

ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

1912.

No. 52.



FEBRUARY, 1913.

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The truth remains that the majority of women but rarely do for their complexion what is sensible. In a vague sort of way only do they know that it is quite the time to use something or other.

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THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 2/-, post free.

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

No. 52.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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FEBRUARY MEETINGS.

FEBRUARY 3RD, GUNNERSBURY.—Social Evening and Play, 8 p.m.
EXETER.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie.

FEBRUARY 4TH, EXMOUTH.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Norris and Mr. Maconachie.

HACKNEY.—Central Hackney Unionist Pioneers' Debate. Miss Mabel Smith.

FEBRUARY 6TH, BOGNOR.—Queen's Hall, 3 p.m. Mrs. Colquhoun and Mr. John Massie. Mr. Vesey FitzGerald in the chair.

SIDMOUTH.—Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Norris and Mr. A. Wenyon-Samuel.

CAMBRIDGE.—Debate, Girton College. Miss Pott v. Miss Cicely Corbett.

FEBRUARY 10TH, KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.—Congregational Church Guild. Debate: Mrs. Harold Norris v. Mrs. Corbett Ashley.

FEBRUARY 11TH, BIRMINGHAM.—Annual Meeting. Speaker: Miss Moir.

CHelsea.—Drawing-room Meeting, 15, Grosvenor Place, 3 p.m. Miss Gladys Pott and Sir Henry Craik, M.P.

BERMONDSEY.—St. James's Branch C.E.M.S., Jamaica Road, 8.30. Mr. Liverman.

FEBRUARY 12TH, BRISTOL, FISHPONDS.—Debate: Miss Stuart v. Miss Pridden.

FEBRUARY 13TH, SHENFIELD.—Poplar Training School. Staff Social Club Debate, 8 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon v. Miss Edwards.

FEBRUARY 14TH, EAST SHEEN.—Drawing-room Meeting. Mrs. Kensall's, 3.15. Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. A. Maconachie.

FEBRUARY 19TH, KILBURN AND KENSAL RISE.—Women's Liberal Association. Debate, 3.15. Mrs. Austin.

FEBRUARY 20TH, ETON.—Public Meeting. Austin Leigh Hall. Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. Maconachie.

FEBRUARY 21ST, SHREWSBURY.—Public Meeting. Miss Gladys Pott.

FEBRUARY 25TH, OXFORD.—Debate, Lady Margaret's Hall. Miss Gladys Pott.

WOODBRIDGE.—Public Meeting. Mrs. Greatbatch.

FEBRUARY 27TH, AMERSHAM.—Public Meeting, 8.15. Miss Helen Page and Mr. A. Maconachie.

NEW BRANCHES.

The following new Branches have been opened during January:—

Amersham.

President: Lady Susan Trueman.

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Walsall.

Chairman: Mrs. S. M. Slater.

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Greatrex, Highbury, Mellish Road, Walsall.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

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

Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty,

33, Hornton Street,

Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

THE Secretary of the Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage) would be very glad if any ladies willing to do any work in connection with the approaching London County Council Elections, which take place early in March, would send their names to her at Caxton House, S.W.

Canvassers are wanted, also speakers, and ladies who will give some help in the office.

The Secretary would also be glad to hear of ladies who would be willing to come forward for election as Guardians in April.—[Advt.]

PROLONGING THE AGONY.

THE Woman Suffrage agitation has been given a further lease of life. If the Franchise Bill had run its course through the House of Commons, and the amendments to give the Parliamentary vote to some, or all, women had been defeated—and there was every reason to suppose that they would have been defeated—the country could have claimed a few years' respite from the threatened danger of rash legislation on the subject. But the measure that was to introduce this grave constitutional change by a side-wind has been dropped, and the Government, in order to redeem the Prime Minister's "pledge," has had to promise facilities for a private Member's Woman Suffrage Bill. When the Committee Stage of the Franchise Bill was reached, it was discovered that certain Government amendments, to say nothing of the Woman Suffrage amendments, would so alter the character of the Bill that, according to the practice of Parliament, a new Bill would have to be introduced. In the face of this predicament the Government decided to withdraw the Bill, and thus has left the whole question to be fought out next Session. Except in so far as the subject has assumed the proportions of a national nuisance, and for that reason is better out of the way, Anti-Suffragists view without concern these various stages in the Suffragist manœuvres to gain their end in opposition to the will of the people. They recognise the danger, but are confident that the more knowledge the country has of the Suffrage question, the firmer will be its resolve to withhold the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women.

The situation that the Woman Suffrage question has created in Parliament affords the strongest possible confirmation of the justice of the Anti-Suffragists' contention that the subject is one that must be submitted to the electorate as a single and definite issue. Up to the eve of the Committee Stage of the Franchise Bill, the Suffragists were working hard to clear away whatever might be regarded as a hindrance to a Suffragist vote in the House—a clear confession that the issue in Parliament could never be a straightforward one, for every obstacle in the way of Suffragists must have had its counterpart for Anti-Suffragists. No measure that is to pass as the considered judgment of the nation ought to rely upon the tactics to which resort was made on behalf of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill. Threats and cajolery, begging and brow-beating—in fact, all the arts of the gipsy and the burglar—have been requisitioned in order to wrest the vote from the representatives of an unwilling nation. The whole campaign will constitute a sorry passage in English history, and reflects little credit on those who, while standing aloof from the tactics adopted, have countenanced the method of procedure by pressing for a decision before the question has received a fair verdict at the hands of the electorate.

The Suffrage controversy is thus to be continued, with militancy and log-rolling once more the order of the

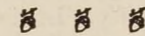
day. No section of Suffragist opinion expresses itself satisfied with the Government's solution of the Parliamentary entanglement. The militants pour unction upon their souls for unerring foresight, and have resumed their militancy; the so-called constitutionalists once more join hands with them in the demand for a Government Bill. To this proposal—impossible upon the face of it—Mr. Asquith has repeated his uncompromising refusal. Liberal-Suffragist organs in the Press are seeking to persuade their fellow-Suffragists that the chances of the cause are enhanced by the course that events have taken. The Suffragist societies, however, reject this cold comfort, and the difference of opinion illustrates the futility of seeking any solution of the Suffrage question that is not broad-based upon the people's will. By refusing to believe that a Suffrage measure can ever pass the House of Commons on its own merits, without the "command" pressure of the Government majority, which has never had the least connection with the question as far as the country is concerned, Suffragists admit that not even this House of Commons is with them. Can they not have the perspicacity to realise that the nation will equally refuse to sanction an innovation that will have been introduced by arbitrary and immoral methods? If they affect to disregard Anti-Suffrage opinion at this stage, a little reflection will assure them that the hostility of the nation to Woman Suffrage, reinforced by indignation against wholly unconstitutional procedure, will at that point put an end to their short-lived triumph. Inasmuch as neither party in the State will take the responsibility of including Woman Suffrage in its platform, the wishes of the people can only be made known by a direct appeal to the electorate. Sooner or later this appeal will have to be made.

NOTES AND NEWS.

At Headquarters.

As was to be expected, the past month has been one of unparalleled activity for the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The pages of this Review bear witness to the number of important meetings held in London and the provinces; but the situation in the House of Commons has naturally claimed the major attention of the League. On this point it is, perhaps, sufficient to say that no Member of Parliament who is interested in or attaches importance to the question of Woman Suffrage has had any reason to remain in ignorance of the widespread opposition to the movement. Liberals, Unionists, Nationalists, and Labour Members have all been placed in possession of arguments against votes for women—arguments that throughout the controversy have remained unanswered by Suffragists. By common consent, however, the position in Parliament had already, many days before the Committee Stage of the Franchise Bill began, resolved itself into a question of political cross-currents, and the merits or demerits of Woman

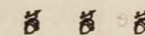
Suffrage were being lost in a maze of intrigue and log-rolling. The ultimate fate of the Franchise Bill provided the strongest possible confirmation of the Anti-Suffragist contention that the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women by the present House of Commons would have been a constitutional outrage.



Grand Committee Room "C."

ON the day when the Grey Amendment to the Franchise Bill was moved in the House of Commons, Grand Committee Room "C" was placed at the disposal of the League by the courtesy of the Speaker. The following ladies represented the League during the afternoon:—The Duchess of Montrose, Lady Helen Graham, Miss Mary Backhouse, Mrs. Burgwin, Mrs. Weir, Mary Countess of Ilchester, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss D. Ward, Miss Pott, Mrs. Macmillan, Miss Dormer Maunder, Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mrs. Stocks, Mrs. Dalton, Mrs. Jeyes, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Lane, Mrs. Bernard Mallet, Mrs. Bray.

A number of Members of Parliament availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of conferring with lady members of the League, and the possible issues of the dramatic developments attending the progress of the Franchise Bill were eagerly discussed. Beyond availing itself of the Speaker's permission to use the Grand Committee Room in this way, the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage took no steps to imitate the tactics of the Suffragists, and it may be mentioned here that there was no truth in the statement made by a London evening paper that on one day Anti-Suffrage posters were carried by women. Mrs. Fawcett had announced a quasi-Suffrage-beauty-show in connection with the proceedings in the House by stating that the Suffrage Societies had resolved to "picket" the entrances to Parliament, and appealing to the "best known and most distinguished looking" of the members to volunteer for service. There was in these circumstances no lack of volunteers, and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies added picketing to the many examples already given of the "purifying influence" which Suffragists with the vote might be expected to exercise on our public life.

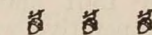


The Anti-Suffrage Petition.

ON Friday, January 24th, the opening day of the Committee Stage of the Franchise and Registration Bill, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., presented a petition to the House of Commons signed by 47,881 men and women in all parts of the Kingdom against the granting of the Parliamentary Franchise to women. This petition was the fourth instalment of the Anti-Suffrage petition which has now been signed by 430,808 men and women. The first petition, presented in March, 1909, contained 254,620 signatures, and succeeding instalments were presented in November, 1909, and May, 1911. The petition runs:—

"We, the undersigned, pray your Honourable House to reject any measure having for its object or one of its objects the grant of the Parliamentary Suffrage to Women. We fully realise the importance and value of Women's Work in our National Life—

especially in Education and the care of the Poor—but we believe that the danger which might arise from the concession of Woman Suffrage, in the case of a State burdened with such complex and far-reaching responsibilities as England, would be out of all proportion to the risk run by those smaller communities which have adopted it. We hold that the admission to full political power of a number of voters debarred by nature and circumstance from the average political knowledge and experience open to men, would weaken the central governing forces of the State, and be fraught with peril to the country.



The Risks of Indifference.

THE present position of the Woman Suffrage question in this country emphasises the need for the marshalling of the forces of opposition to the grant of the Parliamentary Vote to women. Owing to the fiasco of the Franchise Bill, the claim that the country must be consulted before any Suffrage measure can become law has received many adherents. But in proportion to the growing support given to this view, for which the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage stands, will the Suffragists increase their efforts to bring about this fatal modification of the Constitution over the heads of the electorate. They have benefited in the past from the natural antipathy that exists among many sections of the public to being brought into the whirlpool of this controversy. Behind their insistent clamour they have sought to conceal from the eyes of the unheeding the fact that the great bulk of the nation is hostile or indifferent to Woman Suffrage. Further apathy will imperil the prestige of the Empire, as yet another chance is to be given to the Suffragists to push their cause through this Parliament. It is not enough to wait for the next General Election to register a vote against the movement. Some action should be taken now, and support should be given to this League. The experience of practically all the countries that have adopted Woman Suffrage shows the danger of indifference towards the question. In Colorado, in 1893, only 62,000 voters out of 200,000 voted on the subject, and by a majority of 6,000 some 34,000 people committed the State to the system. One vote out of every six sufficed to introduce Woman Suffrage into the Statute books of Washington. Of the twelve million women in Great Britain whom it is proposed to enfranchise, how many have expressed a desire for the vote, and of the male electorate of eight millions how many want to give it to them? In the United States experience has shown that wherever Woman Suffrage has succeeded, it has been due to the indifference and not to the support of the electorate. Here in Great Britain, with Imperial responsibilities, similar indifference would constitute the gravest possible danger to the State and the Empire.



The Experience of Suffrage States.

It is to be feared that too many Suffragists adopt the attitude of one of their number who at question time during a recent debate informed her audience that she "knew better than the Australian Official Year Book." The frequency with which it is claimed for New Zealand

and Australia that Woman Suffrage has achieved such wonders in this or that direction indicates how little thought the speakers have given to the subject. In the first place, these countries started life as heirs to the ages, with the experience of older countries before them, pointing out the evils that they had to avoid. They started, too, in regard to labour conditions with all the advantages of experiment on a small scale, with no over-crowding, no submerged population. In each case the national instinct had already decided upon the policy to be pursued before there was any question of granting votes to women. Such factory legislation in New Zealand as is in any way distinctive, dates from 1891 and 1894, although the consolidating Act now operative was actually passed in 1901. The legislation of 1891 and 1894 was framed and passed before women were enfranchised.

In regard to the latter year, the year following the introduction of Woman Suffrage, the Bill of 1894, drafted in 1891, had already passed the House of Representatives in 1892 and 1893, but had been held up by the nominated Upper House.

The same holds good in Australia. It is true that the minimum wage for apprentices applies equally to men and women, but it is not true that pay remains equal in other grades. Out of 52 trades for which the Victorian Wages Boards have fixed the rates of pay there are only two in which the minimum wage of men is not at least double that of women. In New Zealand the introduction of an equal minimum wage for men and women teachers does not imply that the two classes receive equal pay. The Report of the Education Department for 1911 shows that the average rates of salary of public school teachers was, for men £204, and for women £126; in the secondary schools the average salary of the male assistant was £243, that of female assistants £155. Finally, it has to be pointed out that the very close attention that can be and is given in Australia and New Zealand to domestic legislation, proves conclusively how different are the conditions in those countries from the conditions in Great Britain, where matters of Imperial interest occupy the time of the Legislature. It is hard enough, in the Mother Country, to find time for original Bills of pressing importance; in the oversea dominions, which are freed from three-quarters of the affairs that the Imperial Parliament has to consider, time is found not only for countless Acts on domestic matters, but also for amending Acts, in some cases before the original Act is a year old.

WOMEN AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

WE have been reading an article in which schools and colleges were condemned because they furthered Suffrage opinions. The schools are staffed by mistresses who do their utmost to inspire the children under them with their own doctrines. These mistresses are the product of the women's colleges, and it is with these that we wish to speak, for in our opinion the work for the Suffrage in a woman's college is done not so much by means of active propaganda as by the general atmosphere. As an undergraduate once remarked as he critically studied a band of women students: "It is not Oxford that spoils the women, it is that it does not get hold of the right women."

The mistake in the system to-day is that there is not enough variety; the colleges encourage girls of a certain

type, and anyone who varies from it either finds herself at a disadvantage or she is requested on some plea or other to go down. The girls who have spent their lives between the ages of twelve and eighteen in working their way up a school (especially if it be a boarding school), who have perhaps been pushed by ambitious teachers, do not vary very greatly in their outlook on life. These are the ones who go on to the university. In time they come to regard their work as the sole aim and object of their lives, and they look with disdain on those who regard it less seriously.

Very different are those girls who are plunged into the social life at the same age. Nowadays, to get on well in the world, one has to assume a social manner. The majority prefers a nonchalant indifference to everything, which forms an effectual guard for oneself but at the same time a barrier to one unaccustomed to it. At twenty the debutante is generally good-hearted; superficially she is blasée and patronising.

Watch the effect of this on the lady of learning who has spent most of her time in study. When she goes out into society she is shy and awkward; she has no flow of conversation and her partners find her dull. She is piqued when she is deserted for some brighter companion, and to hide her wounded pride she professes to despise her surroundings. The social manner of the women frighten her, and she assumes that they do not care about the things that she regards as serious. And so the misunderstanding goes on. A good deal of pleasure can be got out of life by standing on a pedestal (metaphorically speaking) and looking down on one's neighbours; and this is what the woman student does. She has failed to cultivate her charms, she has lost the art of dress, so she devotes herself with misplaced zeal to the over-cultivation of her brain.

This is the university type. The social butterfly seldom ventures into an abode of learning; if she does, she is misunderstood by her companions, by the authorities. Because she has friends among the undergraduates she is regarded as "fast"; because she wishes to accept invitations, she is accused of neglecting her work. Eventually she is bewildered by this strange atmosphere, and either she makes some excuse to get away, or, before that happens, she is asked by those in authority to go down.

A short story will illustrate this spirit. A girl who had been brought up at home found herself for some reason or other at the university. She had an excellent voice and was asked to sing at a concert given by her Hall. She agreed and sang one or two of the sentimental ballads commonly performed in a drawing-room. For this she was labelled as fast by her audience, and in spite of a really good voice was never asked to sing in public again.

So it happens that a woman's college fails to bridge over the gulf that separates the two types of womanhood in the world to-day, though it offers every opportunity for doing so. The workers become Suffragists, they go out into the world with the ideas that they have cultivated, and they instil them into their pupils. Occasionally one finds the woman student who has been brought face to face with a world that she never dreamed about, then she becomes a most excellent person; but in the majority of cases her ideas of society are taken from the novels that she reads.

And the non-worker leaves the worker severely alone, though each could improve the other, if they could be brought together. And the place to do it is at a woman's university, if only it could become a social as well as a working institution.

C. M. K.

WOMAN AND THE LAW.

(FROM A LEGAL CONTRIBUTOR.)

THE case for militant Suffragism as presented by themselves would seem to disclose a most unfortunate state of affairs. It appears that the women of this country are living in a servitude deplorable in itself, yet encouraged by the law of the land. This kind of generalisation is the commonplace of all in search of a grievance. As Lord Randolph Churchill said of Fair Trade, it goes down like butter, but it has one fatal flaw. A time comes when you have to find an occasional fact in support of your thesis, and then your difficulties begin. The controversial method most popular at such a crisis, and indeed the only one available, is to cover your wildest assertions with rhetoric and to escape the issue under a cloud of confused thought and inconsequent talk. The Suffragettes have one inestimable advantage, that they are not addressing an audience that attaches any undue importance to reason.

An excellent and entertaining example of all this is seen in the manifesto issued by an association called "The Woman's Social and Political Union," with reference to a proposed deputation to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. It deserves very careful study by any impartial student who wishes to understand the workings of the militant mind and to see the extraordinary results of a reasoning apparently sincere.

A MILITANT MANIFESTO.

This remarkable document contains among a good many other things, a half-hearted apology for militant action, on the ground that, "although termed militant it has so far caused no injury to life."

A militancy which sets fire to an occupied theatre and tampers with railway signals is oddly enough entitled to credit, not because it is innocent, but because it is ineffective.

So with the pillar-box absurdities. It is true the results have hardly attained the dignity, as is pointed out in triumph, of "a passing discomfort," but this ridiculous screech omits to point out that this is only because a simple piece of mischief within the capacity of an ordinary street arab is outside the resources of militant incompetency. Nothing could be more illustrative of the muddled mentality of the Suffragette mind.

To devise outrages which, in the language of one of their leaders, are to stagger the world and then apologise because they only fail is worthy of a sex which discovered the immortal excuse for an inopportune baby that "it was only a little one."

But next we come to the official excuse. All this after all is really to prove "that an Anti-Suffrage Government holds panes of glass and the passing discomfort of spoilt envelopes as more criminal outrages than the wholesale destruction of child life or the merciless crushing of womanhood in the industrial machine"—which again is all very good until examination, when it merely becomes a senseless collocation of words.

To break windows or destroy letters are mischievous offences and properly punished, but not severely.

On the other hand, all offences against children are the subject of the most stringent legislation. The present Government have by its Children's Act so safeguarded the sons as even to visit their sins on the fathers. It is difficult to suggest how the interests of children could be further

secured than they are by existing legislation. To cause the smallest unnecessary suffering to a child is a criminal offence in those responsible for its custody.

CHARGES OF INEQUALITY.

So examined, what does all this clamour amount to?

1. The suggestion that there is any wholesale destruction of child life is mere flatulent nonsense.

2. An Anti-Suffrage Government has by man-made law extended and developed the protection always given by the law to children.

3. That if any offence against children is committed the punishment is far severer than the trifling penalties incurred by breaking a window.

4. As to the merciless crushing of womanhood. Women are paid less than men for the simple reason they are unable for physical reasons to do as much work. This, if a grievance, could only be a civil grievance and could have no connection with criminal law.

Such is the difference between rhetoric and fact.

So with the assertion often made that women are unfairly treated by the law. This is a commonplace of the Suffragette platform.

It is not too much to say that at the present moment it is impossible to point out an instance in which women are not more favourably treated by the letter and spirit of the law than men.

The only attempt to substantiate the statement ever made is to take two separate cases tried in different courts and to argue that because a man may be sentenced to less term for assault on a woman than a woman somewhere else for larceny, the law is unjust. A method so transparently unfair needs no answer. Every case must depend on its own merits.

The fair test is to take an offence and see what the punishment is for that when committed by a man or a woman.

Complaint is often made of the leniency of sentences in cases of assault on wives by husbands. The reason is simple. It is not due to any inclination to spare the man, but the fact that the punishment may operate harder on the wife and children who are dependent on him for their livelihood. But what is the man-made law on this point? It is this: For an assault on a man the limit of imprisonment is two months; for an assault on a woman or child the punishment is six months. Such is the difference again between fact and the rhetoric of Brighton beach.

The plain truth is, women are the spoilt children of the English law. In civil law the female position is this. If unmarried, exactly the same as the male; if married, the woman has many advantages over the other sex. Since the Married Women's Property Act, 1883 (passed by men), she is absolutely independent of her husband; while she can deal with and dispose of her property as she pleases, the law will only allow her to be made bankrupt if she is trading and trading alone. In the meantime the husband, if married before 1870, is responsible for all his wife's debts, even if contracted before marriage; if after 1883 he is still liable, but only to the amount of such money as he has received in respect of her property. Nor does the poor man's liability end here. He is liable to be sued and cast in damages, if his wife libels an enemy, slanders a friend, or commits a trespass on a neighbour. Nor can he bring an action in his turn against her to recover any damages he may have to pay for her torts.

WOMAN'S PRIVILEGES.

At the same time the wife can pledge the husband's credit for such necessities as are suitable to her station in life, as to which the law with its incurable femininity takes a generous view and has even included as such the costs incurred in successfully divorcing him. In fact the only reciprocal obligation is the obligation on each to bury the other "in a suitable manner."

The only suggestion of a grievance that can be found is that a woman cannot divorce her husband for mere infidelity but must prove desertion or cruelty. Whether this is a grievance or not is a very debatable subject. Dr. Johnson was probably right when he said the guilt was not the same, as "confusion of progeny was the essence of the offence," but the administration of the law is so favourable to the sex that the cruelty necessary now is hardly a serious obstacle, and the whole question has been considered in the recent Commission, and the position may well or ill be altered. But any possible grievance is amply balanced by the position of the woman with regard to separation. Any woman now can obtain from a magistrate or magistrates a separation on the ground of persistent cruelty, desertion, lack of proper maintenance or habitual drunkenness, while a similar protection is only given the man for the habitual drunkenness of the wife.

Such is the civil position of woman in the English law. Her criminal position is even more fortunate.

If a felony is committed by a wife in the presence of her husband, the law presumes she acted under his compulsion and excuses her from punishment.

This theory does not extend to murder or high treason; but in practice, if a husband and wife are charged together, unless there are very special circumstances in the case, the woman goes free and the man is convicted. One has only to recall some recent *cause célèbre* in illustration of this merciful extension of the woman's privilege.

It is not too much to say that if Macbeth and his wife were tried to-day at the Old Bailey for murdering Duncan, Lady Macbeth would be almost certain of acquittal. For burglary, larceny, forgery, assault and robbery the wife can commit with impunity, if only she takes the precaution to have her husband in company at the time.

"The law supposes that your wife acts under your compulsion," as Mr. Brownlow accurately pointed out to Mr. Bumble—a statement which led to his famous remark, "If the law supposes that, the law is a ass," which, indeed, it may be, and even as foolish as the Suffragettes pretend, but its only absurdity, if any, is its persistent refusal to take any but the most lenient view of female responsibility. Its attitude is thus expressed by Blackstone: "The same principle which excuses those who have no mental will in the perpetration of an offence protects from the punishment of the law those who commit crimes in subjection to the power of others." L. 131 Comm. 27.

Such is the position of woman in the criminal law.

With regard to its administration even a greater leniency is exercised. The conduct of a criminal case is always directed, if possible, to spare the woman, and in the event of a conviction, to pass as lenient a sentence as justice will allow, almost invariably less than a man in the same circumstances would suffer.

No one of any experience of the way in which cases are tried in this country could dispute these patent facts. The view, and most people with experience of life will think

the right view, is that from the temperament of women and their lack of balanced reason, it would be unfair to hold them as responsible for their lapses as the man, and that while treated with less severity they still receive that full measure of justice which is the foundation of public order.

ARGUMENTS IN THE COMMONS.

ALTHOUGH the debate on Sir Edward Grey's amendment to the Franchise Bill proved abortive, it is not without interest to analyse some of the speeches on that occasion. Mr. Lyttelton, who moved the amendment, adopted the attitude that women must be given the vote because their public services had been made use of by the State and by Members of Parliament. No fallacy could be more illogical or more short-sighted than this. A few picked women are appointed to Royal Commissions; the political activities of women are of their own seeking. In neither case does the present practice justify the placing in the hands of women of the control of the national vote, while there is a great difference between a few women of their own choice taking up political work and exposing all women as voters to the turmoil of politics and political intrigue.

Mr. Lyttelton went on to say that one class cannot be entrusted with the uncontrolled guardianship of another. That is true, but the difference between men and women is not one of class. A moment's reflection will show that no one would suggest withholding the vote from agricultural labourers because landlords or miners have it; but Suffragists have yet to show that men's interests and women's interests differ in any respect outside the "accidental evils" inseparable from the imperfect conditions of human existence. Men and women are not, as Suffragists would try to make out, shut off in separate compartments, whether of class or of any other distinction except that of sex. No actual wrong has voiced the claim for the vote; it is the claim for the vote that has set out to discover or manufacture a sense of wrong.

Both Mr. Lyttelton and Lord Hugh Cecil were satisfied that the personal eminence of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria was a conclusive argument in favour of votes for women. The latter, as usual, ridiculed the significance of the vote—"the function of the voter is to choose between two or three names." It is not surprising that anyone convinced of the unimportance of the vote should be a Suffragist, particularly when on to those views he grafts the splendid inconsistency of objecting "to making the House of Commons a mixed assembly."

Sir J. Walton believed that "the admission of women to the electorate would raise the standard of public life"—a clear indication of the amount of study given by the speaker to the subject. He also considered that taxation and representation must go hand in hand together. It is unfortunate that Sir J. Walton has not kept in touch with the Suffrage movement in America. He would have learned that a leading Suffragist, who has been followed by many English Suffragists, declared a long time ago that "no intelligent Suffragist now used the 'taxation without representation' argument, knowing the fallacy on which it was based."

Of the Anti-Suffragist speeches that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies constituted the most "breezy" attack on Suffragist arguments that the House has ever heard. Mr. Harcourt selected the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the most distinguished examples of the inconsistency that characterised the attempt to force Woman Suffrage through this Parliament.

Mr. Forster pointed out that after advocating for twenty years the extension of the Suffrage to a limited number of women, he had been driven from his position by the conviction that it was absolutely impossible to draw the line where he had hoped to draw it.

Mr. Blair, the victor at Bow and Bromley, drove home the lesson of his own success, and Mr. Neil Primrose pointed out that the House, by the passage of one of the Suffrage amendments, would diminish the value of the present elector's vote by 25, 30 or 50 per cent. without ever consulting him.

Finally, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in a closely reasoned speech, traversed the arguments adduced in favour of Woman Suffrage, dealing successively with women in public life, the equality of the sexes, the raising of the standard of public life, the analogy of Queen Elizabeth and the right of Parliament to pass a Woman Suffrage measure.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

A YEAR'S RETROSPECT.

THE year 1912 stands out as a notable one in the history of the organised opposition to the agitation for Woman Suffrage. On December 14th, 1911, Mr. Asquith had received a deputation of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage and had pointed out that it was time that those who held strong views on the subject should "take off their coats." This advice was at once acted upon by the League and a year of activity resulted.

Opposition to the parliamentary enfranchisement of women is to be met with among the great majority of women themselves, but they are equally averse from the publicity that has attracted Suffragists. Consequently the work of giving expression to the widely felt antagonism to Woman Suffrage must always be left to comparatively few who, inspired by a clear conception of the danger confronting the country, are prepared to subordinate their natural instincts to the nation's interests. In spite of this inevitable handicap the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has succeeded in giving wide expression to the innate but previously inarticulate hostility to the proposed extension of the parliamentary franchise to women.

During the year under review the number of the branches of the League has increased from 209 to over 270. Some 200 public meetings and debates have been held, in addition to many smaller gatherings and innumerable open-air meetings. Two notable meetings were held in the Albert Hall, London, on February 28th, and in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on November 1st, when the opposition to Woman Suffrage felt in England and Scotland respectively found brilliant exposition. Among the larger demonstrations held in London and the provinces may be mentioned Bristol, Manchester, Sheffield, Middlesbrough, Bournemouth, Hampstead and Hackney, while many other towns have held important meetings.

Owing to the attempt made by Suffragists to pass a measure for Woman Suffrage through the House of Commons before the subject has been submitted to the country, considerable attention has had to be paid by Anti-Suffragists to the attitude of Members of Parliament towards the question. Many deputations have waited upon individual members, and the League acknowledges gratefully the support given by Anti-Suffragist Members of Parliament in speaking at the numerous meetings held throughout the country.

On March 28th the first real trial of strength between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists took place in the House of Commons. The Conciliation Bill was defeated by 14 votes after having twice survived a second reading in 1910 and 1911, when Parliament was not minded to treat the subject seriously. The result was a great blow to the Suffragists, as little difficulty had been anticipated in regard to this Bill, which was admittedly only the thin end of the Suffrage wedge. Naturally the defeat caused our opponents to redouble their efforts. A number of by-elections provided opportunities for their active propaganda. In spite of the boast of the chief Suffrage Society that it is "non-party" an alliance was struck

with the Labour Party, and Labour candidates were supported with a tremendous exuberance of spirits.

The results of this policy were as gratifying to Anti-Suffragists as the results of the actual elections were interesting and instructive. Out of 22 by-elections since December, 1910, no less than eight have represented Anti-Suffragist gains; the remainder show no change in regard to the views of the new Members on Woman Suffrage, and four of these are Anti-Suffragists.

Apart from the defeat of the Conciliation Bill it would have been difficult to provide greater discomfiture for the Suffragists last year than they experienced in the result of the much-heralded Suffrage election at Bow and Bromley. Mr. G. Lansbury resigned his seat in order to "contest" what appeared to be a thoroughly safe seat (a majority of 800) on the subject of Woman Suffrage. His challenge was accepted, and he was defeated by a Unionist Anti-Suffragist candidate by the handsome majority of 751 votes. No clearer indication of the complete failure of the Suffragists to carry the electorate with them could be given until the question of Woman Suffrage is submitted to a referendum, which the country has the right to demand in the case of a contemplated constitutional change of such far-reaching consequences.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

THE short Emergency Campaign of meetings which started at Mile End on New Year's Day was brought to a close at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, on January 23rd. The meetings throughout were of a most successful character, in three cases only causing any modification in the degree of satisfaction caused by large attendances. In no case was there a small audience, and in most instances there were crowds of enthusiastic Anti-Suffragists.

As the result of the meetings a number of petitions have been sent from the localities to the Members of Parliament for the divisions, and large quantities of post-cards have been posted from individuals.

Resolutions against Woman Suffrage were passed by overwhelming majorities at all the meetings, and there was very little opposition, organised or otherwise.

The following is a list of the places at which meetings were held:—Mile End, Dulwich, Edmonton, Ealing, Marlow, Maidenhead, Slough, Beaconsfield, Walsall, Wednesbury, Felixstowe, St. Albans, Ryde (Isle of Wight), Towcester (Northamptonshire), Sherborne (Dorsetshire), and Paddington.

The speakers included Mr. A. Maconachie, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Mr. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., Mr. Fred Maddison, Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mrs. Harold Norris, Miss Gladys Pott, Miss Mabel Smith, Mr. O. Wenyon Samuel, and Mr. H. G. Williams; whilst those who officiated as chairmen of the meetings included Lord Haversham, Lord Charnwood, Mr. T. Arnold Herbert, Mr. H. E. Allhusen, Rev. J. B. Jennings, Mr. L. Prendergast Walsh, the Mayor of Stepney, Mr. H. J. Worssam, Mr. Isaac Abel, Mr. R. W. Cracroft, Lieut.-Col. J. F. C. Hamilton, and Miss Rowley.

The permanent value of the meetings lies in the fact that a number of local Branches have been started, and there is evidence of much additional interest generally in the places visited.

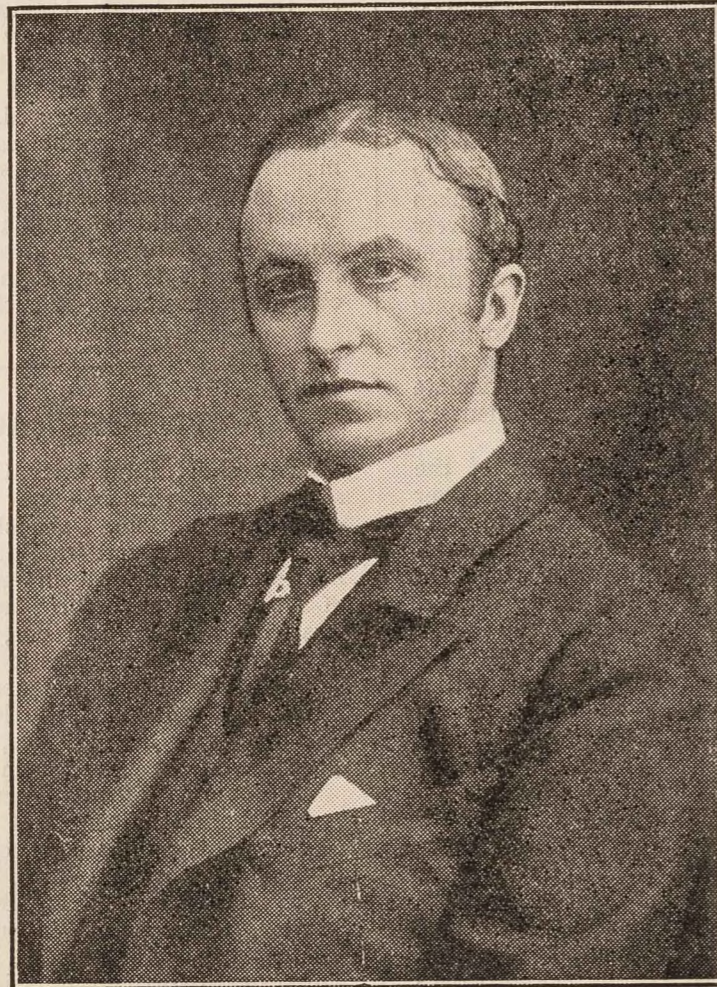
THE QUEEN'S HALL DEMONSTRATION.

JANUARY 20th, 1913.

LORD CURZON ON THE THREATENED DANGER TO THE COUNTRY.

THE series of meetings held under the auspices of the League throughout the country during the three or four weeks preceding the Committee Stage of the Franchise and Registration Bill in the House of Commons received a fitting climax in a great Demonstration against votes for women in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, on Monday, January 20th. In spite of the short notice given of the meeting, a large and enthusiastic audience had assembled. The Hall was decorated with the Anti-Suffrage banners, the gift and workmanship of Mrs. Parish of the Dulwich Branch of the League, while members of the Girls' League were busy everywhere selling badges and copies of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The Right Hon. The Earl Curzon of Kedleston presided, and he was supported by the Right Hon. Charles E. H. Hobhouse, M.P., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; the Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, and Mrs. Humphry Ward. The Right Hon. Walter Long, M.P., was to have spoken, but was prevented by illness from being present. Seats on the platform had been reserved for:—Countess of Arran, Agar-Robartes, M.P., Sir G. Agnew, M.P., Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, Hon. Wyndham Baring, Mr. Harold Baker, M.P., Sir J. Barran, M.P., Sir Melville Beachcroft, Lady Beachcroft, Sir H. Beaumont, M.P., Lady Beaumont, Hon. Gervase Beckett, M.P., Sir Hugh Bell, Bart., Sir A. Biggs, Miss Phyllis Broughton, Mr. W. Campion, M.P., Dean of Canterbury, Lord Charnwood, Mr. Kenneth Chalmers, Mrs. Kenneth Chalmers, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, Mrs. A. R. Colquhoun, Lady Clarke, Sir Henry Craik, M.P., Lady Craik, Lord Cromer, Lady Cromer, Mr. Laurence Currie, Mr. D. Davies, M.P., Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, Lord Errington, Lady Errington, Mr. E. Franklin, M.P., Admiral Fremantle, Sir David Gill, Lady Gill, Lord Glenconner, Mr. Grant, M.P., Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Lewis Harcourt, Mr. Heber Hart, Lord Haversham, Lady Haversham, Sir Charles Henry, M.P., Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., Sir Clarendon Hyde, Lady Hyde, Lady Ichester, Mrs. Jeyes, Mr. Holford Knight, Lord Kerry, M.P., Mr. Lambert, M.P., Mr. Ledger, Colonel Le Roy Lewis, Sir Maurice Levy, M.P., Mrs. Charles Lyall, Mr. F. Maddison, Hon. Mrs. B. Mallet, Mr. Massie, Mrs. Metzler, Mr. Metzler, Hon. C. Mills, M.P., Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C., Mrs. Mitchell Innes, Mr. P. Molteno, M.P., Mr. H. Montgomery, Lady Montgomery Moore, Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. Harold Owen, Mr. Pirie, M.P., Dr. Mary Pilliet, Mr. Pilditch, Earl of Plymouth, Sir W. Priestley, M.P., Hon. Neil Primrose, M.P., Miss C. M. Pott, Sir W. Ramsay, Lady Ramsay, Sir H. Raphael, M.P., Sir John Rees, M.P., Lady Robson, Dr. Ryle, Mrs. Ryle, Miss Sale, Rt. Hon. F. E. Smith, M.P., Sir Villiers Stanford, Lady Stanford, Mr. G. Stewart, M.P., Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Mr. Steel Maitland, M.P., Mrs. Steel Maitland, Mrs. A. Somervell,



The Right Hon. The EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Lady Edmund Talbot, Miss Ermine Taylor, Mrs. Percy Thomas, Mr. Tobin, M.P., Dean Wace, Lady Walton, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Colonel Warde, M.P., Mrs. Wilfrid Ward, Capt. Waring, M.P., Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., Mrs. Cathcart Wason, Lord Weardale, Dr. L. Williams, Sir A. Williamson, M.P., Madame Wolfen, Lady Wynne, Dean of Westminster, Mr. Young, M.P.

During the proceedings the Chairman read the following cable from Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in the States:—

"Most cordial greetings to those engaged in work of maintenance of present basis of government. We are doing our best to prevent adoption of Woman Suffrage in threatened States, encouraged by your activities."

The CHAIRMAN rose and said: Ladies and Gentlemen, I will first read a list of names of those who have expressed their sympathy with the meeting but have regretted their inability to be present:—Mr. McKenna, M.P., Colonel Seely, M.P., Duke of Portland, Duchess of Montrose, Marquis of Bath, Earl of Derby, Earl of Durham, Ellen Countess of Desart, Lord Granard, Lady Theodore Guest, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Hamilton of Dalzell, Lord Harewood, Lord Helmsley, M.P., Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord Joicey, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Peel, Lady Priestley, Lady Frederick Cavendish, Lord Ronaldshay, Lord and Lady Tullibardine, Lady Wantage, Lord Weardale, Hon. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., and Mrs. Cecil, Sir J. Crichton Browne, Sir William and Lady Crookes, Sir Charles and Lady Bryan, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mrs. Bischoffsheim, Mr. and

Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. H. Chaplin, M.P., Rev. Henry W. Clarke, Mrs. Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Lane Fox, M.P., Miss Lowthian Bell, Mr. Mackinder, M.P., Mr. A. Soames, M.P., Mr. Weigall, M.P., Col. Williams, M.P. My first duty, Ladies and Gentlemen, is to ask for a fair and attentive hearing to the speakers this evening, and I have no doubt that it will be given. At a moment like this, of great importance in the history of the Suffrage movement, it is reasonable, and, indeed, it is desirable, that both sides should marshal their forces and should endeavour to influence public opinion and to state their case. Our League will never take any steps, and never has taken any steps, to interfere with the meetings of the Suffrage Societies. We expect, and we are entitled to, similar consideration from them. Should it not be given, we shall know how to protect ourselves, and have made all the necessary arrangements. (Laughter.) But I cannot believe for a moment that the disagreeable necessity will arise. I have to make two preliminary observations. The first is this. We are glad to have here to-night

on my right, in Mr. Charles Hobhouse, a member of his Majesty's Government. (Cheers.) He comes here as a representative of the Cabinet; or of that section of the Cabinet which is in sympathy with our views. (Hear, hear.) And the foremost exponent of it we know to be the Prime Minister himself, who has on more than one occasion spoken in no uncertain tones on our behalf. (Cheers.) We had hoped that Mr. Hobhouse might have been accompanied and balanced this evening by a leading front bench man on the Conservative side, Mr. Walter Long—also one of the most consistent and fearless advocates of our cause, but illness has unfortunately prevented him from coming, though it has not prevented him from sending this letter, which I will ask your permission to read:—

"I am very sorry I cannot attend the meeting to-morrow, but my doctor has imperatively forbidden me to make any speeches at present. It is a great disappointment, as I thoroughly appreciate the compliment your Committee has paid me by asking me to second the resolution which Mr. Hobhouse is to propose. I very much regret I shall be unable to say why I cannot support the proposals to enfranchise women. My reasons are very simple. First, I hold strongly that, if any women are to have the vote, all must have it, and this will mean, assuming women to be politically divided much as men are, that women are governing the country—a tremendous change which no country, above all an old one like ourselves, should adopt till it has been fully and fairly put before and endorsed by the electors. Secondly, I can find no evidence that the majority of women want the vote; while I am convinced that a vast number hold that the change is one which will be wholly distasteful to them and undesirable for the country. There are many other reasons, with which I will not trouble you, but will just add this one word—that the attempt to carry an alteration of the law by violence has made it impossible to believe that those who are advocating the change are not themselves aware that their case is a weak one, and therefore endeavour to secure their ends as a result of fear and not of conviction. I don't believe these methods will succeed, and I am sure they ought not to do so.—Yours sincerely, WALTER H. LONG." (Cheers.)

In the absence of Mr. Long, however, I am glad we have been able to secure the presence of that veteran Parliamentarian and great speaker, Sir Edward Clarke. (Hear, hear.) My second preliminary observation is this. Following a practice which has been profitable and successful on previous occasions, we propose to have an interval after the next two speeches have been delivered, and before Mrs. Humphry Ward addresses us, in which boxes will be handed round and your pecuniary assistance will be sought. Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a severely practical business proposition, but you will, I am sure, understand that meetings cannot be held, a propaganda cannot be undertaken, literature cannot be printed and circulated, without considerable outlay. I think we are entitled to ask those whose battle we are fighting—because, of course, it is not mainly or exclusively our own—to come to our assistance. (Hear, hear.) And, believe me, whatever fate lies before the amendments that are coming before the House of Commons, we shall have in the months—aye, in the years—that lie before us, need for all the devotion, the energy, and the pecuniary support of our friends.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

We are assembled here to-night to express our opinion at the opening of a week or fortnight which will be fraught with grave consequences in the history of this Suffrage movement. Amendments will be moved in a few days' time to the Franchise Bill about to come in Committee before the House of Commons, which will directly raise the issue of the woman's vote, and upon the decision of the present House of Commons will depend the question whether the vote is given to few or to many women or to none at all. We may even go further and say that upon this decision of the House of Commons will rest, to a large extent, the future form which constitutional government will take in this country, and perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that there will also depend upon it, to a large extent, the future existence of the State and of the Empire itself. (Cheers.) The manner in which the issue will be raised is as follows. The first words of Clause 1 of the Bill run thus: "Subject to the provisions of this Act every male person shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a constituency if that person is qualified in accordance with this Act to be registered in that constituency," and it is upon these words that Sir Edward Grey is going to move to omit the word "male." Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, that amendment, though very

brief, is a most skilfully drawn amendment. It will not, if it is carried, confer the vote upon women; it will only remove the sex barrier by which women are at present disqualified; it will create an eligibility on the part of women, and then it will leave the House of Commons to say by subsequent decisions whether the vote shall be given to many or to few as the case may be. You will see, therefore, that this amendment is a vote-catching amendment. I do not use the phrase in an invidious sense, but the amendment is an attempt to gather into the same lobby all those who, whatever differences of opinion they may have upon these points, are at any rate united upon this—that they are in favour of the grant of the Suffrage to some women. It is an attempt to procure from the House of Commons an affirmation of the principle of Female Suffrage. Our attitude, the attitude of our League upon this amendment, is quite clear—we must resist it by every means in our power. (Cheers.) We do not want the door to be opened at all, either to the million women who are already municipal electors or to the 13 million women marching as the vanguard of a great army who will hereafter rule the State. I do not say that if Sir Edward Grey's amendment is carried our case will be lost, or, indeed, that it need appreciably suffer, for I doubt very much if any of the amendments that are to follow it, and to which I will ask your attention in a moment or two, will carry sufficient strength behind them to secure a majority in the House of Commons. For there is this remarkable feature about our opponents, that although they are all agreed that the vote ought to be given to women, they cannot make up their minds to what women it ought to be given. (Laughter.) Some are in favour of unmarried women, others of married women, others again of both. Some are in favour of owners, others of occupiers, others again of both. Each of these various sections of the Suffrage party has its own friends, but I am not certain that its enemies are not more numerous than its friends, and the remarkable thing is that the enemies of each of these sections is drawn not exclusively from the ranks of those like ourselves who are opposed to the grant of the Suffrage to women at all, but from rival regiments of the Suffrage army itself. I say, therefore, it seems to me quite possible that even if Sir Edward Grey's amendment were carried, the other amendments would be defeated; but for all that, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think we had better run no risk, and I would respectfully urge those members of the House of Commons who are here present to do what I have no doubt it is in their minds to do, to defeat this amendment in the first place and, by thus defeating it, to thrust on one side Female Suffrage altogether in this Parliament. There cannot be a doubt that, if Sir Edward Grey's amendment goes, you have heard the last of Female Suffrage as a practical proposal in this Parliament, and although I don't imagine for a moment that agitation would cease, that the societies that disagree with us would close their doors—it might even be that their agitation and their movements would take on a more active and a more offensive form—yet it is perfectly clear that if this amendment goes, not a single line of a Female Suffrage Bill can be placed upon the Statute Book in this Parliament. (Cheers.) Therefore, I hope I have made it clear to you that our first duty, and the first duty of our supporters in the House of Commons, is to lose no chance, to spare no effort, to defeat this particular amendment to begin with.

THE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS.

Well, then, let me go on. Supposing we are unsuccessful in that. Three alternative proposals will come before the House of Commons. In the first place there is a group of our opponents who are ready to make the complete plunge into deep water at once, by giving the vote to every adult person, male and female, who is qualified under the terms of the Act. This view will come before the House of Commons in the form of an amendment moved by Mr. Henderson, and, I believe, it represents, broadly speaking, the attitude of the Labour and the Socialist party. This amendment, I am told, would enfranchise 13 millions of women—in fact, it would place the Empire in the hands of women or, as I should prefer to put it, it would make us the laughing-stock of the world. (Hear, hear.) I do not imagine that an amendment of this sort has the slightest chance—has the remotest chance of being accepted by the House of Commons; but, Ladies and Gentlemen, let us hope that its defeat will be proportionate to its extravagance and its folly. (Cheers.) Then there is a second school of opinion amongst our opponents who, if I may pursue the same metaphor, only want to go into the water if it is not too deep, and if they can have, so to speak, life-belts strapped round them by which they can be pulled back, if the situation becomes critical. The view of those persons is represented by what is known as the Dickinson amendment. This amendment proposes to enfranchise women

householders and the wives of male householders over the age of twenty-five. It would place on the register six millions of women.

I take it we shall all of us agree that it would be impossible to stop at this half-way house, and, even if we could, would it not really be giving a casting vote between the two political parties in the State to a great constituency of women? The figures alone show that it would be so, and as such, is it not the duty of our friends to reject this proposal as unhesitatingly as they will, I hope, the first? (Cheers.) Lastly, I come to the third group of our opponents—what I may call the rather timid and reluctant Suffragists—the people who stand shivering on the brink and really don't want to do very much more than take off their shoes and have a paddle in the fringe of the wave. (Laughter.) These are the gentlemen who are going to move an amendment constructed on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, which would give

the vote to those women who already enjoy the Municipal franchise. This amendment would place 1½ millions of women on the register. Now I need hardly remind you that this proposal has already been rejected in the form of the Conciliation Bill in the present Session—I am sure I don't remember when this Session began, it was at a remote date in our history—but, anyhow, this Bill was rejected in the present Session of the House of Commons. I can hardly believe that the House of Commons, even on a question which produces such extraordinary surprises as this, will go back upon its own vote in the same Session, but whether it does or does not, our view I think upon this is clear: that this proposal, the Conciliation Bill proposal, is just about the feeblest and the most illogical compromise that could be devised. (Hear, hear.) No man really pausing to think and judging politics by the House of Commons standard can imagine for one moment that if you gave the vote to this limited number, to these 1½ millions, you could stop there; that you could really enfranchise this small minority, and not necessarily the best chosen minority, of the female sex, and that you could refrain as time went on from increasing the number until it covered the majority of the women of this country. I have now explained to you each of these amendments, and I hope I am interpreting your views rightly when I say that our attitude towards all of them is the same—that is, an attitude of refusal to parley and of undeviating hostility. (Cheers.)

But there may be some who will say: Why do you hold and express these views so strongly? Why is it you are so opposed to any of these concessions that are about to come before the House of Commons? In reply, I do not propose to-night to argue the question of Female Suffrage on its merits. I have often had to do so before and shall probably have to do it again, and there are other speakers on this platform who will very likely undertake the task to-night, and if they do so will certainly do it with much greater ability than I. I will only answer the question with regard to the proposal at the present moment and in its present form, and I will try to condense our attitude into a number of brief propositions, which, I think, will sufficiently cover the whole case.

THE ATTITUDE OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

First, we hold that the enfranchisement of women in a state of the size, the population, the power and the complexity of the British Empire would be the greatest political change that has ever been attempted—I may say, the greatest change that could possibly be conceived. (Cheers.) Secondly, such a change, if proposed, ought clearly to be demanded by the majority of those who at present enjoy the vote, the majority of the male voters of this country, who choose your Government, who direct your policy, and who, in the last resort, fight your battles. (Cheers.) No one can pretend that this is the case. (Hear, hear.) No one can pretend that the majority of the male electors of this country favour these proposals in any form. Take the test of the Bow and Bromley election. (Cheers.) Take any election in which Female

Suffrage is a live issue. And I ask this question: Is there a single Suffrage member of the House of Commons at the present moment who is prepared to refer this issue alone to a decision of the male voters of his constituency? I doubt if there is one who will accept the challenge. (Hear, hear.)

Thirdly, the franchise has never been given in this country—and, I think, ought never to be given—except to a class which both demands and deserves it.

I will say nothing about the deserts at the moment, because I put that outside my argument; but can any of you pretend for a moment that the majority of women have demanded or desire it? I believe that not only are the noisy clamour and the violent tactics of the extreme section of the Suffrage party odious to the great majority of women, but that the idea of giving the vote itself to women is repugnant to the great majority of that sex. (Hear, hear.) And for my own part, if it were a question of a referendum, I should not shrink for a moment from a referendum to women upon the subject—and I allude more particularly to the working women of the country. Fourthly, we hold that such a measure, if introduced at all, ought only to be introduced as the principal—or, at any rate, as a principal—measure of a responsible Government. (Cheers.) It is really a monstrous thing that a great organic change like this should be introduced into the House of Commons, so to speak, moved to a Bill dealing with an entirely different subject, and should be left in the matter without the guidance of its responsible advisers, viz., the Ministry itself, or, at any rate—I must speak cautiously before Mr. Hobhouse—should only have those counsels in a divided form. Indeed, the situation is really worse than that, because we may be confronted with a position in which it may be the duty of the Prime Minister, in accordance with what he has said, to be pushing through Parliament into law a measure of which he himself has said that in his judgment it would involve a political mistake of a very disastrous kind. I submit to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that a situation so little in accordance with political integrity and Parliamentary decorum has seldom, if ever, arisen in our history. (Hear, hear.) Fifthly, we say that such a measure should only be

by a side wind, by amendments an entirely different subject, and should be left in the matter without the guidance of its responsible advisers, viz., the Ministry itself, or, at any rate—I must speak cautiously before Mr. Hobhouse—should only have those counsels in a divided form. Indeed, the situation is really worse than that, because we may be confronted with a position in which it may be the duty of the Prime Minister, in accordance with what he has said, to be pushing through Parliament into law a measure of which he himself has said that in his judgment it would involve a political mistake of a very disastrous kind. I submit to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that a situation so little in accordance with political integrity and Parliamentary decorum has seldom, if ever, arisen in our history. (Hear, hear.) Fifthly, we say that such a measure should only be



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introduced when it has already received the direct mandate of the constituencies, which no one can pretend for a moment has been given in the present case. And, lastly, we say that in the absence of any such sanction from the electors it should not be forced into law until there has been a reference to them. (Cheers.) Perhaps these six propositions which I have asked you to listen to fairly sum up our attitude of hostility to the proposal in the form in which it meets us at the present time. You will remember that the late Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, said at the Albert Hall last year, in language which we shall never forget, and shall constantly repeat, that it would be a constitutional outrage of a very serious kind to carry such a measure into law without the express sanction of the people. And I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the outrage would not be diminished, but would be enhanced, if advantage were taken of the Parliament Act—which, whatever you may think of it, was not devised for circumstances like these, but which, on the contrary, was expressly advocated by its supporters on the ground that it would be applied only to measures that had at the back of them the expressed and reasoned will of the people—to pass such a measure as this over the heads of the people. (Cheers.) These, Ladies and Gentlemen, are the reasons why we think that an attempt to carry into law this revolutionary proposal would be an offence both against constitutional propriety, and political precedent, and I had almost said against public honour. We are here to-night to protest against the perpetration of such an outrage, and to pledge ourselves to resist it by every means in our power. (Loud cheers.) I will now call upon Mr. Hobhouse to move the resolution.

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said:—Lord Curzon, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I am here to propose runs as follows:—

"That, in view of the threatened introduction into the Franchise Bill of amendments giving the Parliamentary vote to women, this meeting records its hostility to any such proposals, and pledges itself to use every means in its power in order to secure their rejection."

In his interesting speech, towards the close of it, Lord Curzon told you that these amendments which we are here to debate this evening were introduced into the House of Commons by a side wind. If Lord Curzon had had the pleasure of sitting in that assembly for the last ten months, he would have known that there was no amusement in the draught and no possibility of neglecting those side winds, because they have attracted more attention to us, they have given us more discomfort, and I am bound to say that they have weighed less with us than almost anything I have known since I have been in the House of Commons. If in the halcyon time to which Lord Curzon referred, when a Suffrage Bill should be introduced into the House of Commons with a united Government behind it, it will be necessary, either on one side or the other, that Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Lloyd George must form parts of the same Cabinet, and Mr. Harcourt and myself must extend a welcome to the Chairman. It would, therefore, seem that if a Suffrage Bill is to wait until that happy moment, you and I, Lord Curzon, would not be here to take any part in that measure. Well, now, these amendments have brought into this assemblage and to this platform every shade of political and social thought, and have for the moment obliterated all those political boundaries which too often prove a bar to complete work in either House of Parliament. We see in these proposals a source of great danger to the country to which we are all devoted. We agree, I gather so from Lord Curzon's speech, that they have been so spread out, they have been so arranged, as to attract every eye and to tempt every palate, but for myself I must confess that I find them all equally indigestible and disagreeable; and they are irreconcilable not only with each other but with the proposition that man in any way stands on an equality upon the political platform with women. I need not read them to you, they have already been dealt with in detail.

POLITICAL PREDOMINANCE.

I do not want to dwell to-night upon any defects of them, either of logic or of language; I do not want to draw your attention to the immense increase in the electorate which must take place and the unwieldy size of electorates which candidates will have to serve and will have to canvass. I do not wish to point out the advantage which this or that amendment might give to one of the political

parties in the State, because underlying them all there is one common result, and that is that, if they are carried in their entirety, so far as they are not irreconcilable with each other, they undoubtedly establish the political predominance of woman over man, and that let me remind you, not only in the internal welfare of the State, but in all that concerns its external safety as well. I shall at once be met by the contention that it is impossible to unite women, as it has been found impossible to obtain unanimity from men upon any political issue. I agree, but there is a two-fold answer to that contention and it is this: that, heretofore, no State has ever made the complete experiment that we are here asked to make and, therefore, no condition has ever arisen in which one sex found itself opposed to the other sex upon the same vital issue. The second point is this: that decisions in the future will not depend upon the unanimity of women but upon the present and also the future disagreements among men, because, given some issue whether it be trifling, whether it be serious, whether it be one of those incidental to present-day politics or one which is vital to the whole existence of the State, whatever the issue may be, you have only to conceive of both sexes fully endowed with an equal vote divided equally between themselves on the question, and that party which can draw to itself the largest number of votes decides the issue. When men are outnumbered, as Lord Curzon has pointed out they will be, by women, if these amendments are carried to the extent of something like 1½ million units, it is upon that side which will command the assent of the women, though the women themselves be almost equally divided, it is that side which will have it in its power to say yea or nay to any proposition that it puts forward. I look back upon history and nowhere in the records of the past, save, perhaps, in that fabled empire of the Amazons which flits across the mythical pages of history, do I find any entity of people which has ventured upon the experiment which we are asked to make on Monday next, and if we venture on that experiment, just see how permanent the result must be. Here in this country—I think we are almost alone in the world in this respect—here in this country there is an enormous excess of women over men. As long as we have been a country there has been an outward movement of men to oversea dominions of our own or to capture countries from other people, and until that outward stream dries up you will never be able to reverse the position which may be taken up next week. You will always have a majority of women over men and, therefore, the predominance of women, if once the vote be given to them, will be not only immutable, but will be impregnable.

Now it is essential, therefore, that we who detest any of these experiments, whether in greater or smaller measure, that we should resist, as Lord Curzon has said, this enterprise to the uttermost. (Cheers.) You will let me imagine some other questioner who may say: we grant all you say, but why should it be dangerous to the State, this predominance? That, I think, is a fair question to ask, and ought to be answered. I will admit at once that since there is no country which has complete autonomy and which is responsible for the conduct both of foreign and home affairs to whose example we can turn, that there is no exact analogy which we can present to you, but I think we may judge the relative capacity of men and women. As we cannot do it from the political world, I think we are entitled to go to the industrial and commercial side of life for our example, and those who know best the work which women are doing in the world—and some of it is extremely valuable—are unanimous upon this point, that in respect of those heavier and larger occupations which produce the greatest commercial activities and by far the greatest part of the wealth of this and other countries, that in those occupations women are not ranged alongside of men; that there is no competition between men and women, but that the work which is attempted and carried out by the one is not attempted in any way by the other.

No EQUALITY.

I do not refer to the services in the Army and the Navy—they, of course, stand on one side—but to the mercantile marine, to the occupation of coal or iron mining. Look at the railways of this country, look at any of the great occupations, and you will find that they are held, and they always will be held, by men, and not by women, not merely because the physical strength of women is not equal to undertaking the efforts involved, but because their economic value is not sufficient to make them profitably employable. Well, it is also very remarkable, I think extremely remarkable, that in those occupations in which women do compete—in those industrial occupations in which women do compete—and where

restrictions are placed upon their labour, by their own desire and with their own assent, they are coupled in those restrictions not with men, whom some pretend they are on an equality with, but with the "young person," as it is technically called, to whom the vote also is denied. Now, I think I am fortified in the opinion which I have ventured to express here this evening—as Lord Curzon has already pointed out, we are fortified in our opinion—by the fact that the great majority of women are with us upon this point (cheers) and they are with us not only because upon the industrial side there is no equality between the sexes, but also because the taking part in politics must involve the neglect of those duties of which I am not capable of speaking, but of which every person in this assembly is aware. It is impossible to mix with the world in any strata of its many ramifications without becoming aware that in one respect this, and I have no doubt other, nations have gone back in the last twenty years. It is impossible to find one's way into any of the great cities of this country at any time of the day or night with the view of becoming acquainted with the circumstances of the home life of any class of civilised society without becoming aware that there has been a great relaxation in the mental discipline of the home and of the children; and this is bound to react, believe me, upon the generations which succeed our own.

We who stand here to-night are of such an age that these things have not become noticeable in our generation—they have not yet had time to make themselves felt, but that they are noticeable in the generation which has just left childhood or is just attaining manhood is without question, and is admitted by all classes of thinkers and speakers in this country. In some stages and in some ranks of life that is no doubt due to the possibilities of increased pleasures, but in those ranks where pleasures cannot be indulged in, but where employment is necessary in order to help to keep the family together, the employment or the pleasure is taking the child away from the home at the time when the home influences are the most valuable to it and most required for its future—aye, not only for its future, but for that of the country. Why should you add to that centrifugal tendency, which was undesirable, and which, perhaps, was inevitable, because of the demand that necessity required for increased earnings in the family household; why should you add to that tendency an avoidable incentive which takes the head of the family—the mother—out of the home and puts her attention not upon her household and her family, but upon the passing differences and disputes which men are quite capable of settling on their own account. To me such a course seems to be not an error of judgment, but a deliberate misapprehension and misreading of all history and human experience. (Cheers.) Let me touch for one moment upon something that was said by Lord Curzon with regard to the Bow and Bromley election. It is a subject upon which there has been complete silence amongst speakers on the opposite side ever since the poll was declared, and I am not surprised. (Laughter and hear, hear.) The battleground was carefully chosen, the time was most specially selected, the constituency was one in which the candidate who advocated

Woman Suffrage was popular, well-known, and a capable speaker. He had been devoted to the place all his life, and he sacrificed his whole political career, as I believe, to his principles. He had been devoted all his life to the cause of Woman Suffrage; he was supported by that elaborate organisation which the wealth of the Suffrage party can procure for them; he addressed a constituency which was saturated with literature, and the female part of which had been lectured and hectoring for months on the subject, and in spite of all those advantages, and in spite of the fact that the greater part—the overwhelming part—of the female residents of that constituency are dependent upon wages and upon what they earn for their livelihood and for their homes, and who had been assured that the grant of the vote would increase their happiness and raise their wages, in spite of all these favourable circumstances, the result was complete and disastrous failure. (Cheers.)

When you consider all these circumstances; when you think how carefully, how widely, and how obstinately the propaganda has been carried on in this country for the grant of the Suffrage to women, and how complete hitherto has been the failure to secure popular approval either from the class who already have the franchise or from those to whom the franchise is offered, I think it rests upon those who advocate this new proposition to prove to us—not merely to assert to us—that the cause which they advocate is just, is equitable, and is desirable. (Cheers.) I think they ought, in the first place, to prove that the difference—the physical and mental difference—between men and women is so slight that the grant of the Suffrage to women would carry with it and for our race no disability either in the present or in the future. (Hear, hear.) With that proposition I have already attempted to deal in respect of industrial life.

But let me touch upon one delicate subject which the legislature of both Houses of Parliament has been occupied with during the past month, and which to me is a most striking example that in their heart of hearts those, or perhaps I should say some of the most prominent of those who carry on this movement, do it in spite of the knowledge they have that there is a real and radical difference between the two sexes. Take the case of what is known as the White Slave Bill. That has been advocated by many of those who are most earnest on behalf of the Suffrage movement, not because it contained any restriction upon the action of men, but because it recognised the weakness of woman. (Hear, hear.) It was suggested, and it has happily been carried through, not because woman is less moral than man, but because she is infinitely more feeble. That is a truth which has never been recognised, but which underlies all legislation of this sort, and must underlie it in order to justify the different kind of legislation which has been applied upon this subject to men and to women. (Cheers.) Secondly, I think women must prove not only that they are capable of governing and controlling themselves, but that they are capable—and after all that is what the vote implies—that they are capable of governing and controlling others. I do not think that the methods which they have used, the spirit that they have shown during the past year, have proved to us very clearly either that they are capable of governing

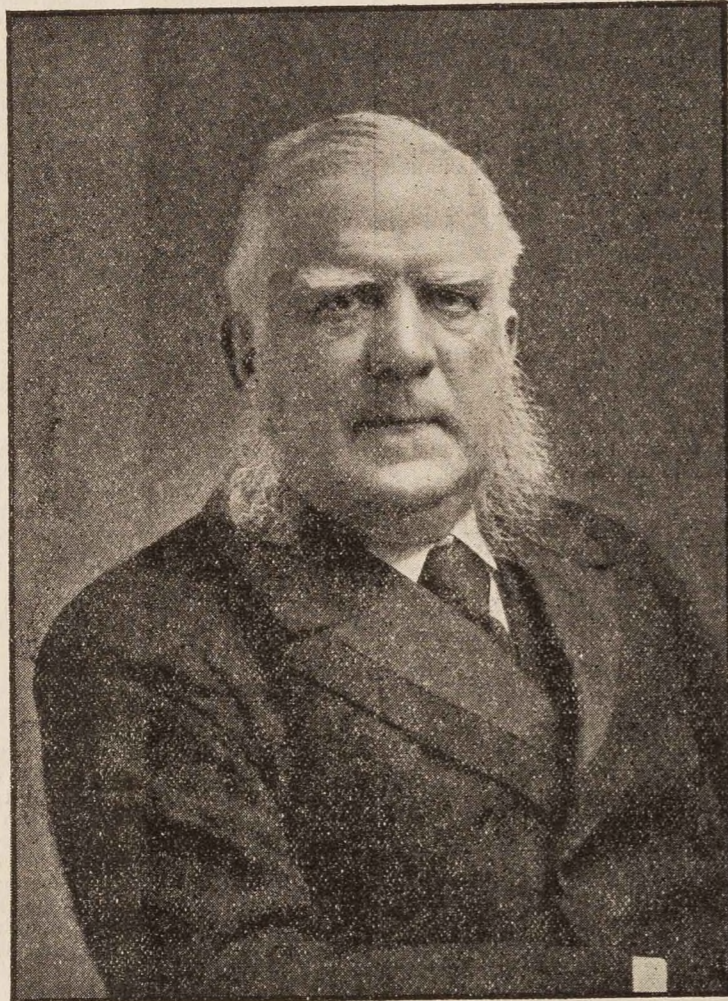


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The Right Hon. SIR EDWARD CLARKE, K.C.

others or that they are capable of governing and controlling themselves. (Cheers.) Of their methods, some have been silly, and some have been outrageous; but whichever they have been, they have been, far more disastrous to their own reputation and to their own possibilities of a political future than they have been hurtful and annoying to those whom they have set themselves out to vex. And lastly, they must prove that they are capable of enforcing any policy for which they may hereafter be responsible. It is inconceivable that any government, no matter how it be composed, or of whom it may be representative, should be in a position to declare and to embark upon a policy which they are not able ultimately to enforce either by their own strength or by that of others. They must be able not merely to command internal obedience for their measures, but they must be able to protect the country on behalf of whom they are legislating and governing from any result which may follow from their policy. (Hear, hear.)

PHYSICAL FORCE.

Now, my Lord, it has sometimes been suggested that you ought not to bring into political questions of this sort, which includes ethical questions—you ought not to bring into it so brutal, and blunt a question as that of physical force. Well, all physical force is not necessarily immoral. It is quite true that in the past physical force has often been the engine of the most brutal policy, but, I think, if you will turn to the history of the present day, you will see that it is far oftener employed in protecting and defending the weak, in promoting moral welfare amongst different classes and races of people, and that it is nowadays an engine much more for good than it is for evil. The civilisation which has its real centres in Europe and which has spread all over the world—I do not mean the merely æsthetic civilisation, but that civilisation which depends upon a proper conception of all morality and order, and which has spread to every part of the world—has in its initial stages only been able to be accomplished by the use, and the proper use, of physical force of one kind or another. Yet, when you come to consider the matter, and when you ask how a majority of women trying to enforce upon a minority of men a policy which they think right and upon which their whole future is devoted, and upon which their continuance in control must depend, how they are to enforce that upon a minority of men without the employment of physical force, I confess myself totally unable to discover. If you think of it, although the examples of New Zealand, and, I think, Australia and some of the States of America, are quoted to us, there is no single one of those countries which is responsible for its foreign policy as well as for its domestic. They are none of them called upon, as this country may be at any moment probably called upon, to decide some question which is dependent for its solution upon problems in India, in Persia, in Afghanistan, in South Africa, in every distant quarter of the globe, where our only means of asserting our authority in the ultimate resort is by the employment of force. When you consider a proposition like that, you will at once see the enormous difference there is between handing over the control of the destinies of this country to people who may—I do not say they will be, but who may—be composed of women, and almost entirely of women alone. I think that anybody who looks at the present proposals from such a point of view as that will find reasonable cause for doubt and for hesitation, and any member of the House of Commons who may consent to consider the issue from that point of view may, I think, almost find a reason to recast his opinion before the eventful day. (Hear, hear.)

I fear I have taken up too much of your time—(cries of "No")—and I have only got one sentence to say in conclusion. It seems to me that as life grows more complex, as we depart farther and farther from the primitive conditions of life, as the development of science speeds up all industries and renders them more onerous, more burdensome, more distasteful and more difficult to bear, that the tasks of women and men become more distinct and further from each other. (Cheers.) There are many duties which appertain to women, and to women alone. The education, the creation, the nurture, the care of the child, the succour of the sick and helpless, the teaching of morality and religion—all these in their earlier stages are essentially women's work. The spheres of men and women may overlap—I do not think they are ever identical. If you attempt to amalgamate the two you will do a fatal injury to both sexes and you will give advantage to neither. (Cheers.) To let women carry out their own work in this world is to recognise that the mission which they have is not less useful or any less valuable to the world, although it may be less conspicuous, than that of men. (Cheers.)

SIR EDWARD CLARKE.

Sir EDWARD CLARKE, K.C., said: Lord Curzon, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very glad that the very thoughtful and very considerate speech which you have just heard from a member of His Majesty's Government will enable me to be brief in seconding the resolution which he has put before us, because, as I think you know, it has been almost at the last moment that I have undertaken, with some reluctance, to fill the position of my friend, Mr. Walter Long, who was to have seconded this resolution. I wish he had been here, for he would, from his position in the political world, as Lord Curzon rightly said, have balanced and supported the member of the Cabinet who has just now addressed you. And I, of course, cannot claim to have the influence which he would have represented. Indeed, I was rather reluctant to undertake this duty at all. I am now, as you know, detached from the immediate interests and activities of political parties, and I am reminded from time to time by others that my day of public work is pretty well over. (Cries of "No!") Yes, I entered the House of Commons last week to listen to two speakers in the debate on the Home Rule Bill, and I read this morning in a cutting from a local paper, which a friend was good enough to send me, that I sat there "a scarred and whitened veteran." (Laughter.) I am not sure that "scarred and whitened veterans" have any right upon public platforms, except as interesting objects of exhibition. (Renewed laughter.) Therefore, as I say, it was with some reluctance that I undertook this duty; but I am whole-hearted in this cause. (Cheers.) I have worked in it since the foundation of this League, and although I am now detached from political activities and have no personal interest in the result of what takes place in the House of Commons on Friday next, and am sufficiently old not to be very apprehensive of personal consequences even if Woman Suffrage were adopted, still I am glad to second this resolution which has just been proposed.

Lord Curzon spoke about the Franchise Bill and the amendments which are proposed to that Bill. It is rather amusing to see by one amendment, to which Lord Curzon did not refer, the expedient to which our opponents are resorting in order to get Sir Edward Grey's resolution, or something, at all events, through the House of Commons. There is another amendment on the paper now. The Suffragettes were anxious as to the Irish vote. The Irishmen—Mr. Redmond has not the least intention of allowing women to vote in Ireland. (Laughter.) He is naturally very anxious not to do anything to interfere with the well-being of His Majesty's Government at the present moment, and with a view to placating him, a new amendment has been put upon the paper. In the papers which I got to-day, which contain the latest amendments, there is an addition to Mr. Dickinson's amendment which contains the words "female persons shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency other than a constituency in Ireland." (Laughter.) Our astute friends want to apply to this Bill a principle which, apparently, has already to some extent been established—that we are not able to govern ourselves, but that Irishmen are to decide how we shall be governed and keep themselves clear of the experiment. (Renewed laughter.) But that is not all. They are not going to appeal only for the interests of the Irish party; they are going to appeal to the emotions of members of Parliament; and Mrs. Fawcett has announced—(cheers)—yes, by all means, Mrs. Fawcett is one of the most admirable representatives of Suffrage opinion to be found in the country, and Mrs. Fawcett has announced that "the best known and the most distinguished-looking women" on their side will stand about the avenues of the Houses of Parliament in order that their distinguished appearance may exercise an effect upon our legislators. (Laughter.)

CONSERVATIVES AND THE BILL.

This afternoon, Ladies and Gentlemen, I put to myself a question—why should any Conservative Members be giving a vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment? You will hear a great deal on Saturday morning, if that amendment should be carried, of the triumph of the Suffrage party. Don't believe a word of it. (Hear, hear.) They won't be a bit nearer to their success than they were before, for, as Lord Curzon says, Sir Edward Grey's amendment is one that people may vote for for very different reasons, and this afternoon I just imagined to myself three or four Conservative Members asked whether they were going to vote for that amendment, and, if so, what their reasons were. I can imagine what the answers would be. One is asked, a moderate man, "Are you going to vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment?" "Well, yes; you see, it is this way—I was so bothered by the Suffrage people at my

elections that I promised to vote for them. My wife is awfully angry with me, but I told her that Sir Edward Grey's amendment does not matter; the others are sure to be beaten, and then I shall have kept my promise and have done no harm after all." (Laughter.) I now meet another friend, not so moderate, and I say, "Are you going to vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment?" "Of course I shall. That will let the other amendments come on, and that will take up two days, and the Government is awfully pressed for time, and it will put Asquith into a fine hole." (Renewed laughter.) Then I go to number three, who I call a stalwart, and I say, "Are you going to vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment?" "Certainly I will vote for Grey. I will vote for the Labour amendment, but it will smash the Franchise Bill. They will find out directly that they have not got time to pass it, and they will withdraw it." That is a good answer. Now, let me take the last on my list—"Are you going to vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment?" "Certainly. Of course I am not going to vote for giving thirteen millions of women the franchise, but Lyttelton's amendment only puts on the women with property, and if we are to lose half a million plural votes, we may as well get our own back by putting on a million Tory women—women with property and with Insurance stamps to stick on all vote #Tory. Besides, if we put that million on, they will always vote to keep the others off." (Loud laughter.)

I have given you examples of [the reasons which may move certain people to vote in favour of Sir Edward Grey's amendment. I need not tell you that I hope that amendment will be defeated. (Cheers.) I should not, if I were in the House of Commons, be a party man enough to try to embarrass the Government by voting for an amendment which I did not mean to support to the end, and I hope, therefore, that that amendment will be defeated and that the present Parliament will go to its troubles—and I think not very distant—end without being troubled any more with Woman Suffrage. (Cheers.) But quite apart from Parliamentary tactics, quite apart from the question of the influences that this movement may have on the one political party or the other, in absolute indifference to those party consequences, I protest against this rash and irreversible experiment being made without the authority of the people. (Cheers.)

For the first time the duty and responsibility of voting for Members of Parliament is to be conferred upon people who have not only not asked for it, but with regard to whom, by every test that we have been able to apply, we have shown that the majority of them desire not to have it at all. And observe, it is suggested that the more dangerous amendment upon the paper is the Lyttelton amendment, which would bring on about a little over a million of women who have property and have the local vote. But observe this, it is among women who have property and who have the highest class of education and the strongest right to speak on this matter—it is there that you find the great majority against the giving of the vote at all. Lord Curzon, if it had not been for the considered and weighty speech we have just listened to, and the propositions with which you ended your speech, I might have thought it necessary

to try to develop the arguments—the irrefutable arguments as it seems to me—against the granting of this franchise; but as it is I will content myself with a very few sentences. I object to it because I believe in democracy, but I believe in an educated democracy. I believe the higher the level of education of your electoral body, the steadier and safer will be the progress of your political affairs. As to the qualifications, the intellectual qualifications of men and women, I have very often said they are absolutely incomparable. It is a difference in quality, a difference in character, a difference in the intellectual equipment of men and of women.

THE INCREASE IN THE ELECTORATE.

But apart from all that, and leaving that on one side, I do not want to see our electoral body increased enormously in numbers by the addition of a class which would lower the educational tone of our whole electoral body. Women are much less educated than men. (Interruption.) If you differ from me, I assure you you must have a very limited experience. It is not their fault. It is because the natural occupation and life of woman in nine-tenths of our different classes of society excludes her from the possibility of learning, and studying and reading about the political affairs of the country. She would spoil her home life if she did; she would be a much poorer mother and a much less pleasant wife. (Cheers.) But it has been said in answer to me, that some of the electoral body now is not a highly educated body. I agree; and I am very sorry that that is the fact, but it is because I feel that so keenly that I don't want to dilute it with a less educated body. There is no man who has spent many years of his life as I have spent many years of mine in political work and in contested elections who does not know that the most painful thing in all his political experience has been in going from house to house and from voter to voter in a constituency and finding so many of the voters incapable of dealing with the problems with which he would have to deal when he goes to Parliament, and giving their votes upon subjects which are entirely alien to any political interest at all.

I believe, myself, that the less educated the people to whom you give the vote the more they are under influences, which, to the exclusion of political questions, will govern their votes and their actions, and such influences are not good for the State. (Hear, hear.) It is right that you should have an electorate who are able to understand in the main the questions with which they have to deal; and our progress, and the secret of our steady progress and advancement in this country, I believe, has been that from time to time the boundary of the electoral vote has been extended, and there have been brought into it those who, by their education and capacity and independence, were able to take rightly a part in political affairs. That would not be the case if you added these six millions or three millions of women, and as to adding your million of selected women, it is perfectly hopeless for anyone to dream of the franchise being kept to them. I second this resolution which has been put forward, and I trust that there will go forth from this great meeting to-night a strong expression of opinion



Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD.

upon this subject. I urge you to do all that you can to protect this country from this reckless and, as I think, irretrievable experiment. (Cheers.) Don't be down-hearted on Saturday if Sir Edward Grey's resolution should be carried. Rejoice greatly if it should be defeated, for it will turn aside for a very considerable time one of the greatest dangers that has attacked our country for some time.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD said: Lord Curzon, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must ask you to excuse me if my voice is anything but a good one, because I have just emerged from one of the very worst colds of the season. This is no time for elaborate argument. The battle is close upon us, and within a week we shall either be feeling with infinite relief that the struggle is over, for some years at least, or we shall be pledged, in spite of weariness, to stronger and more energetic fighting than ever. Naturally, I am reminded as I stand here of all that has happened in the four and half years since our League was founded. All I can tell you is that we have put up a good fight, and I am amazed at what we have been able to do. Just throw your minds back to 1908. The militant organisation was fast over-running the country; the cause of Women's Suffrage had undoubtedly been pushed to the front, and for the moment benefited by the immense advertisement it had received; our ears were deafened by the noise and the shouting, and it looked as though the Suffrage might suddenly be carried before the country, the real country, had taken it seriously at all. The second readings of various Franchise Bills had been passed, and were still to be passed, by large majorities. There was no organised opposition. Suffragist opinions were entrenched in the universities and the schools, and between the ardour of the Suffragists and the apathy of the nation generally, the situation was full of danger. What has happened since? An opposition, steadily growing in importance and strength, has spread itself over the United Kingdom. Men and women who had formerly supported the Suffrage, looked it in the face, thought again, and withdrew. Every item in the Suffragist claim has been contested; every point in the Suffragist argument has been investigated, and, as I think, overthrown. (Cheers.) It is a great deal more difficult to-day than it was then to go about vaguely and passionately preaching that votes will raise wages in the ordinary market—that nothing can be done for the parasitic trades and sweated women without the women's vote—for what about the Trades Board Bill? or that nothing can be done to put down organised vice without the women's vote—for what about the Criminal Law Amendment Bill? or that nothing can be done to help and protect children, without women's votes—for what about the Children's Act, the First Offenders' Act, the new Children's Courts, and the Children's Probationary Officers, the vast growth of Care Committees and all their beneficent work due initially to the work of a woman—Miss Margaret Frere? (Hear, hear.) Witness, too, the increasing number of women on important commissions, University—Divorce—Insurance; the increasing respect paid to women's opinions; the strengthening of trade unionism among women; the steady rise in the average wage.

No, the Suffragist argument that women are trampled on and oppressed, and can do nothing without the vote, has crumbled in their hands. It had but to be examined to be defeated. (Cheers.) Meanwhile, the outrages and the excitement of the extreme Suffragist campaign gave many people pause. Was it to this we were committing English politics? Did not the whole development throw a new and startling light on the effect of party politics—politics so exciting, as politics are bound to be in such a country as England—on the nerves of women? Women as advisers, as auxiliaries, as the disinterested volunteers of politics, we all know—and as far as I am concerned, cordially welcome. But women fighting for their own hands—fighting for the political control of men in men's affairs—women in fierce and direct opposition to men—that was new, that gave us, as the French say, furiously to think. And now, the coming week will be critical enough— anxious enough—but we all know that if any Suffrage amendment is carried in the House, it can only be by a handful of votes—none of your majorities of 160 or 170 as in the past—and our high hope is that none will pass—that every Suffrage amendment will be defeated. That state of things is the exact measure of what has been done by us—the Anti-Suffrage party—to meet the Suffragist arguments, and to make the nation understand what such a revolution really means; though I admit that Mrs. Pankhurst has helped a good deal. (Laughter.) It is the exact measure of national

recoil since 1908, and if fortune is on our side next week, we have only to carry on the fight resolutely and steadily to the end in order, finally, to convince the nation. And suppose what we have every reason to hope takes place, and Women's Suffrage receives this week a set-back, from which it will take some years at least to recover, why is it that we Anti-Suffragists shall rejoice? We have many friends, friends whom we honour and respect, in the Suffrage camp. If victory lies with us we shall realise, we shall feel for, their deep disappointment. And yet we shall rejoice. Why? Is it because we place women so low? No! It is because we place their true function in English life so high. What is the advantage of asking of any living being something outside of, something opposed to its proper use and function? The Suffragist says: "What is so easy as voting? All you have to do is to put a paper in a ballot box." But the fact is that women can never be voters in the same sense as men are.

THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE.

If you insist on making them political voters on the same terms as men, all you do is to create a kind of inferior political unit, the main function of which will be to serve as raw material for the political purposes of men. When the average Suffragist, the moderate Suffragist, tells you they only want votes, they would not think of claiming seats in Parliament or in the Cabinet, they give their whole case away. They proclaim thereby their own hidden conviction of the truth that there is, after all, an essential difference between men and women politically. Male democracy rests on the principle that the voter is potentially the voter for. Just as the soldier carries potentially the baton of the field-marshal in his knapsack, so every male voter is potentially Prime Minister. But none but the wildest of the wild would think of claiming that on the part of the woman voter. Common-sense instinctively intervenes. A woman may be a queen—who reigns but does not govern—that is, the highest possible representative of the advisory, consultative, persuasive, functions that we in this room desire for women politically. But to imagine a woman Prime Minister, organising directly the military and political forces of the Empire, strikes all of us as absurd. It is absurd. But the admission goes much deeper than the Suffragist imagines. For what does this political difference depend on? On woman's most sacred and inalienable task—on her strength, and on her weakness. Five-and-twenty years of a normal woman's life—of the vast majority of those millions of women who would be given votes by Mr. Dickinson's amendment—are taken up first with the expectation of marriage, then with the absorbing interest and burden of child-bearing and child-rearing. They live in small tenement houses; their hands are full with the tender, the indispensable, tasks of maternity. Meanwhile, their husbands' trades or occupations take them out into the great world where politics are in the making. The men are brought naturally across political questions. Their training comes insensibly. Women, if they are to get any political knowledge at all, must make a great effort for it, must get it artificially from outside. How can the mass of women get it?—for the exceptions don't count. And what will happen? "What's the good of giving us women the vote," said a working woman to a friend of mine in a county town the other day, "our husbands will take good care we always vote their side." (Laughter.) Is it worth while to add immensely to the excitement and ignorance of English democracy, to bring political bitterness into the home, merely to achieve that? (Cheers.)

THE EFFECT OF THE VOTE.

No, women can never be Parliamentary, Imperial voters as men are voters, simply because they are women. And by making them voters, all we do is to add immensely to the dangers of the English State. The vote, and the electioneering that leads to it, as an instrument of social reform is now less important far than it was half a century ago, owing to the growth of education—above all, of the Press. But the vote as an instrument of government, amid the fierce conflict of national and international interests, is more important than it ever was. A vote is a fraction of the executive force of this country, resting ultimately upon the physical force of men—that force which, after discussion, carries through the will of the nation. In the region of discussion women are coming more and more to the front, are bringing their ideals and hopes more and more to bear upon the nation. Witness the immense and ever-growing series of reforms on behalf of women and children which the last half-century has seen. They persuade and convince men, in matters where they have a right to prevail; we see the process every day. But if you put into their hands the parliamentary

vote, which implies indiscriminate sovereignty and indiscriminate executive power, you merely confuse the political currency of your country; you give women the nominal right to coerce men in political and Imperial affairs, male affairs vital to the very existence of the State, and you are issuing thereby a vast amount of political paper money, against which there are no gold reserves—reserves, that is, of executive force. You will hamper and embarrass men; you will distract and confuse politics, and you will do nothing for women that could not be, as I believe and as history has shown, more effectively done in other ways. (Hear, hear.) And as to New Zealand, Finland, and all the other items in the Suffrage stage army, what do they matter to us? Show us another England—with England's vast powers and responsibility—governed politically by a majority vote of women, and then we will talk with you. Why, a woman member of the London County Council helps to administer the population of five New Zealands. Well, these are our convictions, and we stand at the parting of the ways. On the one hand you have a movement which, begun with noble though, as I believe, wholly mistaken—enthusiasm, has already had disastrous effects upon the character of a minority of Englishwomen, which tends in its most extreme advocates, as we see day by day, to an anarchy which is moral as well as political—a movement which would hamper and weaken men, while quite unnecessary to the full development of women (hear, hear)—on the other, the nation is offered a development on the lines of natural function: women as the faithful wives and mothers of the nation, women as the trained and capable advisers of men in respect of any legislation which concerns them and their children, bringing their ideals to bear through the discussion of daily life on the men voters, but still exempt themselves from the tumult and chicanery of party politics, and owing their influence largely to their exemption, women in industry, better organised and better trained, represented by their unions and influencing legislation through the free forces of public opinion, which are the real law-makers in this country; women, finally, throughout the great sphere of local government, voting directly on innumerable questions that personally and daily concern them, and exercising indirectly a great power over legislation. There you have an ordered series of complementary and interwoven powers, answering to and completing those of men and covering the whole of our national life. It is so that Anti-Suffragists conceive the future, and it is for that ideal that we ask your enthusiasm—that we ask you to fight in every way open to you during these critical days. It is the cause of women, it is the cause of the higher civilisation, it is the cause of our country. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution to the meeting, and it was carried by an overwhelming majority. The proceedings then terminated.

THE QUESTION OF MANDATE.

As the continuation of the Suffrage controversy is likely to bring into greater prominence the question of the degree of support that the movement has in the constituencies, it is of interest to recall a poll of the women of Sheffield on this subject taken in 1908 by *The Sheffield Independent*. The question asked was: "Are you in favour of women having a vote?" As a result of the canvass 23,914 papers were received, the answers being as follow:—

No—14,652
Yes—9,011

A second question asked was: "Do you approve of the methods of the Suffragettes?" The answers received were:—

No—17,924
Yes—3,564

Although it is four years since this poll was taken, it is of interest to note that 39½ per cent. of the women in favour of Woman Suffrage approved of militancy—i.e., the same proportion as in the case of Suffragists to Anti-Suffragists. What their views would be to-day we have no means of knowing, but it may be inferred that defections from the militant ranks are quite as likely to have joined the Anti-Suffragists as the non-militants.

In Sheffield, therefore, the proportion of militants is not the infinitesimal figure that the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies would have us believe, while four years ago, before the Anti-Suffrage campaign was properly launched and the inwardness of the movement had had time to be appreciated, we find only 38 per cent. of the women in favour of Woman Suffrage.

A SIMPLE EXPLANATION.

(By a member of the constitutional and law-abiding party)

Against the males we preach a fight,
The rule of man we call absurd;
And many a sister's heart we've stirred
To vindicate the woman's right.
But here and there a proselyte
Mistook, perhaps, what she had heard
Against the males.

For, by a simple oversight,
We quite forgot to spell the word,
And so, through zeal, a few have erred,
Wasting a lot of useful spite
Against the Mails.

WITHOUT THE VOTE.

In New York City the women teachers have compelled the city to equalise the wages of men and women, at an annual expense of \$3,500,000.—*Woman in Modern Society*, by Professor Earl Barnes.

HAWKHURST Branch has to regret the departure of Mrs. Frederic Harrison, who has been a tower of strength to the Anti-Suffrage cause in that district. Mrs. Harrison will now belong to the Bath Branch of the League, which is to be congratulated on receiving the promise of such valuable assistance.

On January 22nd, at the Lexham Gardens headquarters of the Y.W.C.A., a debate took place, the speakers on the "Anti" side being Mrs. Austin and Miss Mabel Smith, and their opponent Mr. Brown. Unfortunately, from his own point of view, the latter alienated the sympathies of the audience, largely composed of business girls and women, by insisting that "without the vote women must be either men's playthings or drudges." The Suffrage resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

ENGLAND'S ISOLATION.

SPEAKING at Manchester, Miss Margaret Ashton (Councillor) is reported to have said:—

"In America three more States had added women to their voters' lists. Norwegian women had got the vote; so had the women of Finland; the women of Denmark would have the vote next year, and the French women were going to get a partial franchise, she believed, this year. Was England going to stand alone in this matter?"

THE CHURCH LEAGUE CONFSSIONAL.

THE Rev. C. Hinscliff's Suffrage Society, better known as the Church League for Woman Suffrage, which is the only organisation outside the two wings of the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League that officially welcomes militants into its fold, was recently found in a confiding frame of mind at Norwich. The Organising Secretary announced that "circulars were sent out to 26,000 clergy of England and Wales, and only 50 supporters were obtained." Church League literature had led us to suppose that the Cave of Adullam was filled to overflowing. The next speaker was equally instructive when he announced that "the women's Suffrage movement was not at present a popular one. If it were, far more women would be elected to the public bodies for which they were eligible." Here we come down to bedrock and get away from all irrelevant issues, such as militancy or votes on second readings, as a reason for the failure of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons.

AN APPEAL FROM WOMEN.

THE National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, representing more than 30,000 women members enrolled during four years; a large preponderance of opinion among women municipal voters, as shown by the canvass of these voters undertaken by the League; and, it is believed, the vast majority of women throughout the country, implore the House of Commons to reject all the Woman Suffrage Amendments now before the House in the best interests of women and the country.

We believe that the State, by asking women to vote on vitally important matters with which they have no direct concern and of which they can have no practical knowledge, incurs serious dangers. We hold that the best interests of women will be served in the future, as in the past, by a steady progress on the lines of natural function; and we believe that the interests of women in industry, and the protection of the weak and defenceless, can be more efficiently promoted by organisation, and by the force of public opinion, than by the vote. We look for the increasing concession to women of such public and advisory functions as are due to their special knowledge and needs; and for the steady development of their power over domestic administration and domestic reform, through the Local Government vote and the membership of Local Government bodies.

It is unjust to men that women in such a country as Great Britain should claim direct political powers; and it is also unjust to the vast majority of British women, who dissent from the Suffrage propaganda, which has never received the sanction of the country, that the Parliamentary vote should be thrust upon them in this irregular and unconstitutional way. Those whom we represent protest with all the earnestness in their power against the passage of any of the Woman Suffrage Amendments now before the House. We are convinced that Woman Suffrage would weaken the Government and the State which protect British lives and liberties, while it would do nothing for women that could not be achieved in other ways.

MAUD ARRAN (Countess of Arran).

GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL (Miss Lowthian Bell),
Writer.

E. M. BURGWIN (Mrs. Burgwin), Superintendent,
Special Schools, L.C.C.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN (Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun).

MARY W. CROPPER (Miss Cropper), Education Com-
mittee, Westmorland County Council.

E. EBURY (Lady Ebury), Chairman, Watford Board
of Guardians.

M. E. GREATBATCH (Mrs. Greatbatch), Teacher.

MAUD G. HAMILTON (Lady George Hamilton).

HENRIETTA HAVERSHAM (Lady Haversham).

MARY ILCHESTER (Dowager Countess of Ilchester).

EDITH MAXWELL LYTE (Miss Maxwell Lyte), Poor
Law Guardian.

VIOLET MONTROSE (Duchess of Montrose).

GEORGINA MAX MULLER (Mrs. Max Muller).

JESSIE B. PHIPPS (Mrs. Wilton Phipps), Education
Committee, L.C.C.

GLADYS POTT (Miss Gladys Pott), Hon. Sec.,
N.L.O.W.S.

CATHERINE ROBSON (Lady Robson).

KATHARINE TULLIBARDINE (Marchioness of Tulli-
bardine).

MARY A. WARD (Mrs. Humphry Ward), Writer.

DUBLIN NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

IRISH SUFFRAGISTS AND THE FRANCHISE BILL.

THE game of Suffragist intrigue began in Ireland long before the House of Commons decided whether Woman Suffrage should be grafted on to a Bill which was never intended to serve any such purpose. Irish Suffragists, from the point of view of mere tactics, richly deserved from the outset to see the defeat of their hopes. It may be instructive to trace from the beginning the history of Irish Suffragist relations with the Dickinson amendment. The official organ of Woman Suffrage in Ireland would originally have none of it, although it was generally admitted that, of all the

amendments, the Dickinson amendment stood the best chance of success. The argument ran in these terms: "The fact is that the Government's Bill proposes to enfranchise all men (*sic*) and, therefore, if the principle of sex-equality is to be maintained, it must also enfranchise all women. Anything short of this is a departure from the simple sex-equality position. Many Suffragists, notably the leaders of the British National Union, propose to abandon this logical position, and to concentrate on the Dickinson or Norwegian amendment, which gives votes to women not on the same terms as men, but on a new and fancy franchise. We must deprecate such concentration." Irish Suffragists were instructed to write to and lobby their members, demanding support of Sir Edward Grey's preliminary amendment, and then support of the amendment which extended the terms of the Bill so as to include women on the same terms. The writing and the lobbying went on vigorously, but Nationalist members kept their own counsel till the end. I have seen it stated in English papers—and Suffragists here have repeated the statement—that forty-six members of Mr. Redmond's party have declared themselves to be supporters of votes for women. That is entirely incorrect. Fifty-eight Nationalist members are convinced Anti-Suffragists, and, outside the O'Brienite group, only about a dozen are in any way committed to the support of Woman Suffrage. However, whatever the views on the subject of the Nationalist party may be, that party clearly held in its hands the destiny of the Suffrage amendments. Although Irish Suffragists would probably have rejected the Dickinson amendment, there was a prodigious outcry in Dublin when Mr. Dickinson tabled an alternative proposal which excluded Ireland from its provisions. It is absurd to say that Mr. Dickinson's motion to omit Ireland was intended solely to appease Nationalist hostility. It was undoubtedly influenced by the attitude towards the amendment which Irish Suffragists themselves adopted. Nor was there any "bargain" with the Nationalist party. It cannot be insisted too strongly that the Nationalist party is always primarily influenced by tactical considerations with regard to the Home Rule Bill, and that the Woman Suffrage question, or any other question, is consistently subordinated to these considerations. In any case, since the Home Rule Bill provides that the Irish Parliament should be elected on the franchise in force at the time of the passing of the Act, if that measure became law before the Franchise Bill the fate of the Woman Suffrage amendments would not matter to Ireland one way or the other. Irish Suffragists are consistently offensive in their attitude towards Suffragists "across the Channel," and English Suffragists—naturally enough—have no hesitation in sacrificing their Irish sisters if and when it suits their convenience.

All these questions have now become academic; but they illustrate the fact that the desperate enthusiasm of Irish Suffragists is largely a vain, and a clumsy beating of a completely uninterested and unprofitable air. They have annoyed and insulted, to the length of physical attack, the man who can make or mar their cause; they rejected in advance the most hopeful of the Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill, and then chorused "Treachery!" when they were left out of it; they have ignored every political interest but their own, and they have bungled their own as badly as possible. They have only themselves to thank for their present hopeless position.

SUFFRAGIST "SLACKNESS."

Irish Suffragists have just given the public a negative, as well as a positive, illustration of their inability to deal with public affairs. A year ago an Act came into force which enabled women to sit on municipal bodies in Ireland. Two women councillors were elected—one in Dublin, and one in Waterford. This year there was no woman candidate in any of the cities and towns in which there were municipal contests. The Irish Suffragist leaders realise that the state of affairs must create an unfavourable impression on the public mind, and they have issued a sharp rebuke to the various local centres. They sweeten the pill with the recognition that "women who are actively engaged in working for the Parliamentary franchise, have little time or energy to devote to municipal affairs"; but the dose is not made any less bitter. Suffragists are told "that there should be no candidates is not a healthy sign. It bespeaks a certain slackness on the part of local Suffragists." I do not imagine that this appeal is likely to galvanize many of the obviously languishing Suffragist centres in this country into life.

MILITANCY AND THE POLICE.

Militant Suffragists in Dublin, during the period when "militancy" was vetoed by the leaders, have adopted a very childish

device for annoying the authorities. Certain notorious members, who are habitually watched by the police, emerge in a small party in the small hours of the morning, and proceed to lead the detectives on a wild-goose chase round the city, with the assistance of suspicious-looking operations in front of pillar-boxes, &c. The object of this silly manoeuvre appears to be that of protest against "the odious inquisitorial system to which women engaged in a political agitation are subjected." Apropos of militancy, a semi-official statement has been issued in Dublin to the effect that forcible feeding is not to be resorted to again in Ireland. If Suffragist prisoners refuse their meals, they will be left to take the consequences. I cannot obtain confirmation of this statement, but its probability is strengthened by the news that in future Irish Suffragist prisoners will be sent to Tullamore instead of to the Mountjoy prison, which is more exposed to sentimental influences radiating from Dublin Castle.

HUMOURS OF THE CONTROVERSY.

"SOME are unconscious. "To-night," said a member of the audience after listening to the opener and opposer at a debate, "we find ourselves between the devil and the deep sea." I asked my opponent which label she preferred, but she would not take either.

An unrehearsed effect was provided at another debate. A clergyman was asked to open the proceedings with prayer, and to the astonishment of more than half his audience, he promptly voiced a petition for the success of the Suffrage cause. Retribution, however, followed, when a strong local Suffragist was asked to speak in support of my opponent, but declined on the ground that he was now opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The potentialities attributed to that little thing the vote will always bulk largely in the humours of the controversy. Woman Suffrage, as we know, is "the essential factor in the saving of civilisation," and is to prove, of course, an infallible panacea for poverty, destitution, and all other ills the flesh is heir to. It was, however, news to me to learn, as I did lately from an earnest Suffragist, that "when the franchise is granted to women, they will all spend the evening indoors. You see, they'll be studying the newspapers to find out which way they ought to vote." A Suffragist speaker on Streatham Common assured her audience that "if women had had the vote, the 'Titanic' disaster would never have happened." An explanation having been demanded, the speaker pointed out that on a certain sea voyage she had satisfied herself that on account of the tremendous number of steerage passengers the boat accommodation would be quite inadequate in case of accident, and she had, therefore, retired to rest each night fully dressed. There would seem to have been a hiatus somewhere in the line of reasoning, but the speaker was not conscious of it, and the audience allowed her to pass on, possibly in the hope that she would claim that if the vote were given to women the warmth of their gratitude would melt all icebergs for evermore.

MABEL SMITH.

BOOK REVIEW.

"JOHN AND IRENE: AN ANTHOLOGY OF THOUGHTS ON WOMAN." By W. H. Beveridge. (Longmans, Green & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

John and Irene, we are told, fall in love; John expounds to Irene his theories on woman, Irene develops them with the consequence that both agree to separate, and the story of their love and of their quarrel is told in quotations.

John the idealist meets with his ideal, and his state of mind is depicted better in poetry than in prose. Irene returns his affection, she is young and flexible, and their courtship is at first an idyllic one. Then John begins to teach his views to Irene, who develops into an apt pupil, and they plunge into a series of involved discussions on the new feminism. To judge by the quotations it is hardly surprising that they quarrel, for a statement is never advanced by one writer which is not contradicted with equal certainty by another. At all events they part, Irene has become too advanced for John, and she champions the cause of woman's rights while he develops into a misogynist. Later he recovers, the eternal feminine still allures, and we feel sure that one day he will be happy again.

The book is cleverly thought out and the quotations are well chosen. As Mr. Beveridge says, on the subject of woman they could not possibly be exhaustive, too much has been written for any one anthology to be complete.

We have been recommended this book by the Suffragettes because of the accumulation of abuse against women. We can only say that had we been John, we also should have abused Irene, just as Irene, doubtless, abused John; but here the man had the advantage, for, however much the male may grumble against the female, he finds her a ready inspiration for his pen, and if this in itself is not exactly a compliment, it made the voicing of John's feelings an easy matter.

THE POLICY OF SCUTTLE.

It was left to the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News and Leader* to bring forward the strongest argument for a rally of Suffragists on the eve of the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill. Under the heading "Grave Militancy would follow Rejection" the correspondent wrote: "If women are not included in the Bill, it is not, I think, denied that some serious problems will have to be faced by the Government. . . . Grave militancy is taken for granted—the truce, of course, would end—and stringent coercive measures could hardly be avoided. I am merely stating a known fact when I say that against the advantages said to be derived from defeating the amendments must be set the complete paralysis and probable disruption of the Women's Liberal Federation, a very important ally of Liberal movements." Fortunately militancy, unlike conscience, makes cowards of a few only.

OUR BRANCH-NEWS LETTER.

Amersham.—A successful drawing-room meeting was held on January 3rd, at the Grammar School. The chairman (Mr. R. E. Yates) was supported by a number of influential ladies and gentlemen. Miss Helen Page kindly came down and treated the audience to a very lucid and convincing exposition of the Anti-Suffrage case, for which she earned a hearty vote of thanks, and a compliment from a prominent local Suffragette who had attended without invitation. The formation of a Branch for Amersham and District was proposed by Lady Susan Trueman, seconded by Lady Liberty, and carried unanimously, and the following officers were elected, subject to their consent:—

President: Lady Susan Trueman.
Vice-Presidents: Lady Liberty; Col. T. Trueman; W. W. Tyrwhitt-Drake, Esq., J.P.; G. Weller, Esq., C.C.; J. W. Garrett-Pegge, Esq., J.P.; J. C. Gardner, Esq., M.D.

Committee: C. S. Freeman, Esq.; Mrs. Freeman; Dr. Hardwicke; Miss G. Howland; R. E. Yates Esq.; Mrs. Yates. It is intended to hold a public meeting on Feb. 27th, and a large membership is confidently expected.

Beaconsfield.—Mr. A. Maconachie presided on January 13th over a meeting organised by the N.L.O.W.S. at Beaconsfield in the Town Hall, which was well filled. Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., who had been announced to address the meeting, telegraphed from the House of Commons regretting his inability to be present, and adding, "My experience at Marlow last week showed that public opinion in South Buckinghamshire is running strongly against Suffragists. I trust electors in Beaconsfield will strongly urge their Member to oppose Woman Suffrage."

Mrs. Greatbatch, in an able and attractive speech, described how she had at one time been herself "bitten with suffragitis," the case for which was full of plausible arguments, but further research had

reflection had shown her that all these arguments were unsound and could not stand against the weighty objections on the other side. The stability of the nation as a whole must take precedence over everything else.

A large number of questions were put by Suffragists present and were answered by Mr. Maconachie. A show of hands "against votes for women" received the support of a large majority of the meeting.

Bristol.—The first meeting of the New Year held by the Bristol Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. took place at St. James's Parish Hall on January 8th. The chair was taken by Professor Ferrier, of Bristol University, who proposed the following resolution: "This meeting emphatically protests against a Woman Suffrage amendment being added to the Franchise Bill before the electors have had an opportunity of recording their opinion on the question at a general election." Mrs. Archbold seconded the motion, which, on being put to the meeting, was carried by an overwhelming majority, seven to eight hundred people voting for it, while four hands were held up against it. Before the proceedings terminated a large number of new members joined the Branch.

A very successful debate was held on January 9th at the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Totterdown, between Dr. Lucas and a lady speaker of the W.S.P.U., the former winning by a very fair majority.

The first meeting of the Debating Society was held on January 23rd, at 15, Royal York Crescent. There was a good attendance. Rules for the season were drafted and passed.

During the month the Branch has undertaken the distribution of literature, and 51 new members have been enrolled.

Church Stretton.—A meeting was held on the afternoon of January 22nd, when Dr. McClinton took the chair, and Mrs. H. Norris spoke. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Prees.—A successful meeting was held on January 21st. The chair was taken by R. Black, Esq., and the speaker was Mrs. Harold Norris. She gave a most convincing address, and, when the resolution was taken, out of an audience of 170 or more there were only six dissentients.

City of London College Debating Society.—The Society welcomed a representative of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage on January 14th in the person of Mr. M. G. Liverman, the secretary of the Hackney Branch. In moving a resolution: "That the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State," he first quoted statistics of a postcard poll of women municipal electors showing a majority against the Parliamentary Franchise; and also pointed out how few women took advantage of their present opportunities to serve on local Councils and Boards of Guardians. From those facts he concluded that there was no general demand on the part of the women themselves for the proposed Franchise extension. The result of the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men would be a permanent majority of women electors, a demand for the right of entry into Parliament and into the Cabinet itself, and the introduction of political discord in the homes of the people. The opener was vigorously opposed by Mr. J. M. Muir, Mr. H. Owen, Mr. A. E. Hart, Mr. G. L. Precious, Mr. H. E. Denny, and Mrs. C. E. Loughborough; and supported by Mr. Cocks and Mr. Britnell. The resolution was lost by a majority of six.

Croydon.—A successful meeting was held at the Public Hall on January 17th. Mr. William Cash took the chair, and opened the meeting with a few introductory remarks. Speeches by Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Wenyon Samuel followed, the latter taking the place of Mr. A. Maconachie. Both speakers gave lucid and interesting addresses, which were followed with keen interest by all present.

After the meeting several new members were enrolled.
Dulwich.—A meeting in opposition to Woman Suffrage was held at St. Clement's Parish Hall, Barry Road, East Dulwich, on January 2nd, the Rev. H. E. Jennings, Vicar of the parish, occupying the chair. The speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

Mrs. H. Norris made a most forcible speech, in which she said that marriage and motherhood interrupted a woman's career and so made her services of less value than those of a man; in the North, where piece work was common for both sexes, the percentage of wages earned by women was less.

Mr. A. Ward, M.P., followed with a speech which dealt more with the political side of the question. He was interrupted several times by Suffragists who were present.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority, and many new members were enrolled as a result of the meeting.

Ealing.—A meeting was held in the Drill Hall on January 7th, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. C. Prendergast Walsh, C.I.E., presided; the speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

Mrs. Norris dealt with the two assertions of the Suffragists, that the vote was a right and a need. She said that no class of individuals could demand any right which would conflict with the interests of the State as a whole; in their opinion the granting of the franchise to women would be disastrous to the nation. Concerning the need for the vote, the question to be asked was, can the needs of women be supplied without recourse to a danger such as Woman Suffrage might mean. Judging from past and present history, Parliament could supply them. Women were not a class but a sex, and their interests were the same as those of men in the same class.

Mr. Arnold Ward suggested that if enfranchisement were really wanted, why did not greater success attend a Woman Suffrage candidate. The question should be submitted to a referendum, but this was not what the Suffragists desired. In local and municipal elections women brought useful experience to bear on the subject; in Imperial matters they had none; that was why a woman could vote in one and not in the other. A house could not always consist of a republic of two; final decisions must be made by one only, and this was more suitable for the breadwinner. If it were possible to make a limited selection of women capable of voting, there would, perhaps, be little harm in giving them the franchise, but this was impossible. Militancy was a dangerous weapon, and created a false precedent. Between non-militant and militant Suffragists there was little difference, as the former made use of the publicity gained by the latter. All those who had the Anti-Suffrage cause at heart, should communicate with their Member of Parliament.

Mr. Ward was several times interrupted during his speech, and at the conclusion an animated discussion followed, and many questions were asked of the speakers.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was then put to the meeting, and was carried by a decided majority.

Edinburgh.—The annual meeting of members was held on January 8th, in St. George's Hall, Randolph Place. Lady Christison presided and in the course of her opening remarks gave a short sketch of the work which had been done in Edinburgh during the past year. Mr. Rae, in proposing the adoption of the Annual Report, touched upon the social legislation which has been passed recently without help of women's votes. Mrs. Patterson seconded the adoption of the report, which was carried. Miss Dick Peddie also made a short speech, after which delegates were nominated for the Council.

Edmonton.—Miss Mabel Smith presided over a largely attended public meeting at the Edmonton Town Hall, held under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S.

Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., in moving a resolution against votes for women, said that in the days when he was a practising barrister he soon came to see that the law, especially the administration of it, was far more favourable to women than to men. As to wages, he would not deny that it was possible that if women employees in Government Departments had votes, they might be able to force their wages up artificially by threatening M.P.'s with the loss of their seats. But that was a bad thing in itself and could not apply to private employers, any of whom would kick out of his office an M.P. who came and interfered with his business arrangements. Women generally must look to organisation and trade combination, the right to which was secured to them by law equally with men.

Mr. A. Maconachie, who seconded, dealt largely with the methods of militants, who, he said, were mere Anarchists and, if they insisted on dying in prison in order to terrorise the community, should be allowed to die. This sentiment was received with loud cheers, and the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Felixstowe.—A well-attended meeting was held on January 17th at Hamilton Hall, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Miss Rowley, President of the local Branch, was in the chair, and the speakers were Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Maconachie.

Miss Smith contended that after many years' propaganda, the Suffragists had never properly proved that the vote would remove women's grievances; on the contrary, she believed that it would create more poverty and unemployment. She then criticised the position of men and women in the labour market from an ethical and economic standpoint, and proceeded to move the Anti-Suffrage resolution.

This was seconded by Mr. Maconachie, who dealt with the Parliamentary position. The only party in favour of Woman

Suffrage was the Labour and Socialist one, the Unionists advocated a referendum, which would mean the defeat of the Suffragists, as the opinion of the country was quite decided on the matter.

There were many interruptions during his speech; but the resolution was carried with a few dissentients.

Hastings.—We have received the annual report of the Hastings and District Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., which states that the membership has been increased by 79, making a total number of entries of 265.

During the year three successful meetings were held; delegates from the local committee attended the Albert Hall meeting in February, 1912; and a circular letter was sent to each Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. urging co-operation in an effort to induce Members of Parliament to further legislation on questions affecting women and children. There have been several changes on the committee, and the Branch has sustained a heavy loss in the deaths of Dr. Allfrey and Dr. Bagshawe.

Kensington.—On January 14th the Kensington Borough Council received two deputations, one of Suffragists and another of members of the Kensington Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. The Suffragists requested the Council to petition Parliament in favour of the inclusion of women within the terms of the Franchise Bill, while the Anti-Suffragist deputation attended in order to resist the proposal. Mrs. Arthur Somervell, on behalf of the Anti-Suffrage deputation, made an impressive speech. The voting in the Council showed 14 members in favour of the Suffrage proposal and 38 against.

The arrangements for the Anti-Suffrage deputation were in the hands of Colonel Stainforth, member of the Kensington Borough Council, and Mrs. George Macmillan. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Honorary Secretary of the Branch, was prevented by illness from being present.

Largs.—On January 8th the Largs Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League held its first general meeting. The Countess of Glasgow, President of the League, was in the chair, and made an excellent speech, urging each member to do his or her best to prevent the calamity of universal suffrage with which the country is threatened.

Two delegates were then chosen to be proposed as members of Council at the next Glasgow meeting on January 27th.

The concert, which followed the business proceedings, was greatly appreciated, and many thanks are due to the performers who so willingly gave their services to make the first meeting a success.

Maidenhead.—Under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., a well-attended meeting was held on January 9th at the Town Hall, Maidenhead. Lord Haversham, who presided, remarked on what he termed the scratchy and patchy support Woman's Suffrage had in the country and in Parliament. He asserted that a matter of such vital importance should first be submitted to the people of the country for an expression of their views.

Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C., followed, and contrasted Great Britain, with all its responsibilities and ramifications in every quarter of the globe with the various Suffrage States, and denied that there was any right or reason for the demands of the Suffragists. Mr. Fred Maddison denied that women were intellectually inferior. "I know many women," he said, "who are mentally superior to men. I believe that Mrs. Fawcett has twice the intellect of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. If I am mistaken, it is because I understate the proportions." Several questions were answered, and when the resolution was put to the meeting it was carried with only fifteen dissentients.

Marlow.—A well-attended meeting was held in the Town Hall, Marlow, on January 8th, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Mr. T. Arnold Herbert, J.P., took the chair, and the speakers were Miss G. Pott and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

Miss Pott said the reason why she spoke against granting the franchise to women was because she, as a woman, entirely disagreed with the Suffragists who claimed to be expressing the views of all the women in England. The question was a very big one, and it resolved itself into two sides, what was the vote, and what was the position of woman with regard to it. The Suffragists argued that, because women to-day were in difficulties and the vote had always been in the hands of men, therefore one was the effect of the other. The argument was poor, for the fact that women had greatly progressed during the last few years should also be ascribed to the same cause.

The vote implied a duty and responsibility, and it should be used for the good of the whole community. There were two duties towards this community, the duty of wealth production, and the duty of expending the wealth with regard to the domestic circle.

Man being physically stronger, was more fitted to cope with the

first; and woman as the mother of the race, with the second. To reverse this order meant a general loss.

Militancy was wrong, it claimed the example of history, but it was really acting on the principle that the end justified the means, and this was an immoral principle. Suffragists had given no real proof that lasting good would accrue to women from having the vote, and therefore she opposed extending the franchise to them.

Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., in seconding the resolution, laid stress on the fact that this was a non-party meeting; they were met to discuss the good of a cause for which they were prepared to sink party differences. In a fortnight's time Parliament would enter upon another great struggle on the subject of Woman Suffrage, and he advised all those who had the cause at heart to communicate their views on the subject to their Member. Anti-Suffragists did not depreciate the value of woman's advice, but because woman in her life was more restricted than man, she was not brought into contact with affairs of national importance. Women had done admirable work in local municipal government; but that was different from Imperial legislation; and it would be unwise to add to the electorate an enormous number of voters who were unfamiliar with questions which the vote ultimately decided. Before becoming law the question ought to be submitted to a referendum, and this was what the Suffragists feared.

Questions were then asked, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried with four dissentients.

Marylebone.—Mrs. Meldola kindly placed at the disposal of this Branch, on January 22nd, her residence in Brunswick Square, for the purpose of a debate between Miss Gladys Pott and Lady Selborne, the President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Suffrage Association. Mr. J. W. F. Beaumont was in the chair.

Speaking on the motion that "the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is contrary to the interests of the Empire," Miss Pott made in her opening speech the following points:—

1. The point at issue is whether the vote in the hands of women is the remedy for certain evils.
2. The vote is not a right but an instrument of government, in order that all classes and interests should be represented in the vote of the community, and it is to be used in the interests of the community and not by voters in their own individual interests.
3. Suffragists must prove that the interests of women as a sex are apart from or differ from those of men.
4. A good voter should have a sense of the relative issues at stake. Women, through their ordinary avocations, do not have the experience necessary to cultivate this sense, and therefore do not make good voters.

Miss Pott asked Lady Selborne to prove that one or other of her propositions was wrong, that her definition of the vote was wrong, and that her account of the different duties of the two sexes was wrong.

Lady Selborne, in her reply, agreed that the functions of men and women were different, and that it would be a very grave error to entice women or drive them into the functions which are more naturally and properly exercised by men. The fact remained that women were being driven out to earn the bread which should be man's part. She could not accept Miss Pott's definition of the vote, and would rather express it as "a means of choosing the governor." "We are not really governed by the vote," said Lady Selborne, "we are governed by the executive that the vote elects." She appealed to experience to show that the according of votes to women is not an interference with the natural functions of women of the community, and that the vote may be very advantageously exercised by them for the good of the whole community. This experience comprised the list of queens, the municipal vote, and the overseas dominions, where no evil had resulted from Woman Suffrage. Lady Selborne urged that the vote is another way of making one's opinion prevail. Women for a long time had been represented by their influence, and it was perfectly true that they had a great deal of power, and that they influenced public opinion—and thereby legislation—to a very considerable degree. She did not, however, think that power without responsibility was a good thing, and she contended that if women's influence is good, so will her vote be, because the vote is, after all, only the extreme point of influence.

Miss Pott replied by asking, if the voter has not much to do with the government, what is the use of the vote to him? She insisted that Australia and New Zealand could offer no comparison with the conditions obtaining in Great Britain, and she asked Lady Selborne to say whether she was prepared—and if not, why not—to admit this argument, that what was good for Australia must necessarily be good for us, in regard to the political issues of the day.

Would Lady Selborne accept Home Rule for Ireland because Australia had approved of it, and would Liberals for the same reason accept Tariff Reform because Australia favoured Protection? In each case Australia had commended its example to the Mother Country. Miss Pott agreed that the point of view of women's experience was required in the matter of legislation, and contended that the general trend of the last 60 years proved that it was represented by the fact that the condition of women had improved just as much as the condition of men. Lady Selborne, she added, pointed out in a letter in the public Press that the majority of wives would vote the same way as their husbands. "Was not that a proof," Miss Pott asked, "that a man's vote to-day represents his wife?" Lady Selborne had entirely failed to prove that women's interests were different from men's, and if they do not differ, why should it be necessary to give votes to women as well as men?

Lady Selborne, in reply, pointed out that the reason why the legislation of the last 60 years had been favourable to women was because women had taken more interest in politics. She did not hold that men were the natural enemies of women, although she was afraid that some people who advocated Suffrage did so. In a very large number of cases men had represented women, but at certain points their interests diverge as between husband and wife, mother and father. She instanced also the interest of women barristers and women doctors, and she contended that the analogy of Australia and New Zealand held good as experiments on a small scale.

A number of questions were put to the speakers, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks, moved by Mr. Hamley.

Middlesbrough.—A spirited debate was held in the lecture room of the Primitive Methodist Church, Linthorpe Road, on December 20th. Councillor T. Thomson was in the chair.

Miss Winifred Jones supported the case for Woman Suffrage; she gave the outlines of woman's evolution, and stated that it was still incomplete while she was deprived of a vote. In mind, she declared, there was no such thing as sex.

Miss Gertrude Bell argued against her, and said that the lot of woman was not so bad as her opponent had declared. She quoted from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., to say that the vote had had no effect on men's wages in the past, and would have no effect on women's.

Mr. Charles Coates seconded Miss Jones, while Miss Bell was supported by Miss Pott (N.L.O.W.S.).

The Suffrage resolution was carried by 176 votes to 96.

Mile End.—A public meeting against Woman Suffrage was held at the Burdett Road Congregational Schools, on January 1st, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. The Mayor (Ald. W. H. Jones) presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. Maconachie.

Mrs. G. Solomon said that votes for one woman meant votes for all women; and that would be the same as if the Suffragettes said to the men, "you must fight in the Army, we will tell you when to fight; you will go down into the mines, we will settle your mining disputes." Some of the Suffragette proposals would injure the wage-earning women, therefore the majority of them did not want the vote.

Mr. A. Maconachie emphasised the fact that most women were opposed to the franchise; and said that pure and noble motives were no excuse for outrageous hooliganism as the Suffragettes pleaded. He then moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was carried by 80 votes to 8.

North Berks.—The annual report of the North Berks Branch shows an increase of members from 480 to 522. There have been several meetings during the past year; a debate was held at Abingdon on February 29th, another at Wantage on February 8th. Meetings were also held at East Hagbourne and at Oxford; and two more debates are being arranged at Wantage and Abingdon.

The Organising Secretary deeply regrets the enforced retirement of Mrs. Woodhouse, Hon. Sec. to the Wantage Sub-Branch; but she cannot be too grateful to those ladies who have helped her to carry on the work of the League during the year.

Peterborough.—On January 13th, an interesting discussion on the Suffrage question took place at the Trinity Schoolroom, when Miss Amy Hicks (W.S.P.U.) debated with Mrs. Wentworth Stanley (N.L.O.W.S.). Miss Hicks moved: "That women should no longer be excluded from the exercise of the Parliamentary vote"; and she upheld the resolution in a fluent speech.

Mrs. Wentworth Stanley refuted the argument that the vote had been beneficial to social life in Australia and New Zealand; and the Suffragist argument that infant mortality had been reduced in Australia, was true also in England, without the woman's vote. Many members took part in the discussion, and the vote was taken

in the following week, when 10 voted in favour of votes for women and 18 against.

Reigate.—A successful reception was held on January 22nd, at the Public Hall, Reigate, under the auspices of the Reigate, Redhill and District Branch, to meet Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C. In addition to the speeches, the proceedings included a musical programme contributed by Mrs. Edwin Hall and Miss Evelyn Seth-Smith. During the speeches the chair was taken by Mr. A. F. Mott, the Treasurer of the Branch, and among those present were Lady Louisa Fielding and Miss Fielding, Mr. F. E. Lemon, C.C. (the Mayor of Reigate), Sir John Watney, J.P., Colonel Rhode, Mrs. and Miss Rhode, Colonel Helsham Jones, Major Sharp, Dr. Renner, Mr. F. C. Pawle, J.P., Mr. G. W. Rundall, with Mrs. Rundall, one of the Joint Secretaries.

Mrs. Humphry Ward said that the agitation for Woman's Suffrage went back to the middle of last century. In those days the vote was to do everything, and that was the view of Mill. The present movement was a survival of the movement in the mid-Victorian days. That movement believed there was an absolute connection between the vote and reform. The vast number of men had had votes since 1867, yet these men had failed to profit by their votes. There had been a long series of great Acts dealing with the position of women, emancipating them, and though much still remained to be done, history did not bear witness to any indifference of men towards women. The addition of women to the Parliamentary Franchise with no physical force would inevitably affect their prestige. In a complex State like theirs, the first to suffer for this loss of security and prestige would be the women, the weakest citizens in the country. Parliament was not the mere expression of opinion, but there was the force behind it. Its social power was limited, or there would not be so many grievances of men. When the Suffragists said they did not want seats in Parliament or the Government, they admitted there was a fundamental difference between men and women. She thought the great field for women was in the development of the local government power.

Mr. Mitchell-Innes said that one of the reasons why women were desiring the vote was because they had lost sight of the State. They had regarded the vote as a personal thing, a prize to be snatched at any cost, the selfish enjoyment of which they regarded as a prize and the exclusion of which they regarded as an injustice. One of the strongest arguments against Woman Suffrage was that, though it was true most of the female organisations were devoted to the support of the movement, it was remarkable that in the National Union of Teachers, where men were admitted, no such thing could be said, because the position of that Union reflected the position of the State. That great organisation stood to him as an enforcement of the argument that where they got healthy opinion among women they did not get Suffrage opinion. There was no doubt that if they admitted women to the franchise, they would create a state of things where the danger of collision between the fighting power and the voting power would be inevitably enhanced. Let women look to it; let them keep their womanhood, their true womanhood, well guarded, inviolate, untouched; let them leave to men the burdens of State, of defending the Empire; let them leave alone the dust of political turmoil, and they would not only safeguard the true shrine of their own influence, but would safeguard that which was the truest appeal to the manhood of the nation.

The resolution passed at the Queen's Hall two nights previously was carried with two dissentients.

Rochdale.—A debate on Woman Suffrage was held on December 19th, between Miss T. Potts (N.U.W.S.S.), and Miss C. Moir (N.L.O.W.S.). The arrangements were made by the Women's Liberal Association.

Miss Potts said the majority of young educated women were convinced Suffragists, they demanded the vote because of the present economic position of women. Nine-tenths of the country's sweated workers were women, and though the vote would not do everything to cure present ills, it would be the chief factor in raising their economic status.

Miss Moir said that Anti-Suffragists opposed enfranchisement in the interests of women themselves. The present position of women workers was not satisfactory; nevertheless the Suffragists' demand for equality would not remedy things, because it meant equal responsibility, and that condition women could not fulfil.

A resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage was put to the meeting, and declared to have been carried, though there was considerable opposition.

Ryde.—A largely attended public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Ryde, on January 20th, under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, the Chairman being Colonel Hamilton, and the speakers Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Maddison.

In the course of her speech, Miss Smith referred to the impossibility of separating the interests of the sexes, illustrating her point by reference to the unemployment clauses of the Insurance Act. Mr. Maddison proposed the customary Anti-Suffrage resolution, and criticised some assertions in a leaflet by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Jellison, and on being put to the meeting, was carried with only two dissentients.

Sherborne.—A largely attended public meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, Sherborne, on Thursday, January 23rd. Mr. Parsons made a very genial chairman, and the speakers were Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Maconachie. Miss Smith based her arguments on the fact that, although some women may want the vote, they do not need it. Mr. Maconachie followed with an extremely lucid and interesting account of the Parliamentary situation with regard to the Suffrage question. The resolution was carried with but six dissentients.

Slough.—A successful meeting, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., was held at the Public Hall, Slough, on January 10th, presided over by Mr. Allhausen. Mrs. Greatbatch was the first speaker, and was followed by Mr. E. A. Mitchell-Innes, K.C., who gave an interesting résumé of the progress of the various Suffrage Bills through Parliament, asserting that a measure of such importance should not be left to the chances of an accidental combination, but should have behind it the people's will expressed through one of the great historic parties in the State. Mr. MacCallum Scott dealt with "the economic fallacies underlying the demand for equal pay for equal work," and after several questions had been answered, the resolution was carried by a large majority.

Walsall.—A well-attended meeting was held on January 15th in the Town Hall under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S. Lord Charnwood, who presided, emphasised the importance of the question of Woman Suffrage. He said that if it should become a live issue before the electors of the country, he for one would feel obliged to cast aside party ties and to treat this particular issue as the sole question worth serious attention.

Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. A. Maconachie afterwards spoke upon the question, and a resolution was passed protesting against the extension of the franchise to women without an appeal to the electorate.

Wednesbury.—A meeting was held on January 16th, in the Town Hall, under the auspices of the Wednesbury Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., at which Lord Charnwood presided. Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., who was billed as a speaker, was detained in the House of Commons. Miss Gladys Pott said that the vote should be in the possession of a person who was an Imperial thinker, and her definition of such was one who had a sense of relative values with regard to the Empire. Men had acquired this habit of mind, and as women did not cultivate it, for the sake of the community they should do without the vote.

Mr. A. Maconachie also spoke, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried.

Wellingborough.—A debate was held before a crowded meeting in the Assembly Rooms on January 20th, between Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell and Mr. A. Maconachie, representing the London Suffrage Society and the N.L.O.W.S. respectively. The debate was on the proposed deletion of the word "male" before "person" in the Franchise Bill. Mr. Nunneley, the prospective Liberal candidate for North Northamptonshire, took part, and the amendment was defeated by a majority of 41.

West Herts (Watford).—The first social gathering of this Branch was held in the Kingham Memorial Hall on January 17th, and proved a great success. Over six hundred invitations were issued to all the members of the sub-Branches and to many others. Dancing, combined with an excellent programme of music, filled up the evening, with the exception of a break in the proceedings when Mr. A. Bromet took the chair, and Mrs. Wentworth Stanley gave a spirited address, amusing her audience with an account of her experiences in the late Bow and Bromley election. The resolution which she proposed, and which was seconded by Mr. Carter, Headmaster of the Grammar School, was carried unanimously, and the result of the evening's entertainment was a good addition to the list of members.

Wimbledon.—A largely attended drawing-room meeting was held on January 18th, under the auspices of the N.L.O.W.S., at Ingersby, the residence of Mrs. Carver. Sir David Gill, K.C.B., F.R.S., late His Majesty's Astronomer, Cape Town, was in the chair, and the speakers were Miss Pott and Mr. Williams.

Miss Pott argued that while the Suffragists said that the claims of men and women were opposed, the Anti-Suffragists said they were identical, therefore the votes of men represented the women. This was true, for during the last sixty years improvements in

the general position of women had been steady, and in face of this fact she would ask her opponents two questions. Were these improvements due to women; if so, how can they say that women had no influence in political life? Or, if they were not brought about by women's influence, how can they say that men neglect their interests? Concerning the guardianship of children, the Suffragists find it hard that a woman should not have an equal voice with her husband; that would mean that neither party would have the final decision if disagreement arose. Miss Pott reminded her audience that since the days of Solomon, whenever a quarrel had arisen over a child no satisfactory solution had been arrived at except at the expense of the child.

The Suffragists had never proved that the vote in the hands of women would materially benefit them, therefore the majority of women were not prepared to advocate such a drastic change in the electorate.

Mr. Williams then spoke, and at the conclusion a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the speakers by Mr. F. Fenton, Hon. Secretary.

On the afternoon of January 26th an open-air meeting, estimated at not less than five hundred strong, was addressed on Wimbledon Common by Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Herbert Williams. Questions having been asked and answered, Mr. Williams invited a show of hands of those in favour of Woman Suffrage, and declared that thirty was a "generous estimate." The rest of the meeting was opposed to the vote.

Winchester.—The Earl of Northbrook presided at a crowded meeting held at the Guildhall on January 21st. The Chairman read letters of regret from Lord Eversley, Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Myers, and then introduced the speakers, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun said that she opposed extending the franchise to women, not because she depreciated her own sex, but because she considered that in matters of Imperial legislation they were not fully qualified to rule. Their duties were different from those of men, and she maintained that women had neither the time nor the aptitude for public and private affairs. Some women did splendid work on local committees, and expressed the feelings of their sex upon social questions; but many failed to take advantage of these privileges. It was a man's duty to protect women, and in her opinion, votes for women would lead to a condition of chaos and anarchy.

Sir Henry Craik acknowledged that the Suffrage question was of supreme importance in the political world, yet the sudden outburst of feeling did not imply that they should revise the judgment of centuries, and risk the dangers to the Empire of a new and untried experiment. If he believed that the vote would bring a change for the better to the economic welfare of women, he would approve of the measure; but he could not see that this would happen. If women had the vote they would have to range themselves under the two great parties in the State and follow their lead, and this would not alter their position in the working world. If one section of women had the vote, another section would obtain it, and there was no large majority of women in the country who were in favour of this new measure.

He then proposed: "That in the opinion of this meeting the party franchise should not be granted to women;" and the resolution was carried with twelve dissentients.

The Beehive.

The Beehive met at Guardbridge on January 25th, when a "Tree" and tea were given to the local Branch. A big paper mill at this centre contains many Bees who have done good work, and fathers, mothers and children were all present at the crowded meeting, which was opened with prayer. Lady Griselda Cheape gave a brief address on the Anti-Suffrage position. No point was more loudly cheered than when she maintained that men must protect women from having another responsibility thrust upon them. After the children had sung a hymn, tea was served. Bees from St. Andrews had come over to help. A carol by the choir followed, and then a covered basket made its appearance, from which everybody received a small gift. Sixteen new members were enrolled, and a collection of 17s. 1½d. for the Blind Institute was made.

In March it is proposed to have a sale for the Guardbridge Mission, and the Bees have been invited to make as much honey in the way of gifts as they can.

At the close of the afternoon, Lady Griselda Cheape presented Mrs. Fulcher, the President of the Guardbridge Branch, with a teapot. After a hearty vote of thanks the meeting came to an end.

LEAFLETS.

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. Price 1s. per 100.
4. Queen Victoria and Women's Rights. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. Price 1s. per 100.
8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. Price 1s. per 100.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes: Should Women have Votes because they Pay Rates? 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.

50. The Real Issue of Woman Suffrage. 3s. per 1,000.
51. Suffragist Fallacies. *A Mandate (?)*. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
52. Manifesto. Why the Nation is Opposed. 4s. per 1,000.
53. Power and Responsibility. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
55. "Votes for Women" Never! Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
56. The Prime Minister's "Conciliation" Bill Against Votes for Women. Price 5s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
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- S. "Songs for Suffrs," or "Clement's Inn Carols," by I. Arthur Pott. 3d. each.
- T. "Feminist Claims and Mr. Galsworthy," by J. Arthur Pott. 1d. each.
- The Physical Force Argument against Woman Suffrage. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. Price 1d.
- Deputation to Mr. Asquith on Woman Suffrage. 1d.
- U. Equal Pay for Equal Work. A Woman Suffrage Fallacy. Price 1d.
- V. The Albert Hall Demonstration. Price 2d.
- W. Suffragette Sing-Song. Price 2d.
- X. A Memorandum on Woman Suffrage, by Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P. Price 1d.
- Y. Woman Suffrage: Its Meaning and Effect. By Arthur Page, B.A. Price 1d.
- Z. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
- AA. Lecture by Miss Pott. Price 1d.
- AB. Wages and Votes: A Reply to Miss Maude Royden. By G. S. Pott. Price 2d. each.
- The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

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

The speeches made by Lord Curzon and others at the Glasgow Meeting have been published in pamphlet form, and may be had on application at the Head Office.

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

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Branch formed, but no officials elected as yet.

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Convictions for Cruelty to Animals, 7,038.

Cautions for Minor Acts of Cruelty, 25,570.

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