very women who would force themselves into Parliament, if female enfranchisement were

introduced. It is obvious that their presence would lower and not raise the standard of public life, even if it did not render impossible the present parliamentary system.

Suffragist excesses have now reached such a pitch that it becomes necessary to examine chivalrous beliefs in the light of historic facts. In the record of one Suffrage Society we have it established that a woman's organisation is capable of systematised conspiracy. Within the space of a week we have seen women arrested for attempts to set fire to a private house and a theatre, and for throwing a hatchet into a carriage containing the Prime Minister and his wife, while gunpowder and petrol have formed part of the materials stored by them in the course of promoting their cause. Anti-Suffragists are not going to deduce from these incidents anything that invalidates the theory that in her individual capacity woman is the gentler sex, the mother of the race, the repository of its domestic virtues; but they cannot allow to pass unchallenged the contention that all women are good, are honest, and are endowed with an infallible sense of justice. There are among men who have the vote those who are as noble, moral and just as any women; yet politics are what they are. Suffragists have yet to learn of the mirages in the political desert, and they cannot be allowed to beg the whole question of Woman Suffrage by pleading that woman's influence must necessarily uplift the moral standard of politics. Women took part in the French Revolution, but it has never been claimed that they raised the tone of that great movement. On the contrary, we know that while one woman, Madame Robert, exercised considerable influence over the course of the revolution, remaining herself dissociated from violence and taking little part in political life, women in the aggregate were guilty of the worst excesses and took the lead in most of the riots and outrages of those times. The women of the lowest class completely swamped the more educated ones, it has been pointed out; and Madame Robert, after

being relegated into impotence, was eventually guillotined. Suffragists would embark light-heartedly upon a grave constitutional change. If they pause to consider history in the light of recent events, they will be forced to admit that they have already called up spirits from the unknown which they can no longer control, and theirs would not be the first rebellion that has passed out of hand.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Alliance.

THE alliance with the Labour or Socialist party looms large on the Suffragist horizon. It is known as the New Policy, and the organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies wrote about it on July 11th as follows:—

It (the New Policy) is undergoing the crucial test at Hanley and Crewe—these two contests are for the Labour Party a matter of life and death. They must be for us a triumphant demonstration that the organised power of the women's movement can turn the scales in the electoral balance. . . . It is here (at Hanley) that the Suffrage movement can make its influence felt. . . . Labour is faced by a real danger. It is fighting for its independence. . . . we can throw our weight decisively into the scale of our better friends.

Two days later the result of the Hanley poll provided the "triumphant demonstration" of what the Suffragist alliance means for Labour and what the electorate thinks of Woman Suffrage:—

| HANLEY, DECEMBER, 1910. | |
|--|--------------|
| Labour without the help of the Suffragist Alliance | 8,343 |
| Unionists | 4,658 |
| Majority (without Suffragists) | 3,685 |

| HANLEY, JULY, 1912. | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Liberal | 6,647 |
| Unionist | 5,993 |
| Labour | 1,694 |

Labour minority with the help of the Suffragist Alliance 4,953

Yet from Suffragist platforms we shall still hear the claim that the shouting of the few constitutes the greatest movement of the age.

The Science of Charity.

IN this issue we bring to an end an interesting series of articles on "The Science of Charity," by Lady Rose Weigall. No one who has read the four articles can fail to have been impressed by the wide sphere of activity that they have unfolded for women in the practical work of furthering our national interests. Charity has come, unfortunately, to be restricted in popular language to gifts of money, and it may be that to some readers the title of the series has appeared to indicate a subject outside their immediate concern. The writer, however, took as her theme not the distribution of doles but charitable work of all kinds, the real aim of which, it was pointed out, is to raise the social conscience among our poorer brethren to a higher level. Within this wide field lie the opportunity and the duty of all. Here to hand will be found the fullest possible scope for those women who maintain that they are denied the rights of citizenship, that the country ignores the intelligence and energy that they are so eager to devote to its welfare. The State does need the co-operation of its women; not, however, as a weak imitation of man, but as complementary to him in a sphere essentially a woman's, that man can never make his own. Can it be doubted that, if half the women who are now clamouring for the Parliamentary vote could be induced to take a practical interest in the "homes of the State," i.e., the homes of their poorer sisters, by enabling these to make the fullest use of all the advantages that the existing legislation offers them in regard to Poor Law matters, sanitation and education—can it be doubted that the spirit of unrest that now stalks about unchecked would be in great measure exorcised? It is not work that lends itself to parade and processions, to all the exhilaration of Press and platform publicity. But it is the work that will promote the well-being of the nation as a whole, and it is being left undone, or done only in part, while those women who have the time and means at their disposal are wasting both in a vain quest for a vote that would be injurious both to women themselves and to the nation as a whole.

Suffragism in Schools.

IN another column attention is called to an actual instance of the

abuse by the heads of schools or colleges of their position in making or countenancing deliberate attempts to make Suffragist converts of the girls in their charge. Unfortunately there is good ground for supposing that this practice is being largely indulged in by head mistresses in many parts of the country. Letters on the subject have appeared in the daily Press, and have evoked only one half-hearted disclaimer, in which the writer was at pains to obscure her own views on the question of Suffragism. It is not always possible to obtain such unmistakable evidence of what is taking place in some institutions as has been provided in the case of the Hereford Training College. Parents, however, have been warned and it is in their power to put a stop to the evil. Whatever may be the views they hold on the Suffrage question, they ought to reflect that a school where advantage is taken of the youth and inexperience of pupils in order to proselytise in any cause constitutes a training ground of very questionable merit. Such action on the part of teachers is altogether immoral, and argues complete failure to appreciate their responsibilities and their obligations to their pupils. Proselytism in these schools is not likely to be confined to Suffragism; at the hands of one or more teachers it may well run the whole gamut of fads and convictions from ultra-feminism to irreligion. The remedy in the hands of parents is a simple one. If they will take the trouble to require from the head of each school, whether day-school or boarding-school, under penalty of withdrawing their daughters, an explicit assurance that no attempt will be made to inculcate or expound political or Suffragist doctrines, an end will be put to the evil. No offence can be given to any headmistress by this action, for it will serve to remind her of the necessity of obtaining a definite assurance on this point from each mistress under her.

Another Boycott.

AT a gathering of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, held at Knightsbridge on July 9th, under the presidency of Lady Selborne, a proposal that in future Suffragists "should boycott Anti-Suffragists, should refuse to receive them or to shake hands with them," was ratified by acclamation.

It is difficult for the nineteen-twenties of the adult population of Great Britain who are not Suffragists to force themselves to take in serious vein this profound decision, for hardly any comment would be suitable that does not borrow the language of the average schoolboy. Lady Selborne and her fellow-Suffragists, however, take themselves seriously, and we must, even in this instance, try to do the same. What, then, is the moral of the Suffragists' latest tactics? One of their many claims is that the grant to women of the Parliamentary vote will improve the moral atmosphere of public life; or, as one writer expresses it, Woman Suffrage "stands for a change in the point of view of human values, for a higher and a truer morality and sense of justice." It is a tradition of the public life of Great Britain that no political antagonism should ever be reflected in personal relationships. This unwritten law is so closely connected with the British character that it is difficult to say whether it has been evolved from the healthiness of our past political life or has helped to create that healthiness. The very people who are clamouring for the grant of Woman Suffrage in order to "raise the tone" of our public life propose to gain their end by introducing into that public life the petty animosities of the proverbial fish-wife. Suffragist tactics, whether those of the inferior window-breakers, or those of the superior hand-shakers are, after all, the best indication of what Woman Suffrage would mean for the nation.

"The Educative Value of the Vote."

ONE of the main fallacies of the Suffragist movement is the idea that there is a direct relationship between the vote and the wording of Acts of Parliament. This aspect is well illustrated in an article in the current number of *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*, entitled "The Educative Value of the Vote." From beginning to end the article abounds with the *suggestio falsi*. It starts by begging the whole question with the statement that in connection with the Suffragist movement "a woman's sympathies are aroused by some special instance (injustice or hardship to a deserted

wife, to an unmarried mother or other case of a similar nature); she tries to help but soon finds how helpless she is. She then seeks the reason of this sex helplessness."

There is, of course, no sex helplessness. But what may happen is that in regard to one, two, or half-a-dozen particular laws a number of people have arrived at the conviction that they need emendation, while the bulk of the nation remains indifferent to or ignorant of the subject. To read the mass of Suffragist literature one would think that in the future general elections are to be fought on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill or infant mortality.

The writer of "The Educative Value of the Vote" still airs the hopelessly exploded theory that "the great work of combating infant mortality . . . cannot be carried to a successful conclusion without the help, political as well as material, of women." As far as the material help is concerned, the only opponents to her contention will be found among those Suffragists whose views have carried them on to a belief in "State children." In regard to the political help of women, the one Suffragist who has some reason to know the facts of the case, Mr. John Burns, has publicly announced that there is in existence all the legislation that is needed to cope with infant mortality, if only people will help in the application of the laws. The same principle applies to most of the favourite topics of Suffragists. The voter does not draft legislation, and he cannot very well be consulted on the wording of this or that clause. If women were given the vote, laws would still be drawn up as they are in most cases at present, in consultation with expert opinion of the time; they would still only be modified when public opinion demanded the change and Parliamentary business afforded the necessary opportunity.

In the case of the various subjects now exercising the Suffragist mind we have to deal with the details of certain legislative measures, drawn up in accordance with what we may call the majority enlightenment of the time. It is easy enough to declare from platforms or in official organs that this or that point needs to be altered; but if the Suffragists who make the allegation possessed one tithe of the political wisdom to which they lay claim, they would realise that these are often points on which honest

expert opinion, female as well as male, is conscientiously divided, and the matter cannot be settled in the off-hand way that they indicate. It is just this unreasoning insistence upon a particular hobby—however worthy in itself—that shows how dangerous it would be to introduce Woman Suffrage in a country with a large preponderance of female inhabitants, where Imperial considerations are of paramount importance to the very existence of the nation.

HOW SUFFRAGETTES ARE MADE.

It is well known to students of the Suffrage question that teachers in schools and colleges for women often abuse their position by trying to make proselytes amongst the young and inexperienced girls, with whom their influence is, naturally, great. This accusation has been denied by the Suffrage party, and we therefore call attention to one of the latest cases of such misuse of power, which amounts, in reality, to a serious breach of trust.

The Hereford Training College is an institution maintained out of public funds and gives instruction to more than a hundred girls, which instruction appears to include lectures and addresses by Suffragists upon their pet nostrum.

At a meeting of the Training College Sub-Committee of the Herefordshire Education Committee, held on June 30th last, a long discussion took place upon this matter, and the following facts were made public:—

(1) During last March (date not specified) a Mrs. Mayer delivered an address on Suffragism in the College, Miss Smith, the Principal of the institution, being in the chair.

(2) Miss Smith put a resolution calling upon the Government "to enfranchise women this session," as they (the members of the Hereford Training College) desire to become citizens when of full age.

(3) When these facts became known, various members of the Committee took exception to Miss Smith's action, and an inquiry was promised; as a result of that inquiry, a report was published stating that the publication of the resolution passed at the Suffrage meeting was unauthorised, and that the "Principal understands that the Committee do not desire burning political

questions to be brought before the students from outside."

This report was, evidently, an attempt to hush up a serious scandal, and really does not meet the objections of those who called attention to the action of the Principal. The complaint which they justly made was not only as to the importation of a Suffragist lecturer, but as to the use, or rather the abuse, made by Miss Smith of her important position.

(4) Encouraged apparently by the half-hearted remonstrance of her employers, Miss Smith subsequently—i.e., on May 10th—gave a pro-Suffrage address to some 25 female teachers in the elementary schools of Hereford, and that not in her private capacity, but as the Principal of the Training College.

(5) It also appears (*Hereford Times*, July 6th) that girls from the Training College, who attend the elementary schools to gain experience in teaching, go to these schools adorned with Suffragist badges bearing the inscription "Votes for Women." Also, it was admitted that Miss Smith had undertaken the office of Hon. Secretary to the "Suffragette League" (*sic*), a post which she held for some time.

The Training College Sub-Committee, in dealing with these revelations, took a somewhat wavering line, since, although disapproving Miss Smith's action, they expressed confidence in her management—a confidence which careful parents may possibly not share; and to those who do not desire their daughters to be inoculated with Suffragette virus, we would say, "Beware of schools and colleges in which the teachers are permitted to take advantage of their position by spreading the doctrines of feminism." Such conduct is mischievous and unworthy enough in the case of an ordinary school: it is far worse where the institution is a public one for the training of teachers and is supported out of public funds.

ARTHUR POTT.

THE ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

In the report of the proceedings at the Fourth Annual Council Meeting, appearing in our last issue, the following sentence was omitted from the remarks made by Lady Florence Bourke in withdrawing her motion: "As individuals, not only here but everywhere, in meeting and answering Suffragettes, we should try to understand the causes which have created the Suffrage movement."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FINLAND.

EVERYONE who is interested in the Woman Suffrage question should read Miss Edith Sellers' article, "Where Women sit in Parliament," in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Miss Sellers begins by showing that Finland was an ideal country for the experiment. It has no Imperial responsibilities; it has a well devised system of proportional representation; its people are exceptionally intelligent and well educated, boys and girls being taught together not only in the national schools but in colleges and gymnasia. Women do a great deal of work that falls to men in other countries; they are more interested in public affairs than is the rule elsewhere, and they are free from the possibility of clerical influence. Universal Suffrage (a vote is given to every man and woman over the age of 24) came into force in 1906, and since then there have been five elections, and it is possible to form an estimate of the result of women's enfranchisement. There are more women than men on the register, but at every election the proportion of women polling has been less. Miss Sellers found the most diverse opinions as to the general results of women's votes. While one person assured her that all that is good in Finland is due to Female Suffrage, another declared it to be the source of all evil. Between these extremes, however, she found a great number who declared that "as far as politics were concerned, it did not matter whether women had votes or not." As to this, however, positive proof is forthcoming that one party in the State has been strengthened—the Socialists. While many women vote as their men folk do, it was remarked by an old Finnish gentleman that "The women who do not vote as their men folk vote invariably vote Socialist." Apart from this tendency a general consensus of opinion existed that any laws which have been passed since 1906 would have had an equal chance of passing without women's votes. As to the character of the Chamber (for which women are eligible) it is impossible to prove that it has been raised. At the first election 19 women were returned, at the second 21, at the third and fourth 17, and at the election of 1910 only 14. But it has not been a case of quality rather than quantity. Fifteen out of the first 19 were, politically, extremists, and 9 of the present 14 are Social

Democrats; and by no means all at the earlier elections were either personally or politically distinguished, or even "as Cæsar held that his wife ought to be." Some of the present lady M.P.'s are both useful and distinguished, but it is notable that "under universal Suffrage it is evidently not the highly educated who receive the most votes."

The most important part of Miss Sellers' article deals with the effects of political power on women themselves. "That certain changes have come over women since they have had votes no one denies. Many women are much more active now than they were before 1906, more aggressive, more bent on being to the fore." Maidservants and women of the lower middle classes are most notably affected and not only carry the theory of liberty and equality into their relations with their employers, but have passed from that to a stage of sex antagonism. The best class of Finnish women remain much where they were. The half-educated have had their heads turned, and have lost their balance, their sense of proportion and the "sweet reasonableness" which makes life livable. Politics and feminism absorb their interests; they are eager to bear anyone's burden rather than their own. As to babies, "the opinion is gaining ground that, once they are born, it is for the State to look after them, not their own mothers."

And the corollary to this quickening of political activities? Suicide among women increased by 112 per cent. between 1905-1908; among men by only 29 per cent.; and the number of women in prisons increased by 39 per cent., and convictions in the first instance by 44 per cent. Finally, in Helsingfors, the Poor Law official who had charge of a large district said to Miss Sellers, "Oh, if only our ladies would give a little less thought to politics and a little more thought to the poor!" There are 14 women in the Finnish Diet, but only one on the Helsingfors Poor Board.

These brief but illuminating extracts from an article by such a competent observer as Miss Sellers should not deter the reader from a study of the article, which is too full of matter to be satisfactorily summarised.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN.

Mrs. BORDEN, wife of the Canadian Premier, in the course of an interview, said:—"I leave politics entirely to my husband. The social side of affairs is my side, and it is just as difficult and just as important."

MRS. CREIGHTON, ANTI-SUFFRAGIST.

THE only hope for the Suffragist cause is that its advocates should confine themselves to generalities, to appeals to chivalry, "fairness," "justice," &c., &c. Each successive attack on any definite position has been easily turned and has ended in the discomfiture of those who are honest enough to face the real facts. Thus, Suffragists have been driven back, in turn, from attempts to prove that Woman Suffrage is desirable because (1) the majority of women want it; (2) it has achieved wonders elsewhere; (3) it will enable the nation to deal more effectively with infant mortality, the practice of vice, &c.; (4) it will raise wages and improve the condition of working women; (5) taxation entails representation. It is true that all these "reasons" are still being banded from Suffragist platforms, and many an audience, while not being the least impressed by the "argument," will not have the necessary knowledge to refute the statements. In this issue, for example, we deal with some of the statements made from platforms or in print by such active Suffragists as Lady Selborne, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Mansel and Mr. Cameron Grant—statements in many cases that are glibly repeated from hundreds of platforms, probably in all good faith. There is, therefore, the fullest justification for the warning conveyed in the current number of *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*, in an article entitled "Accuracy in Argument." "It is necessary," the writer naively points out—somewhat late in the day, it is to be feared—"to emphasise the urgent need for care and accuracy in dealing with the question of Woman's Suffrage, both in writing and speaking. The force of an argument is greatly weakened when a statement or statistic (*sic*) is challenged, and no satisfactory answer can be given. This often happens on both sides of the Suffrage controversy. . . . To have to climb down publicly is humiliating, besides being damaging to the cause it is desired to help." Very sound advice; and, in passing, we would suggest that anxiety for Anti-Suffragist accuracy can hardly have prompted the remarks. But it must be a strange kind of "argument" that is based on a false "statement or statistic." Better still is our initial

advice to Suffragists to avoid these treacherous "arguments," and to indulge only in generalities.

The more experienced Suffragists, we believe, invariably act on this principle, for it is difficult to find anything approaching a reasoned argument in their utterances. Thus, Mrs. Creighton, Suffragist, eschews all arguments, whereas Mrs. Creighton, Anti-Suffragist, has propounded many excellent reasons against Woman Suffrage which remain unanswered to this day. We take the following extracts from a speech delivered by Mrs. Creighton at the Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Women Workers, held at Nottingham in 1895 (Report of N.U.W.W.):—

"The difference between the minds of men and women is that women are deficient in the power of taking a large grasp of a subject, which, as a rule, is necessary for the consideration of Imperial questions."

* * *

"It is apparent that, without Parliamentary Suffrage, women's position and opportunities have improved and are improving, and that the progress of women is one of the most important features of the nineteenth century. It is undeniable that this progress has been made without our having the vote as a means of enforcing our claims; and we have no reason, therefore, for supposing that the male voters as a body are opposed to the progress of women."

* * *

"If we are given the vote, it must inevitably follow that sooner or later we take our place in the House of Commons."

* * *

"I fear it (Woman Suffrage) turning women's activities out of the channels in which they can be most useful."

* * *

"We are told that we should be treated with the consideration we deserve, if we were given a better place in the community through the power of the vote. I cannot help thinking that most people get treated with about the amount of consideration they deserve. We have seen, all of us, with sorrow, politicians play to the gallery in order to get the vote of the working man, whose intellect they do not value highly. It would be still more lamentable if we saw them playing down to the women in order to get their vote."

Mrs. Creighton, Anti-Suffragist, weighed the Woman Suffrage question

and dealt with it by argument. Mrs. Creighton, Suffragist, having no arguments to adduce, seeks for the "religious aspect," and says, to justify her demand for the vote, something of this kind: "We know that there are a great many men who look upon women as inferior just because they have not a voice in the political affairs of the nation." (Queen's Hall, June 19th, 1912.)

VOTES AND WAGES.

AN ANALYSIS OF MISS MAUDE ROYDEN'S PAMPHLET.

As the outcome of a long correspondence between Miss Pott, Miss Maude Royden, and the Secretary of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies regarding a proposed debate on the subject of Miss Royden's pamphlet, "Votes and Wages," Miss Pott gave a public refutation of this Suffrage pamphlet in the Queen's Gate Hall on July 22nd.

It is hoped that later on in the year Miss Royden will meet Miss Pott in public debate on the subject; but as she has hitherto indefinitely postponed an encounter with Miss Pott, Anti-Suffragists felt that the question was one of such urgent importance that the Anti-Suffrage side should be put before the public without further delay.

Dr. M. O. Foster took the chair, and Miss Pott was supported on the platform by Mrs. A. Colquhoun.

Miss Pott's treatment of Miss Royden's pamphlet may be summed up in the Chairman's words, that she "tore it to shreds."

The effect on the audience of her quiet and often repeated "I say this is wholly contrary to fact," "I think that there is very general misapprehension about this," was remarkable, and constant and hearty applause punctuated her lecture from beginning to end. Miss Pott had on the platform with her an imposing array of "blue books" and books of reference in support of every statement that she made, and these were at the disposal of her audience to examine for themselves.

At the conclusion of her lecture Miss Pott invited discussion and debate, but there was no response. Mrs. Colquhoun proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Miss Pott, which was seconded and passed unanimously. A resolution to the effect that Miss Maude Royden's pamphlet on "Votes and Wages"

'contains inaccurate statements of fact and ought in the interests of women wage-earners to be withdrawn from circulation,' was passed with enthusiasm. The one Suffragist who held up her hand against the resolution, refused to ask Miss Pott any questions, and also refused to take any message to the N.U.W.S.S. at Miss Pott's request.

In the following article we give some of the points on which Miss Pott was able to dispose of Miss Royden's arguments and so-called "facts."

SUFFRAGIST STATEMENTS.

By Miss GLADYS POTT.

The statement often made by Suffragists, upon which depends a large portion of the arguments used by Miss Royden in her pamphlet "Votes and Wages," that 7s. to 7s. 6d. is the average weekly wage of women, is based upon the sole authority of Miss MacArthur. She wrote in her article on "Trades Unions," republished in "Woman in Industry," 1908, as follows:—"There are, unfortunately, no reliable statistics as to the average wages earned by women workers, but, speaking from large experience, I estimate that the average wage of the manual woman worker, taking into account slackness, sickness, &c., is certainly not more than 7s. 6d. weekly all the year round. The comparatively high average of the textile trades is included in my estimate, as is also the wage of the East End worker, which may drop as low as 2s. 6d."

In 1907, very shortly before the publication of "Woman in Industry," in giving evidence before the Select Committee on Home Work, Miss MacArthur stated that she estimated 7s. a week to be the average wage of women, but excepted the "skilled trades." (Questions 2700 and 2754 of the Report of Sub-Committee on Home Work, 1907.)

Speaking at the Trades Union Congress, September 7th, 1911, Miss MacArthur said: "With the exception of the textile trades, we find that the average wage of women workers is something under 9s. per week all the year round."

Observe—the first estimate includes the best skilled trades, and the last, given only three years later, excludes them. Of what value can the authority of Miss MacArthur be in this matter if she makes such irreconcilable statements? Either one of her state-

ments is incorrect, or women's wages have enormously advanced during the last three years, and the advance has not been in the highest skilled trades (which are excluded in her latest estimate) but in the less skilled and home workers' trades. This latter hypothesis is not generally accepted by Suffragists, nor would it seem to be proved by the most reliable statistics upon the subject. We are, therefore, driven to refuse to accept Miss MacArthur's authority in the matter, unless it is upheld by other equally expert persons. Miss Irwin, whose experience in this matter is, perhaps, equal to that of Miss MacArthur, gave evidence before the Fair Wages Committee in 1908, and expressed an opinion upon the question of the average wage. One of the Committee said to her:

"I suggest that, except with the more highly skilled, perhaps the most highly skilled, there is a current rate for women, and it approximates to 10s. or 12s. a week; would you agree to that?" To which Miss Irwin replied: "I think between 9s. and 10s. a week is regarded as about the average wage of women throughout the United Kingdom." The questioner continued: "So far as I have been able to find out, 10s. a week is about the rate that is paid to all but the most skilled." Miss Irwin answered: "I should think that is about the average." Again, mark that the highly-paid textile trades are excluded. (Minutes of Evidence, Fair Wages Committee, Cd. 4423. Questions 6163 and 6164.)

Mr. George Wood, in his pamphlet "The Woman Wage Earner," estimates that, taking all female factory and workshop hands together, "Their average wage will be about 13s. a week for a full week's work," but allowing for loss of time through sickness and slackness of work, their earnings will be about 11s. 6d. per week, and that the average wage of out-workers, i.e., the worst paid of all, is between 7s. and 8s. a week. In this he, like Miss MacArthur, expressly includes the "appallingly" low wage-earners of a possible 2s. 6d. a week, and also points out throughout the whole pamphlet that we have no really reliable statistics upon which to frame a correct estimate, and that "averages" are of little value unless used in conjunction with definite statistics as to the number of individuals (in relation to the total number employed) earning the various wages which go to make up the "average."

Though we have not absolutely reliable statistics upon this point, we do know from official sources facts concerning the wages and the approximate number of women employed in certain industries. In the textile trades, there were 689,000 females employed in 1906 whose average wage proved to be, for women over 18 years of age 15s. 5d., and for girls below 18 years, 8s. 11d. [Cd. 4545.]

In the clothing trades, which embraced 1,100,000 female workers, in 1906 the average weekly earnings of women were 13s., and for girls below 18, 5s. 8d.; for full-timers, 13s. 6d. and 5s. 9d. respectively. [Cd. 4844.]

These two classes of industry employ 1,789,000 out of the total of 2,428,533 females reckoned as "employed" under the actuarial report of the Insurance Act, after deducting domestic servants and professional clerks, &c.

There are left 639,533—rather over half a million—females of the age of 16 and upwards whose wages are not included in the above estimates, but these are included in Mr. Wood's estimates of the wage of home workers quoted above.

It is therefore obvious that the loose statements so often made to the effect that there are 5,000,000 women earning their own living and their average wage is 7s. 6d., is not only misleading but absolutely false.

ANOTHER SUFFRAGIST PAMPHLET.

Suffragist figures are indeed astonishing, when I find Mr. J. Cameron Grant writing in his pamphlet, "Man, Woman, and the Machine" (page 7), as follows:—

To-day the proportion of men and women employed in industry stands at about 50 to 50. If things go on as they are and women do not get the vote, it will stand at about 75 women to 25 men.

I should like to ask him from what source he draws his information. That the proportion of men and women employed in industry to-day is equal, i.e., 50 to 50, is proved to be wholly and ludicrously untrue by the following statistics:—

The 1911 Insurance Bill Actuarial Report gives persons employed as—

| | | |
|-------|-----|------------|
| Men | ... | 10,399,900 |
| Women | ... | 4,287,300 |

And if domestic service is excluded, there are left—

| | | |
|-------|-----|------------|
| Men | ... | 10,312,863 |
| Women | ... | 2,228,772 |

Or compare the Census reports of 1891 and 1901. The former gives as "occu-

pied" men, 8,883,254, and women, 4,016,230; and the latter gives "occupied," men as 10,156,976 and women 4,171,751, which shows not only that there are many more men employed than women, but that men's employment is increasing more rapidly than women's; for during the ten years quoted the increase in employed men has been 1,273,722, while the increase in employed women has been 155,521.

In case Mr. Cameron Grant had in his mind only those persons that come under factory and workshop inspection, let us look at the latest returns issued by the factory inspectors in 1912. Here we find 3,274,876 men to 1,852,241 women—again, nothing approaching 50 to 50. If we examine the returns relating to those industries which are specially dealt with by Mr. Cameron Grant, and which are comprised in the Census under the headings of metals, machinery, implements, jewellery, &c., we find that, in 1891, 842,199 men were employed in these and 56,001 women, while in 1901 the numbers had increased to 1,304,911 men and 81,723 women. Again, taking Birmingham as the chief manufacturing centre of those trades specified by him—indeed, as his tabulation is identical with that given in "Woman's Work and Wages," by Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, yet the order non-alphabetical, it seems probable that Mr. Grant copied his list from the latter publication, which relates to Birmingham only. The Census of 1891 gives returns of 37,541 men to 11,076 women in the trades above mentioned, whereas, in 1901, these were 66,100 men to 23,900 women, still nothing approximating to the ratio of 50 to 50.

Or, examine the Factory Inspectors' Report above mentioned [Cd. 6239], published within the last few weeks, and see how Birmingham stands: 161,576 males are under factory inspection and only 83,447 females; while the great manufacturing district comprising Leeds, Hull, Sheffield, Halifax, Bradford, Huddersfield and Newcastle contains 600,328 men and 260,854 women working in industries that are included under the Factory Acts; and it must, further, be remembered that a very large number of men's workshops do not fall within the scope of inspection, and that, therefore, these returns exclude many men. We are therefore utterly at a loss to understand the meaning of Mr. Cameron Grant's statement, which appears to be entirely contrary to easily ascertained facts.

According to Mr. Grant, the relative increase of women in industry is far larger than that of men. What do we learn from official sources?—

Textile Industries employ more women than men; but the increase in the relative numbers of men and women employed between 1901 and 1907 is given as: men, 4.6 per cent. and women, 3.2 per cent. (Factory Return, [Cd. 4692].)

Non-Textile Industries include the majority of those specially mentioned by Mr. Grant (page 10). For these we can refer to a recent Parliamentary Return [Cd. 6239]. 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. Between 1901 and 1907 the increase of men and women was, in point of numbers, almost precisely the same in this group of trades:—

| | |
|-------|---------------|
| 1901. | |
| Men | ... 2,507,770 |
| Women | ... 604,424 |
| 1907. | |
| Men | ... 2,617,596 |
| Women | ... 713,773 |

giving an increase of 109,826 men and 109,349 women.

Taking the most recent returns for factories and workshops together [Cd. 6239], we find that in the United Kingdom in 1907 there were 3,274,868 men and 1,852,241 women inspected; and, as said above, it must be noted that, inasmuch as workshops in which no women or young persons are employed do not come within the Factory and Workshops Acts, these figures exclude the men employed in 32,000 out of the 105,000 workshops from which returns were received.

With regard to employment generally, a comparison of the Census returns of 1891 and 1901 (the most recent available, as the details of the 1911 Census are not yet completed) shows that during those ten years there has been a large increase amongst employed men as compared with employed women. The actual figures are as follows:—

| | |
|-------|----------------|
| 1891. | |
| Men | ... 8,883,254 |
| Women | ... 4,016,230 |
| 1901. | |
| Men | ... 10,156,976 |
| Women | ... 4,171,751 |

Which shows a far more rapid, and also greater proportional, increase of men than women.

It seems, therefore, certain that Mr. C. Grant's extraordinary assertion is untrue; and that he has probably based it upon the fact that in some branches of sub-divided trades the perfecting of machinery has led to the larger employment of women, but as he has not extended his inquiries over the whole field of industry, his conclusions cannot be of value. So far from it being the fact that women's employment in general is increasing more rapidly than men's, the precise reverse seems accurate; certain groups of work in which women do not compete with men show a greater increase in the number of men employed than is the decrease in men's employment in other branches of trade where such competition does occur.

MISS COLLETT'S TABLES.

[Cd. 4423.]

The following tables, drawn up in 1908 by Miss Collett, Senior Investigator for Women's Industries in the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, clearly prove this; and it should, further, be noted that the Census and factory returns show that in the few branches of trade where women's work seems to be replacing that of men, the decrease in male labour is generally due to the non-entry of boys and young men, not to the dismissal of adults, from which fact the fair conclusion would be that the demand for men's labour in more lucrative trades is sufficiently great to draw boys and young fellows away from the less attractive industries, where, owing to the sub-division of work, women can take their place.

TABLE I.

Occupations in which men and women compete, i.e., tailoring, dress and needlework, textile, boot and shoe, clerks, drapers, teachers:—

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Employed in 1891. | |
| Men | 1,066,848 |
| Women | 1,380,706 |
| Employed in 1901. | |
| Men | 1,145,051 |
| Women | 1,483,734 |

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

TABLE II.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Occupations not included in last group. | |
| Employed in 1891. | |
| Men | 7,739,567 |
| Women | 1,178,707 |
| Employed in 1901. | |
| Men | 9,011,925 |
| Women | 1,338,616 |

Showing an increase of 1,272,328 men and 159,909 women.

In the first group the total increase of women as compared with men was 29,825, in the second the total increase of men as compared with women was 1,112,419, giving a net increase in favour of men of 1,082,594.

OTHER STATISTICS.

Equally surprising is Mrs. Mansel's assertion in the *Standard* of June 18th, which ran as follows:—

"The Married Women's Property Acts of 1870, 1874 and 1882 and Guardianship of Infants Acts of 1886 were as immediate an outcome of the Woman Suffrage agitation of that date as the White Slave Traffic Bill to-day. But now it is a more formidable task for women to make their grievance heard than in those days. The male electorate since then has increased from 700,000 to 7,000,000, and the reforming zeal of Parliament in women's interests seems to have stopped."

The earliest date mentioned we observe to be 1870. In 1867 the electorate numbered 2,500,000; in 1885 it had increased to 5,000,000, and yet Mrs. Mansel glibly speaks of an increase from 700,000 to 7,000,000 since 1870. To such writers as the persons quoted, figures would appear to have no meaning.

LADY SELBORNE'S "MILLIONS."

LADY SELBORNE finds the views of Anti-Suffragists "exaggerated." Speaking at a reception of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association she went on to say, "Lord Curzon recently gave 15 reasons why women should not have the vote. The answer to all these reasons is to be found in the millions of women voters in the overseas Dominions and in the United States of America. The proof of the pudding is in the eating."

In New Zealand there were in 1908, 242,930 women electors; in Australia in 1910, 1,071,699. The American States which have Woman Suffrage have 5,000,000 inhabitants, and the number of women voters in them will not exceed 1,200,000. Therefore the total number of women voters in the countries indicated, which have to deal almost exclusively with domestic problems, amounts to two-and-a-half millions. The enfranchisement of women in Great Britain would add 10,500,000 women to the electorate of the biggest Empire in the world, when no other country of any importance has adopted it. Lady Selborne asks us to believe that the proof of the pudding is in the eating of someone else's flour.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORK.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

A MEMORANDUM issued by the Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage) appeals to the women of England for co-operation in the vast spheres of work open to them under the existing laws, where men would thankfully welcome their aid. A number of questions specially concerning women and children present themselves in local administration; primary education, a great deal of the higher education; the care of the sick, the insane, and the feeble-minded; the conditions bearing on infant mortality and epidemic disease; the care of women in childbirth; the urgent moral questions that arise in large towns in connection with local administration. In all these matters good and qualified women are required to help their own sex. While a few women have fastened on the parliamentary vote as an indispensable preliminary to that assistance which they pretend to be anxious to render to the State, asylums committees remain without a woman member, Poor Law schools have no woman guardian, town and county councils remain without a woman councillor. As has been urged repeatedly in these columns, Suffragists can find to hand all the work that they will ever be able to do in order to cope with the grave moral questions affecting our great cities. The laws are in existence; they require the co-operation of women in their application. Suffragists, however, have clearly proved that they are not to be diverted from their agitation by practical considerations for the betterment of the nation, and the work of local government must devolve on others.

The Local Government Advancement Committee has an arduous but interesting task before it. It has now formally entered upon its campaign under the chairmanship of Mrs. Humphry Ward, and it is understood that the Prime Minister will shortly be approached on the subject of the Local Government Franchise and Qualification for Women.



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE—NEW STYLE. July 14th, 1912.

With their remarkable faculty of seizing on the essential things, the organisers had brought together for the purposes of their demonstration the revolutionary feelings that centre round the personality of the founder of the Union and the revolutionary memories that attach to the fall of the Bastille. July 14th, the birthday of Mrs. Pankhurst, is also the anniversary of that pivotal event of the French Revolution. Hence the scarlet cap, which symbolised so strikingly the spirit of the gathering.—*Suffragist Press*.

DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

DUBLIN MILITANTS.

SUFFRAGISTS, as a class, suffer from lack of a sense of humour. It might be supposed that this general rule does not hold good in Ireland, but apparently enthusiasm for "the cause" crushes every national characteristic out of existence. A few weeks ago the Suffragists of Dublin—one cannot say of Ireland, since outside Dublin and Belfast the movement has practically no supporters—started a weekly journal called the *Irish Citizen*. The motto of this organ was as follows: "For men and women equally the rights of citizenship; from men and women equally the duties of citizenship." It will be argued that, in themselves, these sentiments are beyond reproach. But the first issue of the paper had scarcely made its appearance on the streets when Dublin awoke to discover that eight Suffragists had emphasised their respect for the "duties of citizenship" by a window-smashing campaign in the early hours of the morning. This was the sequel to a letter which the Irishwomen's Franchise League had addressed to Mr. Asquith a few days before. It informed the Prime Minister that "failing to receive a reply from you, we shall be obliged to consider the Government's attitude as definitely hostile to the enfranchisement of Irishwomen." Probably the League did not expect Mr. Asquith to reply; it simply wanted a pretext for "militant" tactics. The windows of several Government offices were smashed, the amount of damage being estimated at about £50, and all the women were arrested. One of them stated at the police-court that they wished to "bring themselves under the notice of the Government." They succeeded only in bringing themselves under the notice of the authorities responsible for the maintenance of public order, whose action in giving them heavy terms of imprisonment was warmly applauded by the public. Dublin residents of all classes were highly indignant at this outrage, which brought discredit upon a country where Suffragists had, up to this time, remained uninfected by the hysteria of their kind in England. Once in prison, the Irish window-smashers adopted the usual inconsistent tactics. Proclaiming their equality with men in the polling-booth, they asserted the feminine privilege in the matter of prison treatment. They demanded, in the first place, transference to the first division as "political offenders." It need scarcely be said that, in pursuance of the universally weak-kneed policy towards Suffragists, the authorities granted this concession. The Suffragists, of course, were not satisfied and, demanding further privileges, continued to make themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the prison authorities by resort to "strikes" of every variety except the "hunger strike." The public, observing that Suffragist conceptions of "equality" inside and outside prison are really different matters, began to find its disgust at these women's behaviour tempered by the ludicrous aspect of the situation.

MR. ASQUITH'S VISIT.

But the impression that the "militant" Suffragists of Dublin were not, after all,

really worth taking seriously, was dispelled by the announcement that they intended to molest Mr. Asquith on the occasion of his visit to Dublin to address a Nationalist meeting in the Theatre Royal. The Nationalist newspapers adopted the motto of "Hands off Asquith," and bluntly advised Nationalists to "leave their customary courtesy towards women at home" during the Prime Minister's visit. Unionists, too, felt that, since Mr. Asquith was, in a sense, the guest of the city, any disturbance would be a violation of the laws of hospitality and an outrage on the hosts no less than on the guest. The most elaborate precautions were taken in order to prevent any "militant" manifestation.

For what actually happened no one in the city was prepared. It was supposed that the Suffragists would endeavour to enter the Theatre Royal and interrupt the proceedings, or demonstrate along the route of the procession, but nothing more serious. It remained for Dublin to have the unenviable distinction of being the scene of the worst outrages which have yet been associated with the more discreditable side of the Female Suffrage movement. Mr. Asquith's meeting in the Theatre Royal was held on the 19th of July. He arrived in Dublin and drove through the streets on the previous night.

On that night, as the audience was leaving the Theatre Royal, two or three Suffragists deliberately attempted to set the building on fire. They had previously provided themselves with gunpowder, petrol and other combustibles. An attempt to create an explosion in the cinematograph box providentially failed. But the women succeeded in setting fire to seats in the dress circle and to one of the stage boxes. From this box a burning chair, soaked in paraffin oil, was hurled into the stalls with a reckless disregard of human life. Fortunately, the outbreak was quickly got under control. The fact does not in the least diminish the wanton nature of the outrage. Had the attempt succeeded, the theatre would have been burnt to the ground, and any number of lives might have been lost.

The second outrage, on this same night, was even more dastardly. Mr. Asquith was driving in an open carriage with Mrs. Asquith, Mr. Redmond and the Lord Mayor of Dublin. At a street corner a woman flung at the Prime Minister a hatchet which, however, missed him and struck Mr. Redmond on the ear, inflicting a slight wound. How the woman escaped lynching by the crowd remains a mystery; it can only be put down to the suddenness of the affair. No arrest was made in connection with this attack until the next day.

It is only fair to state that, according to the police evidence, the direct responsibility for these outrages does not lie with Irish Suffragists, but with women who came over from England. But it is equally fair to remark that, although the Irishwomen's Franchise League repudiated complicity in the conspiracy, its leaders did not attempt to condemn it. Indeed, they could hardly have done so, since their whole propaganda rests upon violence, and is a direct incitement to violence. Naturally enough, the Dublin public was not concerned with any nice distinctions of the kind. On the next day the members of an Irish Suffragist "poster parade" were pelted with mud by a hostile crowd. At night, a Suffragist meeting in

the streets—no female Suffragist having gained admittance to the Theatre Royal—was broken up by an enormous crowd, and its members had to be protected by a strong body of police. Up to midnight no woman was safe in the centre of the town. The crowd chased everyone who had any appearance of being a "Suffragette," and menaced and hustled them. Tramcars were attacked and their windows smashed; only super-human efforts on the part of the police prevented serious injury to numbers of the women. Nationalist Dublin had "left its usual courtesy for women at home."

THE NATIONALIST ATTITUDE.

It is to be hoped that the events of this night must give pause even to the most extreme advocates of "militancy." The issues are too great for Anti-Suffragists to find any satisfaction in the fact that the injury to Mr. Redmond has destroyed the Irish Suffragists' last chance of support from the Nationalist party. Had the injury been more serious, there can be no question that the Dublin mob would have committed frightful reprisals on innocent and guilty alike. The identity of the guilty parties remains to be proved, but the actual crimes speak for themselves. Window-smashing is merely a nuisance in comparison with attempts to commit arson and to do grievous bodily harm, but the development from the one to the other is natural. The lesson of the Dublin outrages should be learnt all over the United Kingdom. Women who are concerned for the protection of themselves and of the State must band together against the misguided creatures who show no sign of repentance even when they stand on the brink of an appalling social tragedy.

SUFFRAGETTE OUTRAGES.

In addition to the outrages recorded in our Dublin letter, the past month has witnessed the arrest of two Suffragettes on a serious charge.

Shortly after midnight on Saturday, July 13th, a special constable patrolling the grounds of Nuneham Park, Oxford, the residence of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, found two well-dressed women near the house. As their explanations were not satisfactory, the constable endeavoured to arrest the women, and took one to the police station, but the other managed to escape. The arrested woman, who gave the name of Helen Craggs, was found to have in her possession a basket containing tins of methylated spirit, a can of spirits of petroleum, bottles of turpentine, a dozen fire-lighters, and some matches. In her satchel were nine pick-locks, an electric torch, and a burglar's glass cutter.

When brought before the local magistrates on the following Monday, Helen Craggs pleaded "Guilty." She was remanded until July 20th, and again for another week.

On July 23rd, Dr. Ethel Smyth was arrested at her house in Woking in connection with this attempt. She was charged at Oxford and remanded until July 26th, bail being allowed in her case.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND.

By HERBERT G. WILLIAMS, M.Eng., M.Sc., A.M.I.C.E.

(Continued.)

VITAL STATISTICS.

A CONSIDERATION of vital statistics is the next matter for concern. New Zealand is characterised by a moderate birth-rate, a low general death-rate, and a low rate of infantile mortality. The crude birth-rate since the grant of votes for women has remained almost stationary; but the true birth-rate, calculated on the number of wives between the ages of 15 and 45 (the years of fertility), shows a decrease in the period 1890-1892 to 1900-1902 (p. 416, 1911), more rapid than in any European country. It is only fair to say, however, that the decrease in the previous decennial period was also very high.

Suffragists claim a great improvement in morality since the grant of Woman Suffrage. This is difficult to test; but the following figures relating to the illegitimate birth-rate are significant (p. 419, 1911, and 72nd Annual Report of the Registrar-General, pp. xxxiv. and cxlii):—

| Year. | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1880-82 | 13.4 | 14.1 |
| 1890-92 | 9.0 | 10.6 |
| 1893 | * | 10.3 |
| 1896 | 9.30 | 9.7 |
| 1906 | 9.72 | 8.1 |

* Woman Suffrage granted.

The figures for New Zealand are only available for census years; but assuming the rate for 1893 as the average of 1890-2 and 1896—i.e., 9.15—we get the following percentage changes:—

| Period. | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1881-93 | 31.8 (decrease) | 27 (decrease). |
| 1893-1906 | 5.8 (increase) | 21 (decrease). |

The rapid decrease which was going on prior to Woman Suffrage has changed since to a slight increase in New Zealand, whereas in England and Wales the decrease has continued.

It is interesting to speculate what influence the New Zealand Legitimation Acts of 1894 and 1908 have had on the increase in New Zealand.

Under the provisions of the Act, the illegitimate child of parents who subsequently marry can be legitimatised. Though an act of justice to the child, nevertheless, by reducing the conventional shame of illegitimacy, it may well be the cause of its increase. This is strongly supported by the following paragraph, taken from page lxi. of the 71st Annual Report of the Registrar-General:—

"There is probably no single explanation of the wide variation in the rates of illegitimacy (i.e., in different countries, H.G.W.), but differences of religion, of race, of social conditions, and of the MARRIAGE LAWS—particularly in regard to the possibility of LEGITIMATION by subsequent marriage—must all be taken into account."

The influence of the Divorce Acts of 1899 and 1908 cannot be without its bearing on

the question, divorce being granted on the following grounds (p. 391, 1911):—

- (1) Adultery on either side.
- (2) Husband's habitual drunkenness, with failure to support wife.
- (3) Conviction, with sentence of seven years or upwards, for attempting to take the life of petitioner.
- (4) Respondent's conviction of murder of a child of the petitioner or respondent.
- (5) Respondent's lunacy, with confinement as such, for not less than ten years in the aggregate during the twelve years preceding the petition.

The 1899 Act also made continuous desertion for five years or more a ground of divorce, but this was repealed by the 1908 Act.

The provision that adultery on either side is a ground is probably right morally, as compared with the English procedure, which insists on cruelty (in the legal sense) or desertion being necessary as well as adultery, where the husband is the respondent, though of course, the English procedure is not without a certain psycho-physiological basis.

Those who regard marriage as a religious sacrament must believe that the other provisions of the New Zealand law are wrong, and are therefore likely to aggravate ultimately the causes of divorce. The effect of the Acts on divorce is shown by the following figures:—

| Year. | Petitions. | Decrees. |
|-------------|------------|----------|
| 1887 | 26 | 16 |
| 1893 | 34 | 25* |
| 1910 | 200 | 154 |

DEATH-RATE.

The question of the death-rate now claims our attention. Owing to its wonderful climate, the death-rate of New Zealand has always been low, as the following figures show (p. 431, 1911 Year Book; 72nd Annual Report of Registrar-General, pp. 5 and 124):

| | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1881 | 11.1 | 18.9 |
| 1893 | 10.23* | 19.2 |
| 1910 | 9.71 | 13.5 |

* Woman Suffrage granted.

A more accurate comparison is obtained by taking the averages of five-year periods, as follow:—

| | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1881-1885 | 10.9 | 19.4 |
| 1891-1895 | 10.1 | 18.7 |
| 1906-1910 | 9.72 | 14.2 |

Calculating the percentage decreases on these figures, we get:—

| | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1881-85 to 1891-95 | 7.5 | 3.5 |
| 1891-95 to 1905-10 | 4.0 | 24.1 |
| 1891-95 to 1910 | 4.0 | 27.8 |

For comparison, the figures for England and Wales have also been inserted. The comparison between the rapid decrease in England and Wales and the almost stationary rate in New Zealand since Woman Suffrage was introduced is very striking.

INFANTILE MORTALITY.

Let us now turn to the question of infantile mortality—the *pièce de résistance* of the Suffragists' case, so far as vital statistics are concerned.

They state with pride that the infantile mortality in New Zealand is the lowest in the world. This has always been low in New Zealand because of the temperate climate. The most fertile causes of infantile mortality are dysentery, pneumonia, bronchitis, whooping cough, premature birth, and suffocation in bed. The climate of New Zealand reduces the first four enormously, compared with other countries.

The relatively small amount of factory employment of married women in New Zealand reduces the deaths due to premature birth. It is a remarkable fact that any proposal to reduce this factor in premature birth in this country meets with violent opposition from the Suffragists, and their opposition to the Cradle Clause of the Children's Act shows their attitude to the suffocation of children due to overlaying by the mother.

Despite the unfavourable climatic and economic causes in this country, as compared with New Zealand, the following figures show that the progress here is more rapid than in New Zealand:—

| | New Zealand.* | England & Wales.† |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1881 | 92.0 | 130 |
| 1883 | 103.9 | 137 |
| 1884 | 79.3 | 147 |
| 1893 | 88.0 | 159 |
| 1910 | 67.7 | 106 |

* New Zealand Year Book. † Reports of Registrar-General, pp. 5 and 124.

A year-to-year comparison between both countries is unsatisfactory, because a healthy year, due to good weather in one country, may be accompanied by an unhealthy year due to bad weather in the other, and therefore comparisons over series of years is the best method.

INFANTILE MORTALITY.

| Periods (5 years). | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1881-85 | 90.4 | 138.6 |
| 1891-95 | 87.4 | 150.8 |
| 1905-10 | 69.6 | 117.0 |

The significance of these figures is shown by the percentage changes:—

| | New Zealand. | England & Wales. |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1881-85 to 1891-95 | 3.3 (Dec.) | 8.9 (Inc.) |
| 1891-95 to 1905-10 | 20.3 (Dec.) | 22.4 (Dec.) |
| 1891-95 to 1910 | 22.5 (Dec.) | 29.7 (Dec.) |

The Notification of Births Act, passed in England in 1907, was due to the suggestion of the Registrar-General of Births and Deaths, and it is generally accepted that this Act has done enormous good in reducing infantile mortality, because it has enabled charitable and other advice and assistance to be available at the critical time. The note on page 360 of the New Zealand Year Book to the effect that the example of this country was followed in New Zealand in the same year is an amusing commentary on the Suffragist claims.

NOTES AND WAGES.

The Suffragists in this country, finding that the appeal on general grounds fell flat,

and only succeeded in enrolling in their ranks the well-to-do, both idle and occupied, turned to the economic side, and asserted, and incidentally go on asserting, that Woman Suffrage will raise the wages of women. They have, moreover, stated that the vote has largely assisted men to raise their wages.

This is inaccurate, for the Act which more particularly enfranchised the working classes of this country was passed in 1885, whereas trade unions, which are the greatest lever for raising wages, obtained their full powers prior to that year.

The following statistics dealing with two periods of 25 years, the one prior and the other subsequent to 1885, prove that, however beneficial the vote may have been to men otherwise, it certainly was of no value from the point of view of increasing wages.

AVERAGE INCREASE OF WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.
("Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 33, p. 718; and 14th Abstract of Labour Statistics, p. 68.)

| Period. | Change in Wages. |
|-----------|------------------|
| 1860-1885 | 32% (Inc.) |
| 1885-1910 | 20% (Inc.) |

The Suffragists assert that Woman Suffrage in New Zealand has tended to raise women's wages to the level of men's. It is certainly true that in New Zealand the efforts of the Industrial Conciliation Acts have been to improve women's wages in certain industries, but it is interesting to note that, although the principle of these Acts became law in 1894, it was drafted before 1893.

Despite this, however, the ratio of men's wages to women's wages in New Zealand is as high as, if not higher than, this country. The censuses relating to manufactories and works give the following figures for wages of males and females in New Zealand:—

AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGES.
(p. 202, 1911.)

| Year of Census. | Males. | Females. |
|-----------------|-----------|----------|
| 1900 | £81 17 11 | £31 6 2 |
| 1905 | 88 10 11 | 41 17 8 |

It will be seen that in this case the women appear to have made considerable relative progress between the two censuses; but even in 1905 the ratio of the average of the men's wages to the average of the women's wages was as 211 to 100.

A further investigation of the more detailed figures, given on pages 209-215, rather alters the picture, however, for we find that the number of people employed has changed as follows:—

EMPLOYEES.

| Year. | Male. | Female. |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------|
| 1900 | 36,292 | 10,555 |
| 1905 | 44,046 | 11,413 |
| Increase | 8,654 | 858 |
| Percentage increase | 23.8 | 8.1 |
| Percentage increase of population | | 14.7 |

In other words, the rise in wages amongst the women prevented any but the more efficient from obtaining employment, for the increase of men employed was nearly three times as great as the increase of women, and the general increase of population was nearly twice as great as the increase in the number of women employed. Thus, part of the average increase obtained by the women was not a true rise, but was due to the employment of the less efficient (*i.e.*, lower paid) ceasing.

If again we limit the comparison for 1905 only to those industries employing both men and women, and not less than 50 of each, we get the following result:—

| | Persons Employed. | Aggregate Earnings. | Average Earnings. |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Males | 9,934 | £980,979 | £98 15 0 |
| Females | 6,698 | 296,091 | 44 7 0 |

The ratio of male earnings to female earnings is 222 to 100 when the occupations are more or less similar.

If we compare the figures with the weekly earnings in the textile and clothing trades in this country, as shown by an investigation into the results of the Census of Wages, 1906 (Fourteenth Abstract of Labour Statistics, pp. 90-113), we find that the general level of wages in the United Kingdom is lower than it is in New Zealand, as also it is lower than the general average in Canada and the United States, but that the ratio of men's wages to women's is not as high as in New Zealand.

TEXTILE AND CLOTHING INDUSTRIES IN UNITED KINGDOM.
Average Wages in 1906.

| Men over 18. | Women over 18. |
|--------------|----------------|
| 308. | 148. 11d. |

Ratio of Men's Wages to Women's Wages: 201 to 100.

If, however, boys and girls are included, as in New Zealand figures, the ratio would be much lower, as the difference between the wages of boys and girls in the various textile and clothing trades is very small.

Once again the Suffragists' case breaks down.

The salaries of teachers is another point about which Suffragists make many pointless remarks. In the first place, practically the whole of the male and female teachers in this country are employed by public bodies, for whose election women can vote, and to which they can be elected; and, moreover, on every education committee there must be some women members, and therefore the rates of salary are in every case voted upon by women. The following figures give the average salaries of men and women teachers in Secondary Schools in New Zealand in 1909 (pp. 130-131, 1911).

| | Number of Teachers. | Aggregate Salaries. | Average Salaries. |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Males | 131 | £35,309 | £270 4 0 |
| Females | 93 | 16,282 | 175 1 0 |

Giving a ratio of 154 to 100.

Once again we find that in New Zealand there is a wide gulf between men's and women's wages.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

We are glad to see that the Anti-Suffrage Association recently formed in Germany under the presidency of Professor Dr. Sigismund, of Weimar, is rapidly making headway in the country. As in the case of our own League, the new Society has helped to give expression and cohesion to the large mass of public opinion that is opposed to Woman Suffrage but has hitherto hoped that the movement could be thwarted without definite action on the part of its opponents. An interesting reply to the attacks of Suffragists has been circulated by the Committee of the Association, over the name of Professor Dr. Langemann.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC BILL.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

UNDER the auspices of the "Pass the Bill" Committee (19, Tothill Street, S.W.), a crowded meeting was held at Kensington Town Hall on July 10th, with the object of passing a resolution asking the Prime Minister to pass the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in its entirety, free from emasculating amendments. Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, presided, and delivered an admirable speech, in which she indicated not only the reasons for the meeting, and the uses to which it might be put, but the most useful lines for the speakers. She declared that the meeting was for the discussion of a particular Bill, not of the moral evil as a whole, and that political and other controversies must be avoided. As prominent members of the N.L.O.W.S. were present and had been invited on the platform, such an admonition should have been unnecessary, but when a letter from Miss Violet Markham, regretting inability to be present, was received with hisses by a portion of the audience, it appeared that some persons present had misconceived the object of the meeting. The cleverly drafted resolution was then read, and Lady Bunting proposed it in a fervent speech, calculated to arouse the pity of her hearers for the victims of the Traffic. Mrs. Philip Snowden was then asked to second it. Unfortunately, Mrs. Snowden felt it impossible to speak at all without mentioning controversial topics, and therefore offered to propose the resolution formally without making a speech; but, yielding to persuasion, she delivered a long and emphatic harangue, in which the question under discussion was often entirely lost sight of. One sentence which detached itself may be recorded: "There is enough legislation on the Statute Book to do away with slums, yet slums exist—because of the ignorance and apathy of citizens and of those who would be citizens." Mrs. Snowden wound up with the usual Suffragist peroration as to the impossibility of real reform until men and women are equal in the State. The next speaker, Mrs. McKirdy (Olive Christian Malvery), expressed at the outset her laudable desire to do what she was asked to do rather than what she wished, but, at the shouted request of some of the audience, abandoned this good intention. At one time she appeared to be talking about the raising of the age of consent, but at no period did she devote any serious attention to the Bill or its critics, and she, too, concluded with a Suffragist peroration. It does not seem to occur to some women speakers that they owe anything in the nature of deference to the chair. Happily, the fourth speaker, Mrs. Nott-Bower, one of the "Pass the Bill" Committee, repaired some of the omissions of the previous speakers. She described the initiation of the Committee and the history of the Bill. She said that in its original form the Bill had been proposed and negatived a hundred times. She did not, however, explain that the form of its proposal was such that it could not have been discussed, and was, therefore, blocked by members who felt that to pass so important a measure, without discussion, would be worse than

postponing it. Mrs. Nott-Bower attributed the action of the Government, in at length adopting the Bill as their own and giving it time, to the pressure brought to bear by the Women's Liberal Federation and, also, to the undoubted quickening of public opinion all over the country. The Home Secretary, however, stipulated for the omission of two clauses which were considered highly contentious, in the Bill to be fathered by the Government. The first of these raised the age of consent to 18. Mrs. Nott-Bower deeply regretted this omission, and went on to say that the Bill as presented to Parliament represented an irreducible minimum; nevertheless, it had been whittled down in Committee stage until it contained hardly any advance on previous legislation. The most vital point is the power given to constables to arrest on suspicion of procuring. In Committee this power has been restricted to police officers not lower than sergeants in rank and specially detailed. The most important part of Mrs. Nott-Bower's speech was her report of interviews with certain well-known police authorities, who assured her that these provisions would vitiate the whole usefulness of the Act. Such evidence as this is worth torrents of eloquence, and carried conviction to one doubter, at all events, in the audience.

Mrs. Nott-Bower closed her speech with an ardent appeal to women to sink their differences on the Suffrage question in working for the Bill. As a Suffragist, she generously acknowledged the differences of opinion among rescue and other workers, and said that, after all, our object is one—to further the cause of womanhood. Not even this broad-minded appeal could prevent a Suffragist, in question time, from asking whether the Members who have been instrumental in "mutilating" the Bill are not Anti-Suffragists. The obvious reply came from another questioner on the platform, who asked whether the promoter of the Bill, Mr. Arthur Lee, is not a strong Anti-Suffragist. It was a pity that the intrusion of the Suffrage question was allowed—despite the earnest appeal of the chair and the fact that the audience, as well as the platform, was divided on it—to spoil the whole atmosphere of so large and important a meeting. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage cannot officially or as a body take part in any campaign for promoting Bills on whose merits members of the League in the two Houses may hold different opinions; but Anti-Suffragist women may well hold that their views on woman's place in the State lay upon them a special obligation to investigate such questions as the White Slave Traffic and work for legislation which seems to them desirable.

If the "Pass the Bill" Committee are genuinely desirous of enlisting in their campaign women of all classes and shades of opinion, and thereby bringing the maximum amount of pressure to bear on the House of Commons, they will not permit their propaganda to be annexed and used for party purposes by too ardent Suffragists, nor will they antagonise valuable support by pressing their case on the spurious grounds of male indifference on a question which is of vital importance to both sexes.

THE SCIENCE OF CHARITY.

By LADY ROSE WEIGALL.

IV.—EDUCATION.

THERE is another point on which a friendly Visitor can do very much to enlighten her poorer friends. Most parents are fully acquainted—thanks to the vigilance of School Attendance Officers—with the requirements of the law as regards compulsory school attendance, &c., &c., but they have often very distorted ideas as to the object of those laws. Some look on school as a very convenient arrangement for keeping the children safe and out of harm's way, so long as they are small, though, as soon as they are old enough to be of use at home, the compulsory attendance is a hardship. Others—rather more enlightened—think that the school is an institution where the children are taught all that is necessary to equip them for their work in life and, as a consequence, the parents' own responsibilities may be safely shirked and put on the teachers. (This attitude is by no means confined to the poorer classes!) The mothers, however, as a rule, sincerely wish to do their best for their children and do not consciously shirk their responsibilities; they merely think that the school can teach them better. Even the most careless mothers have a feeling at the back of their minds that they would like their children to do well, and it is always possible to work on that feeling by impressing on them that that is also the object of those who have made education compulsory, and that the best way to secure it is for parents and school authorities to work loyally together in the task of turning out the children well-equipped for their start in life. There is, no doubt, one stumbling block in the fact that in so many cases the school teaching is unpractical and unsuited to what the children really most need, so that there was considerable truth in the complaint of the mother who declared when her girl left school that "they had *larned* her so much, she could do nothing." Here, however, the parents should be got to understand that even as the law stands they have a great deal more power than they think.

HOME INFLUENCES.

At a school prize-giving one sees rows of tidy, smiling mothers beaming on smug and tidy children receiving prizes, reciting and singing; but how many of them in their every-day life take the least intelligent interest in their children's school work? If they could do so, they would be of great service to the teachers as well as to their own children. An intelligent child who takes pleasure in its work might be immensely stimulated by its mother's sympathy and interest. The mere ordinary child, too, to whom its books are a trouble, would be very materially helped if its mother were to encourage it in any manual work for which it may show aptitude, and even go boldly to the teacher and explain that although the child is stupid at books, she finds it useful and handy with its fingers at home, and ask if the school work could not be more adapted to its capacities. Of course this could only be done to a very limited extent; but a good and sympathetic teacher would be grateful for the evidence of the parent's interest in the child's work and bear in mind the facts stated. A friendly Visitor could be of very

great use in these matters by showing interest herself in the children's progress and so arousing the mother's, and especially by showing her how much remains for herself (and her husband) to do for their child and how little the school can take their place in the most important part of the children's education. There is no doubt that the tendency of modern domestic legislation—good as it is in many ways—contains a danger of people thinking everything can be done for their children by other people, school teachers, care committees, &c., &c., but against that may be set the mother's natural jealousy of any interference between her and her child, and the Visitor's most valuable work could be done in checking the temptation for that to break out in unreasonable ways, but to encourage it in the form of being *first* in the child's affections and confidence and in influence over it.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

Especially should this be the case as regards their religious teaching; and here the Sunday School is not blameless, for it no doubt encourages the parents to delegate their highest duties to others. In olden days in country districts parents and children would often be seen together at Church; now among the working classes such a sight is most rare and, considering that the children have to spend so many hours at Sunday School and children's services, it cannot be wondered at, but it is a question whether what they learn there—excellent as it is—can ever retain the same influence over them in after life as the influence of a religious—though ignorant—parent can have. And here again the Visitor can do much by awakening the parent's sense of what her influence can be and should be in this respect. The Mothers' Union does much in this way, but it again suffers from the flavour of officialism, and its members are naturally inclined to think of themselves as a class apart. What we are dealing with now is the absolutely *un-official* relation of the friendly Visitor to the roughest and most ignorant mothers and the endeavour in friendly talks with them to turn their natural feeling of jealousy as to outside interference into the healthier channels of realising their own enormous responsibilities and powers as regards their own children—which no interference can take from them. Also that all the laws and regulations which sometimes seem irksome are really designed to help them in the work of doing their best for their children, and that if they will only try intelligently to co-operate with teachers—which they can best do by exerting as much influence as possible themselves over their children—this great object will be attained. If possible the father's interest in his children should also be aroused and it might be suggested to the mother that she should try to do so. Many a rather unsatisfactory husband may be pulled together by appealing to his responsibilities to his children, which in many cases he has never realised, supposing that their mother looks after them, as she looks after the house, and that it is not his province to interfere. As the children grow older, if they join any of the organizations now existing for their benefit in most parishes, Bands of Hope, Scouts, Girls' Friendly Classes, &c., &c., much could be done if the Visitor, showing by her conversation her interest in these organisations, could rouse the parents to do the same (as in the case of the

schools) and not think here again that these are devices for keeping the children amused and out of mischief, with which they have no concern.

It is possible that some people may think the great mass of the poor are too careless and too degraded for there to be anything to work on on the lines indicated. But this desponding attitude is wrong. If you want to help people it is always safe to assume that they are better than they seem (or even than you know them to be). Very likely some may try to take you in by cant; but a little experience will soon help one to see through that, and there will still remain some who will feel that if they are credited with the possibility of rising to better things they will make an effort. And another help in dealing with the poor—at least the women—is that, even if seemingly quite careless and irreligious, they all have some more or less confused notion in their minds of a personal God and Saviour who governs the world and loves them. New theologies and dogmatic controversies they know nothing of; but the fundamental doctrines of the love of God and of a future life are in almost every heart, and in them lies the only true foundation for all future progress.

THE QUESTION OF THE VOTE.

In the July number of the *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine* appears an excellent article on Woman Suffrage, which discusses the subject with an engaging freshness and quiet, sound reasoning. We hope that it will prove a wholesome corrective to certain doctrines that are being instilled into some girls' minds at schools where Suffragist teachers are allowed to air their political views. The following are extracts from the article:—

"I get a great many letters, and some of them quite scolding ones, from woman Suffragists, raking me over the coals for my position on the woman question. It makes no difference if I tell them that I am not actually an Anti-Suffragist. While not wholly convinced of the good of women having a vote, I should not like to stand against any movement that will make the world better or happier. Nevertheless, I have been peculiarly situated for seeing all sides of politics, and I believe that politics would not be purified by the accession of women's votes.

WOMAN'S INFLUENCE.

"The idea which women seem anxious to impress is that they are good, and that their votes would necessarily go towards purifying the muddy pool of politics. I think a lot of my sex. A good and bright woman is a creature a little lower than the angels; but women are not all good, not all honest, not all kind, and their sense of justice is notoriously fallible.

"I can only judge other women by myself. I can conceive getting interested in a political campaign. I might want some man to get into office for a certain reason. I know as well as I know anything that towards the end of the campaign the idea of winning would have taken such hold upon me that I shouldn't stop at anything that would elect him. I should argue that nothing succeeds like success. I should perceive that the

balance of power lies in the vote of a class of people who have practically no idea for whom or what they are voting, and I know I should go after those votes exactly as the men do.

"This may seem a damaging admission, but I am truthful. I believe the woman in politics would be just like the man in politics. I quite admit that good women might go to the polls without actual loss of dignity; but if they mixed in 'practical politics' they would have to learn a lot about discarding their best ideals. And they would learn it—women are quick at intrigue, and an unscrupulous woman is ever more merciless than any man.

"In my mind the great barrier to woman in politics is the natural physical one. There are so many times when home is the only place for a woman. This fact is inexorable. It seems to me that the only proper time for a woman to mix with men at the polls is after she is fifty years of age. I do not say this flippantly. I believe it. I think that sex is the real barrier to woman's rights."

The writer then elaborates her contention that "the whole secret of woman's clamouring for her rights lies in the purse," and points out that the money dispute is a domestic problem in which no law can really intervene.

"It is this idea of the actual immutability of the history of human life," continues the article, "that makes me feel how little change the vote would actually bring, and also makes me doubt that much good would come of it. I believe there is no more destroying force than the idea that very soon—next year or the year after—there is going to be a change, and that meanwhile what offers at present isn't worth doing.

"You remember the history of Richard Carstone in 'Bleak House'? His life was ruined by the prospect of a fortune. It unsettled him for all steady application. I think woman stands just now in somewhat the same attitude; she is on the look-out for something new—for a liberation, a reward, a release from a world-old slavery and wrong. We are especially prone to feel this premonition when we are young. We feel it about other things besides our civic rights. It seems to us that there is a promise somewhere. Life surely did mean to offer us something a little more satisfactory.

HOME LIFE.

"The sooner we learn about mirages the better. Life is full of them. It seems a pity, but it is true, that we are always seeing, somewhere on the edge of the desert, the city of peace with its fountains and its palms. But even in the city of peace there would be rooms to keep clean and meals to prepare. You wouldn't want to go to it without John and the children, and when you all got there you would find that your dispositions hadn't changed. He would still have his irritating ways, and the children their traits that you can plainly trace to his side of the family!

"The road to contentment does not lead over the mountains of the moon, down in the valley of shadow; it merely follows the path to the nursery and the store cupboard, and the plain beaten track of the day's routine. We are peculiarly blessed and favoured when we find this out early in life.

"The women who take me to task about my shortcomings on the Suffrage question invariably say to me: 'You are too intelligent a woman—you have too sane a mind to

remain dense on the Suffrage question.' I insist that I am not dense about it. I declare that Suffrage would cut very little figure in my life, and I am not ashamed or afraid to say so. I am a woman. I like my home. I like to see the rooms straightened up, and to have three meals a day, and a general air of domestic life around me.

"I say I need these things, and if I, a woman, need them to hold me to the proper ideals, how much more does man, with his fuller natural liberty, need them? I say natural liberty, and I mean it when I say it. It may be a galling thing to women to admit it, but Nature provided man with wider liberty than woman. No legislation nor change of custom can ever alter this fact. There is not, and never can be, any natural equality between man and woman. Whenever you can find a woman who can go among men as one of them, making herself a mere automaton, a thinking-box, a business machine, you find a creature who is not a woman at all. Men can be natural in business with each other. Between men and men, and between women and women there is a natural sex understanding that need not be curbed nor guarded. But between men and women sex is the danger-point. Remember, I have nothing to say against the business woman. I admire her courage and her self-control; nevertheless, I say her position is unnatural if it takes her, all day long, into a world of men. If we have a generation of girls who would rather support themselves than marry, and wives who would rather be breadwinners than mothers, Nature must have made a dreadful mistake, or else man has been a notorious failure as a 'houseband.'

"The Suffragists insist that the vote would not take her further away, but would only make our homes more intelligent. I doubt this. Woman has at present unlimited opportunities for intelligence. I look at the average voter, and I do not see in him a creature of much enlightenment. Why do we suppose that the franchise would improve women when it certainly does not improve men?

"But while I am the prophet of contentment, I loathe stupid contentment. I object to the feminine air of a cow in a clover-field. When you have married a man who can 'keep you,' and are settled down to home-making, you should have only properly begun to develop. All that you need to do is to recognise your opportunity and appreciate your privilege. The harder the conditions the greater the chance. Remember the restless Suffrage agitator is often the woman who has been denied your great opportunity.

"Perhaps one reason I have cared so little about the question of Woman Suffrage is because I have been so busy making the most of everything that came in my way. Perhaps, too, I care little about it because, personally, I have my liberty. I have it because I took it. Any woman can do the same. She can successfully cultivate a soul liberty that man can scarcely cope with save by like intelligence and understanding. My conception of liberty may not be the conventional one, and may seem amazing to some women. I am married. We are poor. We shall

probably always be so, because we are made that way—we lack the quality of making a money success. We have a talent for poverty and can never get away from it. Yet I am free—a free moral agent, a free human soul.

"I may not be able to govern circumstances, but circumstances shall not govern me. I am an entity, and as such the universe must recognise me. We do not arrive at this state of liberty by doing things which, at the moment, people call great. We are more likely to find it by sticking to those simple duties that misguided folk call common, and by recognising limitations we cannot change."

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THE results of recent By-elections have not been very consoling to Suffragists, for in spite of spending thousands of pounds in that direction, they have done very little more than act as a sort of side-show to the electors. They have tried to impress the agricultural labourers by decorating motor cars with flags and banners, and by rushing round the country lanes with them, but the chief result would seem to have been to convince people that the movement is principally engineered by young girls who can afford motor cars.

The result of the By-elections that have taken place in the last six months or so, show that the Suffrage cause has lost supporters, for our side has gained a vote in each of the following divisions:—Leominster, South Manchester, North Ayr, South Hackney, East Nottingham—these count ten on a division and show how the wind is blowing, for at the time of writing Anti-Suffragists have not lost a supporter through a By-election. Some of those who are classed as Suffragists will not, however, be in that category long, because they are only Suffragists on Conciliation Bill terms, and will be found with the Anti-Suffragists when it comes to asking for 10½ million votes for women—and that is the real issue.

By the sad death of Mr. W. S. B. MacLaren, M.P. for Crewe, the Suffragists have lost one of their most prominent supporters in the House of Commons. The vacant seat is being contested by Mr. H. L. Murphy (Liberal), Mr. E. V. Craig (Unionist), and Mr. J. H. Holmes (Labour), but the result of the poll will not be made known in time to be included in this issue.

The result of the Hanley By-election was a rude awakening for Suffragists. Before the figures were announced they said, with a certain amount of pride, that they were almost entirely responsible for the enthusiastic progress of the Labour candidate. But this "enthusiastic progress" worked out at a loss to Labour of 6,649 votes. Rumour has it that the wife of the Labour candidate, Mrs. Finney, is an Anti-Suffragist—an amusing commentary, if true, on the Suffragist-Labour Alliance.

Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist party, speaking on the Second Reading of

the Franchise Bill, said: "... he should oppose as not only unreasonable, but as absolutely ludicrous, in view of our own past history, any proposal to add something like ten million women to the register." This statement, added to the words of Mr. Asquith that "the enfranchisement of women would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind," will surely show to the country that the leaders of the two great parties in the State are agreed on the Woman Suffrage question in the only logical form that it can take. The Suffrage hatchet that hit Mr. John Redmond in Dublin, may have also made a great impression on him in more ways than one.

The Anti-Suffrage Members of Parliament have met and agreed upon details of their opposition to the different Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill when it comes up for the Committee stage in the late autumn—very late autumn, if at all. Mr. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., acted as chairman, and the fact of his being a member of the Cabinet adds considerable weight to the Committee's deliberations.

BYE-ELECTIONS.

HANLEY.

THE National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage conducted a very successful campaign in Hanley. Our methods have not been so aggressive, perhaps, as those of the Suffrage supporters, but steady, persistent work has been done, and many signatures obtained against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. This has been especially the case in the Pottery districts.

Well-attended open-air meetings have been held in Burslem, Etruria, and other outlying places, where the speakers have been Miss Mabel Smith, Mrs. Maggs, Mrs. Stocks, and Messrs. Samuels and Goodwin. The crowds were very attentive and interested, and there was no interruption or opposition. Questions were asked and answered, to the evident satisfaction of questioners and audience.

CREWE.

Our League took Committee Rooms at 39, Earle Street, and our representatives did most excellent work all through the division. They held meetings in the Market Square, for the first week, every evening, and afterwards held open-air meetings at Nantwich, Sandbach, Alsagar, Willaston, &c.

Much literature was given out at the different works in the neighbourhood, and, as a result, large numbers of people came into the Committee Rooms daily to sign the petition against the Suffrage. Our workers were greeted everywhere with: "Yes, you are the people we want, we have heard enough of the other side."

Our organisers report that they are most grateful for the help of the ladies from the Winsford Branch, who went over and gave much valuable assistance.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN IRISH SUFFRAGIST.

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

DEAR SIR,—I received a copy of your paper this morning, which was sent to me from your office, and in reply to it I write the following, which, I hope, you will put in your next issue:—

"Woman with the ancient Irish was man's equal in position, in estate, in power, and in friendship."—Dr. Sigerson.

The name Arian is derived from "Arya"—nobly born. This is the great family that came from Imäus or Bactriana, notwithstanding various writers who try to persuade us to the contrary. Pictet and Max Müller connect the name Arya with Erin. This shows from whence the Irish Celts came, and who they are. So I agree with Hecuba when he says:

δενὸς χαρακτὴρ κατ'ἴσθησιν ἐν βροτοῖς
ἔσθ' ἄν γενέσθαι.

I have written two poems: (1) "Queens Regnant"; (2) "A Vision of Good Women," long before this agitation concerning woman's votes began. If you want to see my views on the subject read those two poems. They are included in my book "Poems and Idylls," a copy of which Messrs. Sisson & Parker, of Nottingham, will send you for 4s. 6d. I think it is a disgrace that women of education and property have no vote when a man has, whose vote you can buy with a glass of beer!

Shame on our civilisation and on all who oppose Votes for Women.

(Signed) JOHN CULLEN, D.D.,
Vicar of Radcliffe-on-Trent.

The Vicarage, Radcliffe-on-Trent,

July 15th, 1912.

P.S.—I am a Celt, not a squatter in Ireland, like Redmond, Parnell, and hundreds of others.

"THE DUTY OF GOVERNMENT."

"The true duty of Government is to protect us both from the enemy abroad and from the malefactor at home. The more that duty is overlaid and obscured, the worse it will be performed."

We are delighted to see that in a letter printed in the *Liverpool Daily Post* on June 17th, 1912, headed "The Proper Sphere of Government," the above sentence appears over the signatures (among others) of Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. Harold Cox on behalf of the British Constitutional Society, of which Sir W. Chance is Chairman. This sound pronouncement provides support for an Anti-Suffrage doctrine from unexpected quarters. When once the obsession of the vote has been shaken off, many other arguments against Woman Suffrage have to be subscribed to by thinking politicians.

REVIEWS.

"A MEMORANDUM ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE," by the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, P.C., M.P.

ON the ground that a more active opposition to the new crusade has become imperative, Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett has written a short pamphlet which deals briefly but powerfully with various aspects of the Suffrage movement. The writer is co-treasurer of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and it may be hoped that the clear and moderate language with which he meets the various Suffragist claims will appeal to those who, without going closely into the subject, have felt that the Churches ought to support a movement that purports to aim at the moral betterment of the nation. We are glad to see that the Memorandum points the distinction between rioting which is the work of the rougher and criminal classes and the violence of Suffragists, which is the deliberate outcome of their own policy.

"SUFFRAGETTE SING-SONG, OR NEW SONGS TO OLD TUNES." (Price 2d.)

THERE is a great deal of wit and much amusingly administered wisdom in the "Suffragette Sing-song," now issued by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. These sprightly verses are clever parodies of well-known compositions; in them the strange methods and astonishing logic of "Our friends the Suffragettes" are held up to ridicule with a benevolent sarcasm which possibly contains some knife-edged argument. A few have appeared in these columns, but all may be safely commended to the notice of Suffragettes and others with a sense of humour.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE MILITANT.

AT a meeting of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, held at the Diocesan Church House, Manchester, on May 20th, Canon Peter Green, who was in the chair, is reported in the local Press to have spoken to the following effect: "The Church League was described as non-political and non-militant. 'Non-political' by all means. They would never get from any political party what they could not wring from it by force. He entirely refused to condemn the militants. If militancy was bad policy, by all means let them not practise it; but he refused absolutely to condemn it on moral grounds. Any methods that would succeed in this matter were right. What were a few broken glass windows in London against so great and important a matter as the removal from women of a great injustice? When he was told militancy was wrong, he said 'No'; he refused to condemn it for a moment."

No little disappointment was created among Bromley Anti-Suffragists at the failure of Mrs. Despard, of the Women's Freedom League, to make good her acceptance of a challenge to debate at Bromley with a member of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. At a meeting held in the market place of that town on June 27th, Mrs. Despard was challenged by

a member of the local Branch of our League to a debate, and was understood by the Anti-Suffragists present to accept. When a choice of three dates was subsequently sent to Mrs. Despard, she replied saying that the acceptance of the offer was only made on behalf of one of the members of her League, and that personally she could not accept the offer. A further offer was made to Mrs. Despard to select any date that might be convenient to her, but she has definitely refused to meet an Anti-Suffragist in debate. Another Suffragist speaker has also found it inconvenient to defend either her platform utterances or a printed pamphlet in debate. Yet, if their cause were sound, there could hardly be any better method of vindicating its alleged righteousness.

"ACCURACY IN ARGUMENT."

THE appearance of an article under the above heading in the current number of the *Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review* adds a welcome touch of humour to this wearying controversy. At the present moment a pretty squabble which turns on this subject is raging between the moderates and the extremists of the Suffrage movement. Miss Maude Royden is one of the most active writers and speakers of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; she signs herself "Chairman of Literature Committee of N.U.W.S.S." Recently, when Mrs. Humphry Ward wrote a letter to the *Times* asking for a clearer definition of the expression "Women's Movement" used by the promoters of the meeting at Queen's Hall "to consider the religious aspect of the women's movement," Miss Maude Royden replied that Mrs. Humphry Ward had no right to hold the Suffrage movement responsible for a "nauseous publication," which is neither published, owned nor read by members of Suffrage Societies. The publication in question unkindly designates Miss Maude Royden's remarks as "the kind of deliberate misstatement which is commonly called lying." Mrs. Ward herself was able to point out that the publication had twice been "welcomed" by the official organ of the Society of which Miss Maude Royden is a prominent official. The paper in question supplements this by pointing out that it is read by some Suffragists in every large Suffrage Society in England.

Concerning the members of the National Union in particular, the paper is subscribed to by 'rank-and-file' members; by officials in London and throughout the provinces; officers and speakers of the Union have contributed articles." One of the latest contributors to its pages is the Rev. W. F. Cobb, D.D., an active and valued adherent of Suffragism, a pillar of the Church League for Woman's Suffrage. (Incidentally it may be pointed out that Dr. Cobb's support of Miss Maude Royden's "nauseous publication" proves how artificial and ineffectual must be any attempt to draw a dividing line between the Suffrage movement and ultra-feminism.) Well may a Suffrage quarterly enter a mild plea for accuracy; for if misstatements are deliberately made in print where they can be weighed and checked, we may infer the degree of accuracy that is considered adequate by Suffragists for their ordinary platform utterances.

OUR BRANCH NEWS LETTER.

Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—There will be no meeting of this Committee in August or September. The next meeting will be Wednesday, October 16th. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Bicester.—A Branch with an initial membership of eighty has been formed in Bicester. The inaugural meeting was held at Brashfield House on June 27th, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Burchardt.

Mr. Burchardt, who was in the chair, read a letter from the Countess of Jersey to the effect that she hoped that the Branch would be a success, and that later she would meet the members at Middleton Park.

Mrs. J. D. Massie urged her hearers to remember that their opponents had extraordinary energy and persistence in their propaganda, and, if Anti-Suffragists wished to stop the depredations of these women, it was necessary to have Branches of the N.L.O.W.S. everywhere up and down the country. If they left the ground to the enemy they must expect them to gain ground. Anti-Suffragists had the advantage of being those in possession, and they must look to their defences and keep in possession. The Conciliation Bill might have been defeated, but there were plenty more where that came from! The vote to women would be a shadow, not a reality. Men had, behind the vote, the means to carry out their views, and women with the vote would gain nothing, for the maintenance of law and order was done by men, thus the ultimate and supreme decision should rest with the men.

Mr. Alan F. Fremantle briefly addressed the meeting. He said he feared the argument that women were not returned to Parliament in countries where they had the vote was no argument, as feminism was more rampant here than in any other country except Sweden.

Mrs. Du Faur, of New Zealand, said that she was in the strange position of a person who, having been enfranchised ten years, now opposed the Suffrage, for she had voted regularly in New Zealand. She said that there were not fifty women in New Zealand who wanted the vote, or even expected it, but it was forced upon them by the Labour Government for political exigencies. She could point out no good results accruing through the granting of the vote except that they had control of the liquor traffic, and they could have secured that quite well without the Suffrage.

Mrs. Massie and Miss Cameron then answered some questions put by the audience, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman and Mrs. Burchardt for their hospitality. Miss Dewar has kindly undertaken to be Secretary of the Bicester Branch until the autumn, and there is every reason to suppose that the Branch will prove to be a very strong one.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr. and Mrs. Burchardt entertained all those present at tea.

Birmingham and District.—On July 16th Mrs. Lakin-Smith gave a delightful garden party to the members of the Birmingham District and Sub-Districts, at 184, Hagley Road, Edgbaston.

Mrs. Harold Norris gave an interesting address to a large number of guests, and

pointed out the need for work and enthusiasm on the part of all supporters of the N.L.O.W.S. Lady Simon proposed a hearty vote of thanks to their hostess and the speaker, which was seconded by Mr. R. H. H. Creak, and carried enthusiastically.

Bristol.—By the kind invitation of Miss Long Fox, a number of the members of the Bristol Branch assembled at 15, Royal York Crescent on June 19th to hear Miss Norah Peachey, of Esher, who gave an address on "Woman's Work in Local Government." Miss Peachey's remarks were received with the greatest interest by her hearers, many of whom are active workers in the social and industrial field of work affecting women.

Bromley and Bickley.—There is no doubt that Anti-Suffragists are very popular in this district. Recently, many well-known Suffrage speakers, including Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, have been speaking here at open-air meetings, and have been subjected to a great deal of heckling and interruption from the crowds, and it is significant that the Suffragists put no resolutions at these meetings to test the feelings of their audience. On the other hand, at a meeting held by our Bickley and Bromley Branch on July 4th, an attentive and delighted hearing was accorded to Mrs. Harold Norris, of Chiswick, and Mrs. Stocks, of Reading. So large was the assembly that those on the outskirts of the crowd found it almost impossible to hear the speeches. Mr. Powell was in the chair, and on a resolution against the extension of the franchise to women being proposed, it was enthusiastically carried, with only two dissentients.

The Anti-Suffragists afterwards proceeded to a meeting convened by the Women's Freedom League, where the principal speaker was Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson. At the close, a number of questions were asked by the audience, and the Anti-Suffragists appealed to their opponents to propose a resolution. The Suffragists, however, refused, and it was left to our supporters to put a resolution themselves! The result was that a resolution "against the vote" was carried.

Buckland (Reigate).—Members of the Reigate Branch resident in Buckland, disapproving of the recent Suffrage propaganda in this village and its neighbourhood, organised a very successful meeting in the Buckland Village Reading Room on June 28th.

The chair was taken by Mr. C. M. Smith, and Mr. A. Maconachie put the Anti-Suffrage point of view very clearly before the audience. No resolution was put, but the majority of those present were obviously in sympathy with Anti-Suffragism.

Light refreshments, provided by the conveners of the meeting, were afterwards served to all present.

Meetings of this kind are very much appreciated in country districts and are found very useful.

Cardiff.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held by the kind invitation of Mrs. James Howell, at the Red House, Ely, near Cardiff, on June 22nd.

Mrs. Maggs was the speaker, and answered in a very able manner some questions put to her by the members of the audience. A good deal of work has been done in Cardiff during the last month, and the membership of the Branch has been greatly augmented.

Chiswick.—A successful garden meeting was held in July, at Ryffel Haus, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Norris.

Mrs. Harold Norris was in the chair, and an interesting address was given by Mr. A. Maconachie, to a very large assembly.

Tea was served during the afternoon, and there was a very brisk sale of REVIEWS, and badges.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the hostess and Mr. A. Maconachie.

Cranborne (Berks.).—Under the auspices of the Ascot Branch, a meeting was held in the Parish Hall, Cranborne, on July 3rd.

Colonel the Hon. H. C. Needham was in the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott gave an interesting address dealing with the position of women socially and industrially. Women, said Miss Pott, were the child-bearers of the race, and, therefore, could not attend to the business of their country in the same way as men. If women ceased working to-morrow, the country would manage without their work, but men could hold up the trade of the nation, as had been lately demonstrated. Miss Pott concluded by proving by the hard logic of facts and figures the inaccuracy of most of the Suffragist statements regarding "the average wage of women workers." Mr. Aldworth proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Pott, which was seconded by Mr. Stone, and at the conclusion of the meeting the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

The Committee of the Ascot Branch are very grateful to Mrs. Oscar Lewisohn for the beautiful floral decorations of the room which were carried out by her head gardener.

Dorking.—GARDEN PARTY AT NORBURY PARK.—One of the most delightful Anti-Suffrage garden parties of the season was given by Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Salomons on July 10th, who invited over 250 of the members of the Dorking and Bookham Branches, and their friends, to Norbury Park, their Dorking residence.

In perfect summer weather the guests assembled in the beautiful, tree-shaded grounds, and speeches were given on the lawn by Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Everything was charmingly organised, a band giving selections of music throughout the afternoon, and every guest being presented with a souvenir fan upon which the programme was pasted.

The chair was taken by Mr. Leopold Salomons, and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott's clever reasoning and Mrs. Greatbatch's thoughtful speech were much appreciated. Mr. A. P. Keep and Mrs. Wilfrid Ward proposed and seconded hearty votes of thanks to the host and hostess, and when the Anti-Suffrage resolution was put it was enthusiastically carried, there being only three dissentients.

Several new members have joined the Dorking Branch since the meeting, and it is worthy of notice that this Branch has a particularly large percentage of working men and women amongst its members.

Golder's Green and Hampstead Garden Suburb.—There was a very successful drawing-room meeting on the evening of July 10th at 131, Hampstead Way, the residence of Mrs. Bramston.

The Rev. B. G. Bourchier was in the chair, and expressed his entire sympathy with the object of the N.L.O.W.S., saying that while he fully appreciated the noble work of women, he feared that the grant of the Parliamentary vote would hinder instead of help that work, and that he was an Anti-Suffragist in the highest interests of women themselves.

Mrs. H. Norris made an able and convincing speech and said that it was most unfair to hold that the Suffragist point of view was that of the majority of women. Suffragists talked a great deal about the "woman's point of view," but they were never in favour of consulting the whole of the women of England on the subject.

At the conclusion of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the host and hostess, the chairman, and Mrs. H. Norris.

WORKERS' MEETING AT GOLDER'S GREEN.—On July 12th, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a very enthusiastic "dinner-hour" meeting of over fifty workmen at Golder's Green. A resolution asking Mr. Ramsay MacDonald not to make Woman Suffrage part of the Labour programme was passed unanimously, and thirty-five of the men signed "protest" post-cards.

Great Missenden.—Two very successful meetings were organised at Great Missenden by the Wendover Branch on July 3rd. The first was a drawing-room meeting held by kind permission at the residence of Mrs. Ker, Frith Hill House. Mrs. Moberly Bell, Hon. Secretary of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was in the chair, and Mrs. Harold Norris and Miss Strong addressed a very large gathering, which included a number of well-known residents.

On the evening of the same date, Mr. A. Ker presided over a crowded assembly in the Infants' Schoolroom, and very able addresses were given by Mrs. H. Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie. There was a good deal of interruption from a number of Suffragists present, but all their questions and objections were cleverly met and answered by the speakers. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Guildford and District.—A most enjoyable garden fête was given by Miss S. Onslow, President of the Guildford and District Branch, at Send Grove, to a number of girl employees in different places of business in Guildford, on June 26th. Miss Onslow addressed the girls on the lawn, and after tea, Vice-Admiral Tudor explained to them the general objects of the N.L.O.W.S. General questions were then invited, and a number were put and answered. The girls returned to Guildford about 6 p.m., very much delighted with their afternoon. In addition to Miss Onslow and Miss S. Onslow, the following members of the committee were present: Lady Martindale, Vice-President, Vice-Admiral and Mrs. Tudor, Mrs. Livingstone Learmonth, Mrs. Brooks and the Hon. Secretary (Mrs. Anderson).

Hackney.—During the past month this new Branch has made excellent progress. There is already a list of over 250 strong local supporters, and many more names are being added daily, as the formation of the Branch becomes more widely known, and there are a number of paying members.

Miss Mabel Smith has addressed two meetings, one at the Victoria Conservative Club in the South Division, and one at the Central Hackney Liberal Club. Mr. M. G. Liverman, the Hon. Secretary, also spoke on both occasions.

Mr. Liverman will be glad to hear from any ladies or gentlemen, in either of the three divisions, who are desirous of joining the Branch.

Hythe.—The Hythe Branch is at present still affiliated to Folkestone, but it is hoped that in the near future it will be entirely

independent, for it is doing well and has an excellent membership. Its first public meeting, which was very successful and well attended, was held in the Hythe Institute on July 12th, and was presided over by Mr. H. Strahan, J.P. Mrs. Greatbatch, who was the principal speaker, delivered a convincing and able address. Mrs. Boddam-Whetham, Deputy-President of the Branch, in a brief speech, moved a resolution against Woman Suffrage, which was seconded by Dr. Randall Davis, and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks to the speakers was proposed by the Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brice and seconded by Mrs. Strahan.

Manchester.—Manchester this month has devoted its efforts to open-air meetings, which have been held in Withington, Rusholme, Levenshulme, Queen's Park, Ancoats, etc. It is in the working-class districts here that our cause receives most support, and at the close of the meetings large numbers of the working men and women in the audience ask the speakers "to come again."

A meeting of Vice-Presidents and principal supporters was called, on July 10th, to consider the present situation regarding Woman Suffrage. All the members present agreed that vigorous efforts must be made in this district during the coming Autumn, and in order to help the work many of those present gave financial assistance.

It is hoped to arrange a number of garden parties in the different districts surrounding Manchester. The first of these was held on July 20th, the invitation being issued in the name of the South Manchester Sub-Branch. The party was held in the grounds of an empty house, which was lent by the owner, and a large number of people attended, the meeting being most enthusiastic. As tickets were sold at 1s. each, the gathering was a financial as well as a social success, and most of the refreshments were very kindly given by members living in the neighbourhood. A Manchester official writes: "We recommend this form of propaganda to other Branches as a useful means of help."

Marylebone.—By the kind invitation of Mrs. Alexander Scott, a reception was given to the members of this Branch and their friends, on July 10th, at 34, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W., and was very well attended. Amongst those present were the President, Lady George Hamilton, and several of the Vice-Presidents.

A very interesting and stimulating address was given by Miss Strong, who, after giving her reasons for considering the granting of the vote to women detrimental both to the Empire and to women themselves, showed how largely women might help as Poor Law Guardians and by serving on Care Committees and other Sub-Committees dealing with the health and education of children.

An excellent programme of music and duologues was rendered by Miss Annabel MacDonald, Miss Marjorie Heyward, Miss Claude Nicholson, Miss Margot Balfour, and Mr. Alan MacWhirter. An interesting item in the programme was the singing of two of Mr. Pott's "Songs for Suffs" by Mr. Alan MacWhirter.

Newport.—The Newport Branch is doing very well, and has lately recruited a number of new members. A very interesting drawing-room meeting was given, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Wallis, at Chesterholme, on June 29th. Mrs. Maggs gave the address, and some members of the Branch also spoke briefly.

North Hants (Basingstoke).—A most enjoyable garden meeting, attended by about a hundred people, was held by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Mares at their residence, Manor House, Basingstoke, on July 18th.

Mr. A. Maconachie was in the chair and gave a short speech.

Miss Gladys Pott spoke with her usual ability, and replied to a number of questions which were addressed to her. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried almost unanimously.

North Wales.—The campaign in North Wales continues with unabated vigour, and we are receiving many supporters and new members for our League in several important constituencies.

On June 28th, a very successful drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of Mrs. Gladstone Jones, at "Plas Gwilyn," Crickieth. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon made a capital little speech, dealing with many aspects of the suffragist "fallacies," and a very interesting discussion amongst the members of her audience followed. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried unanimously.

A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Pendre Assembly Rooms, at Towyn, on July 1st. So large a number of people attended that many had to be turned away from the doors. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed an audience which consisted of Suffragists, Anti-Suffragists, and those who were neutral, taking as her main theme the swamping of the national vote by the female electorate in regard to such Imperial matters as the army, navy, shipping, trade, and mining. The resolution against Woman Suffrage was passed by an overwhelming majority.

Norwood and Anerley.—New members were enrolled at the very successful drawing-room meeting given by kind invitation of Mrs. Denton, at the Drive, Sydenham, for the Norwood and Anerley Branch on June 8th. Mrs. Hill Hodgson was in the chair, and Miss Pott's admirably logical and convincing address was much appreciated by those present.

We regret that as no report of this meeting was sent to the REVIEW, it was not mentioned in last month's Branch News.

Purley and Sanderstead.—The evening garden meeting, kindly arranged by Mrs. Atterbury, Hon. Secretary of Purley and Sanderstead, was, unfortunately, marred by the weather, and had to be held in the Lecture Hall, Purley.

There was an excellent audience, and the speeches of Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. A. Macallum Scott were very much appreciated. The chair was taken by Mr. F. T. Chancellor, who invited questions from the audience. Some interesting points were thereupon raised, and the speakers very ably answered the questions put by many of those present. Votes of thanks concluded the meeting.

Richmond.—The Hon. Secretary of the Richmond Branch, Mrs. Willoughby Dumergue, writes:—"On April 23rd, 1912, began the fourth year of the Richmond Branch. As its Hon. Secretary since it was founded by Miss C. Fothergill, I am happy to think it continues to grow and strengthen. Though numerically not yet so great as I could wish, I have good reason to feel hopeful that many more adherents will be gained in the course of another year. . . . The Richmond Branch combined with Kew to do

its part at "56, Staples Inn, Shakespeare's England," from May 23rd to 30th, and it is gratifying to know that our united efforts were considered by the Central Office to have satisfactory results. The fact that I succeeded in enlisting seven willing and able helpers proves that the spirit for the cause is keen in Richmond. I have gratefully to acknowledge the transfer of fifteen new members, enrolled by Mrs. Bray at the Shakespeare House, to my Branch. This transfer brings the Richmond membership up to 100."

We regret that, in giving the list of Branches represented at the annual Council Meeting, Richmond was inadvertently omitted. The presence of Richmond delegates brings the number of Branches represented on that occasion up to 103.

Rugby.—Two very successful small meetings took place at Rugby on July 15th and 16th. The first was held at the residence of Mrs. St. Wills and the second at that of Mrs. Van den Arden. Miss Gladys Pott addressed both audiences and invited criticism and questions. Much interesting discussion followed, and a hope was expressed by those present that a debate with the local Suffrage Society would take place in the Autumn.

Southsea.—By kind invitation of Mrs. Gillum Webb (President), a drawing-room meeting was held in Southsea in connection with the lately reorganised Portsmouth and District Branch on June 20th. Mrs. Lindsay was in the chair;

Mrs. Robertson, Vice-President of the Branch, gave a most interesting and convincing address, and remarked that she had at one time advocated the extension of the franchise to women of property, but, on mature consideration, she saw how impossible it would be to give the vote to a certain class and exclude others, when men were eligible under the £10 qualification and likely to have even that extended.

Mrs. Pollard, in proposing a vote of thanks, made a most excellent little speech on the present position of women, and said that she "could never see where the disabilities of women existed."

Mrs. Uthwaite seconded the vote of thanks, and spoke on the effect of Woman's Franchise in Australia. Several new members joined the Branch at the close of the meeting.

Sunninghill.—Members of the Ascot Branch organised a very successful meeting, which was held at the Cordes Hall, Sunninghill, on July 2nd. There was a very large attendance, and Lord Stanmore presided over a very interested audience.

Miss Gladys Pott spoke exceedingly well, and advanced a number of excellent arguments on the subject of "Women's Vote and Wages." Miss Pott controverted Mr. Cameron Grant's statement that the inevitable result of women not having the vote was, that while men's wages continued to advance, women's wages remained stationary. Between 1896 and 1905, said Miss Pott, the increases had been:—Cotton trade, women 24 per cent., men 22 per cent.; linen trade, women 21 per cent., men 13 per cent.; jute trade, women 40 per cent., men 21 per cent.; silk trade, men and women 11 per cent.

In answer to a good many questions put by the audience, Miss Pott said that some time ago in the Potteries men struck for more money, and the women, rather than see the

strike continue, went out and did the work, and she believed they had been doing it ever since. In any case, the vote would not affect women's wages—if the vote affected wages, it was obvious there would be no men employed in sweated industries to-day.

A hearty vote of thanks to Miss Pott was moved and seconded by Mr. W. H. Tottie and Mr. R. Watson respectively. Lord Stanmore proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Crouch for arranging the meeting and to Lady Durning Lawrence for paying all the expenses. A resolution against women having the vote, being put to the meeting, was carried almost unanimously.

Watford.—A very pleasant and highly successful garden meeting was held on July 13th at Westfield, Watford, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Moore. Mr. Moore presided, and the audience was addressed by Mrs. A. Colquhoun and Mr. Arthur Pott. The former denounced with spirit the usual assertions of the Suffragists that women under the present state of things are kept in a state of down-trodden inferiority, giving most excellent reasons for her own arguments and dwelling sympathetically on the constructive side of Anti-Suffragism, and pointing out the need that existed for women to take a greater part in the important work of Local Government.

Mr. Pott dealt skilfully with the Parliamentary situation on the Suffrage question. The following resolution was put and carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting records its unwavering opposition to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women, and protests against any attempt to revive during the present Session of Parliament a proposal which has already been defeated in the House of Commons, and which has never received any support from the electors."

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman and Mrs. Moore on the motion of Miss Dorothy Ward, seconded by Mr. Daniel Hill, and at the conclusion of the meeting Mrs. Moore very kindly entertained those present at tea. A number of new members were enrolled.

Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League. Cupar.—A branch has just been formed in Cupar, with a good opening membership. The inaugural meeting was held in the drawing room of the Misses Forrett, Millgate, on July 6th, when there was a large attendance of ladies.

Lady Griselda Cheape, in a very earnest address, explained the principles of Anti-Suffragism, and urged the necessity of forming strong branches of the League in every town and village.

The meeting resolved to forward a petition in support of their movement to their Member, Major Anstruther-Gray, the petition to be signed by male voters only.

Mrs. Lamond, Southfield, has promised to act as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Cupar Branch.

OUR LEAFLETS.

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 5s. 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.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes. Should Women have Votes because they pay Taxes? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. Price 7s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.
40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. Price 5s. per 1,000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
45. Miss Violet Markham's Speech. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
47. Most Women do not desire a Vote. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
48. Some Words of Wisdom. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
49. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech at Oxford. Price 1d.
50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
51. Suffragist Fallacies. A Mandate (?). Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
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 Hon. Secretary: Miss Duncan, "Penarth," North End Road, Golder's Green.

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 Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 47, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellows Road.

Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss M. E. Allsop, 19, Belsize Park, N.W. All communications should be addressed to Miss Gunning, 43, Belsize Park Gardens, for the present.

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 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Blomfield, 51, Frogna.

NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD—
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 Hon. Secretary: Colonel J. W. Cowley.
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph.D., 326, Philip Lane South Tottenham.

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 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wagstaff.
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Clarke, 89, Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.

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 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mason, 83, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
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 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 12, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S—
 President: The Countess of Cromer.
 Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of Ancaster.
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.
 Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Helen Page, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, to whom all communications should be addressed.

PADDINGTON—
 President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale.
 Deputy President: Lady Hyde.
 Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs. Percy Thomas, 37, Craven Road, Hyde Park.
 The Hon. Secretary will be "At Home" every Thursday morning to answer questions and give information.

ST. PANCRAS, EAST—
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Briggs.
 Hon. Secretary: Miss Sterling, 14, Bartholomew Road, N.W.

STREATHAM—
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Winckoski, 31, Hopton Road, Streatham.

UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY—
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 Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tipler.
 Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent Road, South Norwood.

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 Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

WHITECHAPEL—
 President: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower, Tower of London, E.C.

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EALING—
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 Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.
 All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the present.

EALING DEAN—
 Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.

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

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NORFOLK COUNTY BRANCH—
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 Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Carr, Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Stewart.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Woodland, Turley Cottage, East Grinstead.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cooper, 5, Bath Road, West Worthing.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville," Salisbury Road, Worthing.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Crooks, 37, Clifton Road, Rugby.
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Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson, The Red House, Wilton.
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Ethel Cripps, Hillbrow, Fowler's Road, Salisbury.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Hill, Avonturn, Alderbury.
- Chalke Valley (Sub-Branch)**—
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Secretary: Miss Q. Carse.
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- KIDDERMINSTER**—
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Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.
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Hon. Secretary: J. E. Grosvenor, Esq., Blakebrook, Kidderminster.
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Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.
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Vice-President: Mrs. Charles Coventry.
Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.
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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. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.
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No branch committee has been formed; Lady Bosville Macdonald of the Isles, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.
- HULL**—
Chairman:
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme.
Hon. Secretary:
- ILKLEY**—
President: Mrs. Steinthal.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.
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President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.
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District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.
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- SCARBOROUGH**—
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The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.
Asst. Secretary: Arnold Brittain, Esq., Hoole's Chambers, 47, Bank Street, Sheffield.
- WHITBY**—
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- YORK**—
President: Lady Julia Wombwell.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:
- THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**
- President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.
- LONDON**—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.
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- ISLE OF WIGHT**—
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Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.
- OXFORD**—
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Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
Secretary: Miss White, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

- (In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

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- Kilmaolm (Sub-Branch)**—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, Lynnden, Kilmaolm.
- Tradeston (Sub-Branch)**—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Ainslie, 76, Pollok Street.
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Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gladstone Jones; Miss Glynn, "Plas Groilym," Criccieth.
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