

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

LADY SHEFFIELD.

LADY SHEFFIELD, whose photograph we have great pleasure in reproducing, is the President of our large Manchester Branch, a Member of the Council of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and one of those thoughtful women whose sympathies and support have been with the Anti-Suffrage movement from the time when our League, as the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, was founded. Lady Sheffield is the wife of the fourth Lord Sheffield, better known as Lord Stanley of Alderley, who is also an upholder of Anti-Suffrage principles, and who, it will be remembered took the chair at Lord Cromer's great Manchester mass Meet-



L. H. Sheffield

ing last year in the Free Trade Hall.

One of our staunchest Anti-Suffragists, Sir Hugh Bell, whose speeches at our Public Meetings have so often impressed his hearers, is the brother of Lady Sheffield. Sir Hugh Bell, who has been the Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire since 1906, has recently been elected Mayor of the North Riding, in place of the Mayor who is retiring on account of ill-health. Lady Sheffield is associated with many philanthropic and charitable schemes in Cheshire, and is much interested in various kinds of Social Reform work of to-day. At her beautiful Cheshire home, Alderley Park, Lady Sheffield is a most popular hostess.

L. V. M.

WHOSE IS THE "TREACHERY"?

THE attempt to force the Conciliation Bill upon the country has taken during the last two or three months a turn which should be specially noted. Suffragists are fond of accusing Ministers and Members of Parliament of "wriggling" and "treachery"; but the demands which they have been making of members in connection with their Bill come very near to deserving that kind of accusation. They have been trying to pledge members to oppose any amendment of the Conciliation Bill; and during the recent by-elections they have used their organisations to oppose candidates who, while being convinced and well-known Suffragists, declined to commit themselves to such a pledge.

The scandalousness of the line which the Suffragists have been pursuing is obvious. The Prime Minister's promise of facilities next session was distinctly given for a Bill which should permit of free amendment. The Conciliation Bill, as first introduced, was altered to meet this condition, and this year a great point was made of the fact that the Bill was so drafted as to permit amendment. The statements issued by the Conciliation Committee at the time of the Bill's appearance drew attention to the alteration. Now, having met the letter of the condition, Suffragists insist that no amendment shall be made. With a sinister ingenuity they put forward the possibility of amendment to hold their heterogeneous supporters together over this year's second reading, in order to be able to appeal to the Prime Minister on the basis of that division; and then they attempt to shirk the meaning of the promise given to them. And these are the people who cry "Treachery!" and grow indignant when a meeting of Liberal members sets itself quite naturally and justifiably to consider amendment of the Bill.

The truth is, of course, that they are nervously aware of the essential falseness of the division on the Conciliation Bill. They have been confessing—nay, they have proclaimed violently—that any widening amendment will certainly wreck their Bill, and that any amendment at all will endanger it. By what

right then do they propose to force the Bill upon the community? It is at present little more than what Suffrage Bills have always been—a sort of formula which a certain number of members agree to adopt for the time being, in order to give it their own varying interpretations when the time comes for getting to closer quarters. It is not a measure genuinely approved even by all those who voted for it. It has, by the recent action of the Suffragists, ceased strictly to be the Bill for which the Prime Minister promised facilities. He would, therefore, in strictness be justified in withdrawing a promise which has been so conspicuously misused. But fortunately he will have no need to take any such step. The talk about "pledging" members to oppose amendments has not been put to any test, but the meeting of Liberal members referred to above shows that the difference of opinion which the Suffragists dread so much is not diminished. Anti-Suffragists, therefore, should not let themselves regard the Prime Minister's promise as bringing anything to a foregone conclusion. The Conciliation Bill is thoroughly weak on its legs, and its failure, to the accomplishment of which our League must do everything in its power before next session, will be a blow to the Suffrage movement all the heavier because Suffragists have tried to blind the country to the disingenuousness of their policy.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE temporary panic in the Suffragists' camp caused by Mr. Lloyd George's statement in the House of Commons that Mr. Asquith's promise of facilities was meant to apply to any Woman Suffrage Bill capable of amendment, and not exclusively to the Conciliation Bill, was allayed, as we expected it would be, by Mr. Asquith's letter to Lord Lytton. Only a fatal prepossession, to repeat a phrase which we used last month and which appears to have offended our friends the enemy, could, however, have excluded the possibility that Mr. Asquith's words were meant to bear the interpretation Mr. Lloyd George put on them. We cannot help

fancying that when Mr. Asquith was pressed by Lord Lytton, he decided, without having previously thought much about the matter, to allow his words to have the meaning which the most importunate group of Suffragists desired. Why the supporters of the Conciliation Bill are not honourably entitled to the facilities they claim, we have pointed out in our leading article. Meanwhile, Mr. Lloyd George has once again become the arch-enemy. We believe that Mr. Lloyd George really is a supporter of votes for women, but it is his fate to become to the Suffragists what clericalism was to Gambetta. "We shall not succeed by mincing matters or by harbouring illusions of any kind as to who is our enemy," says "Votes for Women." "Our enemy is Mr. Lloyd George."

If we were Suffragists we think we should whisper in the ears of those who conduct the Suffragist journals that they will do their cause a good deal of injury in the long run by sticking pins into those who are really their friends. Fortunately for the peace of mind of anti-Suffragists the Suffragist journals are quite deaf to such advice as they get from a few of their own subscribers on this subject. If they were open to hints they would take one perhaps from the article by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby which appears in the September number of the "Englishwoman." Mr. Ponsonby is in favour of the Conciliation Bill, as the only Woman Suffrage Bill which has any chance of passing in this Parliament, yet he accepts it with some reluctance, calling it "admittedly a narrow compromise," and he does not for a moment sanction the assumption that the advanced Liberal and Socialist Suffragists who want a wider Bill are enemies in disguise. He says:—

"To attack and abuse those who are honest supporters of the object because for the time being they differ as to the best method, is weakening and dangerous to the cause as a whole. It may have the effect of hardening superficial differences into confirmed opposition. There is, indeed, far too great a tendency amongst those who support the Conciliation Bill outside the House of Commons to regard this actual Bill as their own pet creation and to desire its passage as a triumph for some particular organisation which is to get full and undivided credit for the victory. Such tactics invariably engender irritation and even resentment."

The fact is that there are a great many supporters of a wide Woman

Franchise Bill who would sincerely rather have no Bill than the Conciliation Bill. They believe that the votes given by the Conciliation Bill would simply delay the accomplishment of their wishes. Directly one understands this one sees the artificiality of the majority on which the Conciliation Bill depends.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to us to contradict the statement in the "Review" that none of the candidates' election addresses at the by-elections of this year contained a favourable reference to the Conciliation Bill. It appears that at the Cheltenham by-election in April, the address of Mr. Agg-Gardner, the Unionist candidate, contained the following words: "I am prepared to support the Conciliation Bill, which aims at extending to Parliamentary elections the franchise possessed by women in municipal elections. I support this on logical grounds, as well as on the constitutional principle that representation should accompany taxation." We regret that we overlooked this exception. We wonder whether Mr. Agg-Gardner assumes that all men who pay taxes have votes.

At the time of going to press, we have not learned the result of the Kilmarnock by-election. The Unionist and Liberal candidates (Sir J. D. Rees and Mr. Gladstone) were both firm Anti-Suffragists, and the Unionist and Liberal members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and of the Women's Social and Political Union, true to their policy of subordinating every national interest to their obsession, joined in support of Mr. McKerrell, the Labour candidate. It will be interesting to watch the effect upon the polls. The Women's Freedom League intervened in the election to announce that though it would oppose Sir J. D. Rees and Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, it would not support Mr. T. McKerrell, the Labour candidate. Support of Mr. McKerrell, it was explained, would involve supporting many other measures besides that of Women's Suffrage, and the position of the League has always been one of rebellion against legislation without our consent. This is the first instance we can remember of a militant suffragist society allowing ordinary political considerations to guide its policy.

THE National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is apparently able to console itself with a novel doctrine. Miss M. S. Mackenzie, the Press Secretary of the Union, wrote to the "Daily Chronicle" about our Municipal Canvass:—

"It seems to me, however, that, even supposing these canvasses represented the real state of the case, it is the earnestness and enthusiasm which inspire the demand for a reform which really count, far more than mere numbers. The apathy of Anti-Suffragists is well known to be a source of distress to them. But the leaders of a movement which can bring 40,000 women together from every part of the country, and which is being carried on with equal enthusiasm all the world over, will scarcely set much value on the actual numerical figures of those who are for and against. They know that, even if the proportion were 10 to 1 against them, the intensity of desire in the smaller number would be so much greater than in the larger that mere numbers would be a minor consideration."

"Mere numbers a minor consideration" clears up a great mystery for us. We had supposed that women Suffragists, when they said that the country was converted to their view, deduced themselves with the belief that numbers were on their side. Now we know that "intensity of desire in the smaller number" may be accepted, even in a democratic country, as an alternative. Most consoling!

THE "Common Cause" of September 7th doubts the existence in women of any special instincts or any intuitional faculties not possessed by men. This repudiation on behalf of women of an insight and a delicate perception, which often work more quickly and efficiently than rational processes is made with a purpose. Differences between the sexes are denied, even though many of them be female advantages, in order that community of occupation in the world's affairs may be presented as quite sensible. When the "Common Cause" goes on to assert the extremely disagreeable doctrine that the maternal instinct does not exist in civilised women we have no doubt that it speaks sincerely, but its conviction flashes light on the failure of the Suffragist cause to touch the hearts of the majority of men and women. The "Common Cause" says:—

"It is possible that, in savage tribes, there may be some traces of maternal instinct strictly so-called. But it would puzzle anyone, we think, to show even a trace of anything in the non-voluntary actions of modern European women analogous to the building of a bird's nest or the sitting of a hen, or

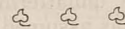
the preparations a wasp makes for the feeding of the larvæ to come."

Of course, civilised women do not perform unwitting natural actions under the impulse of uncontrollable instinct, but they do something much better; they obey in considered action implanted maternal promptings. To ignore this is very unflattering to women as civilisation has assumed them to be, as history has respected them, and poetry and painting have praised them. In a blunt way, the normal feelings of humanity are expressed in a letter written lately by an Australian woman to the "Morning Post." She said: "The married women of Australia do not want the vote, and they object to be governed by childless women, and are determined that their children shall not be ruled by these women."

THE comment of "Votes for Women" on the food riots in France is too humorous to be passed over without a word of acknowledgment. "Votes for Women" says, "When a country becomes civilised enough to grant votes to its women, and they learn how to use them, methods of riot and pillage will no longer be resorted to." Yet the women, who are some day to set so great an example to men, began the riots in France, as we know, by seizing food in those shops which attempted to charge higher prices than they themselves had fixed as reasonable, threw the food into the gutters and trampled it under foot. French women want the vote less perhaps than any women in Europe. Moreover, if France were blessed with a "Conciliation" Bill it would be precisely the housewives—the rioters of France—who would not be enfranchised by it.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE, writing in "Votes for Women" on September 15th, says that Suffragists have regretfully come to the conclusion that the Insurance Bill cannot be remedied by amendments, whereas Anti-Suffragists believe that it can be so remedied. This is one of those glorious generalisations in which the suffragist mind moves with so much grace and ease. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, no doubt, can speak for a good many Suffragists, and it is interesting to know that they have abandoned

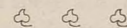
the Insurance Bill as past praying for in its present form. But he really cannot dispose of Anti-Suffragist opinion in the same summary manner. Our League alone includes politicians of every shade of opinion. Some are working for the Insurance Bill, others against it. Anti-Suffragists as a class try to consider political questions on their merits; they cannot all be mobilised in bondage to a single idea.



THE achievements of the M.P.U.W.E. are set out in due form. We notice the following:—

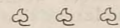
"IMPRISONMENTS.—On October 17th, 1910, as a result of questioning Mr. Lloyd George about Women Suffrage outside the City Temple, Mr. Victor D. Duval and Mr. George Jacobs were arrested and subsequently charged at the Guildhall, the first with using 'Threatening Language,' and the second with 'Assaulting the Police.' In default of consenting to be fined 40s., Mr. Duval and Mr. Jacobs were each sentenced to one week's imprisonment in the second division. On their release from Pentonville prison—where, after a firm protest, they had been accorded the special treatment under the new regulations—they were welcomed at a breakfast given at the Eustace Miles Restaurant on October 20th. . . . On November 26th, 1910, Mr. Hugh A. Franklin, considering it necessary to direct public attention to the actions and statements of the Home Secretary, whipped Mr. Churchill with a dog-whip as he was travelling from Bradford to London. After a week's remand in Brixton, Mr. Franklin was brought up at Bow-street, Mr. Churchill giving evidence for the prosecution, and sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division."

Mr. Duval is "founder and hon. organising secretary" of the Union; Mr. Franklin is "hon. assistant organiser." "Photo buttons" of Mr. Duval may be bought for 1d. each; "photo post-cards" of Mr. Duval, Mr. Jacobs, and Mr. Franklin for 1d. each, and picture post-cards, showing the arrest of Capt. C. M. Gonne, R.A., for 1d. each. It would be impertinent for us to make any comment, except perhaps that Mr. Duval and Mr. Franklin seem, even to outsiders, to have fairly earned their high positions in the Union.



WE have received the first annual report of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement (3d.). The Union has the same colours as the Women's Social and Political Union. One of the methods of the Union is "opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted." The Union is founded on the following misapprehension: "A growing conviction

among men as well as women that the delay in the removal of the sex disqualification from the Parliamentary franchise was due to the determined indifference of the Government rather than to any considerable opposition in the country." The Government is indifferent, of course, but their indifference is as nothing compared with the dislike of Woman Suffrage throughout the country. The report goes on to say that a majority of 179 at the second reading of a Woman Suffrage Bill in 1908 was "plain proof" that "the larger body of electors in this country, and of their representatives in the House of Commons, were in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage." This is another misapprehension. Woman Suffrage has never been before the electors as a clear issue.



THE cartoon in "Votes for Women" of September 8th is a masterpiece. An Amazonian young woman is disfiguring a tree in a wood by carving on the trunk the legend: "Votes for Women." It appears that members of the Women's Social and Political Union can perform this deplorable feat while holding the knife like a dagger. The old man among the rustics, who are looking on, is represented as saying, "I'm thinking that before we see you next year amongst us you'll have the vote." From which we gather that the young woman is accustomed to return to the same spot every year for her *villégiature*, and we suppose that one tree a year would be a moderate computation of the sacrifice to her knife. Can it not be stopped except by the passage of the Conciliation Bill?

WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

II.

WE come now to the question of the Maternity Benefit. Two points in the administration of this particular benefit were adduced, in the suffrage letter to which we referred last month, as additional reasons for extending the franchise to women, and, as Anti-Suffragists, we are naturally anxious to deal with them. But, once more, we wish to make it quite clear that the Anti-Suffrage attitude is not one of mere negation. It is not enough for us to find out that where women suffer under this Bill is not through want of the vote; it is not enough for us even to work for the redress of particular instances of injustice to women. Some

positive sense of the duties of citizenship that is banding women together in opposition to the vote is teaching them now to look at this more difficult question of the endowment of motherhood, not merely from the point of view of its effect on women, but from the point of view of its effect on the race as a whole; and, if we may venture to say so, it seems as though it were some habit of thinking sectionally that leads the Suffragists, here, as elsewhere, to conclude that the wrongs of women, of which they complain, are caused by their state of unenfranchisement. Let us see this by the two specific wrongs which they cite.

We are told, first of all, that women ought to have the vote because the maternity benefit is to be paid in kind, and not in cash. Now this arrangement has had to encounter a considerable amount of adverse criticism, but we notice that the opposition to it has by no manner of means met with unanimous support from the supporters of Women's Suffrage. A very able defence of the proposal, by a Suffragist—a lady doctor, appeared, for instance, some weeks ago in the columns of "The Common Cause." As a matter of fact, it seems strange that a proposal of this sort should have been treated in any way as a matter of principle, when it is so obviously merely a question of expediency of administration.

We quite appreciate the Suffrage point, that a woman knows her own particular needs a great deal better than anyone else can know them for her; other things being equal, we should always be prepared to back the experience and management of an individual against the collective wisdom of a health committee. But the balustrade is to guard the fool, and not the wise; and restrictions are not made for the careful house-mother, but for the shiftless woman and the drunken man. It is a point rather overlooked, we fancy, by those who describe this proposal as a slight on womanhood, that were the benefit paid direct in cash to a woman who was ill, the spending of it would more likely than not fall into the hands of the father. Now we are not for one moment supposing that it would necessarily all go in beer, but the rent might be in arrears or tools in pawn, and such a lump sum as 30s. might well prove an irresistible temptation.

Or another point; we notice no provision in the Bill in the event of the death of the child at birth, or shortly afterwards, and are wondering if exactly the same benefit is to be paid. We all know what a fetish a funeral is in the homes of the very poor; if paid in cash, is there anything to prevent this money that should have been building up the mother's strength being dissipated? We certainly think that out of the benefit an adequate fee should be secured for a proper nurse, and, when necessary, doctor, and as regards the balance, is not some compromise possible? Could not the Health Visitor talk over with the mother the particular needs of the situation, and, using

of course, her own discretion, disburse the money accordingly?

The second Suffrage point is far more complicated. As the Bill at present stands, when an insured worker, the wife of an insured man, becomes a mother, she receives a maternity benefit of 30s., paid out of the women's fund; this is accompanied by a stoppage of her normal sickness benefit for four weeks. At the end of that time, if maternity has left an illness behind, she may begin to draw her own sickness benefit, otherwise throughout her illness she gets no more for all her contributions than the woman who has never paid in a single farthing.

This is patently unfair. On this point we are quite at one with the Suffragists. The sickness benefit of 7s. 6d. a week is intended to compensate to some extent for the loss of the worker's wages, which may have been the mainstay of the family. The need for them will not be less because the wage-earner herself is laid low. The 30s. maternity benefit is intended for the mother and child, not to keep the rest of the family. How came this unjust arrangement ever to be proposed? We cannot accept the simple Suffrage solution, knowing, as we do, that the men's vote has not sufficed to protect them from injustice in other clauses of the Bill; no, we must look further, and shall find, we think, as so often before, that the thing alleged as an effect of unenfranchisement springs in reality from an infinitely wider and more far-reaching cause.

Mr. Lloyd George says that he cannot afford the double benefit, and, frankly, we think that to pay it under existing conditions, would only mean the creation of another injustice. But before it is possible to speak fairly of the one benefit that is withheld, we want to find out on what principle the other—the maternity benefit—is given.

Evidently the bare, sheer needs of motherhood do not in themselves constitute a claim, or why should the wife of the jobbing gardener be shut out? The man whose livelihood is so precarious that he cannot come in under the insurance scheme is not likely to be able to provide too well for the needs of his wife and baby, so we can rule out the ground of need. Then there is the question of contribution. The women's fund and the Exchequer between them will have to stand the strain of providing maternity benefit for the insured woman worker who becomes an unmarried mother. Mr. Lloyd George justifies this on the ground that the woman has paid her contribution, and is therefore entitled to benefit; and if contribution be the standard taken, and if maternity is to be placed on the same basis as the accidental incapacitation of the worker, we think his argument is absolutely sound. But, then, what is the reason of the great bulk of the maternity benefits, those paid out of the men's fund to women who have contributed nothing? We shall, of course, be told that these women

have contributed through their insured husbands, but surely that is not the case. The married man contributes no more than the bachelor; the insurance is against his own sickness, not his wife's maternity. It seems, therefore, that we should eliminate both these reasons and look for another.

Mr. Lloyd George's argument for the unmarried mother would, if carried to its logical conclusion, successfully exclude from benefit all those home-keeping mothers whom we most desire to help; but, fortunately, later on in the Bill, he has provided us with another reason, which, though destructive of his first, is, we venture to think, the real one. He says that his interest lies in these cases less with the mother than with the child, and, again, "we want to help the child, and, through the child, the State."

There lies, as we take it, the whole purpose of the scheme, the only ethical and financial justification of the endowment of motherhood; the thing is being done for the good of the race. Such an object is at once noble and statesmanlike; the attempt to cope with a too-long-neglected national need should meet with the whole-hearted support of every right-thinking citizen and woman; married and single alike will give an especially quick sympathy to a scheme for the building up of the young lives that are to carry on the work of the world in the next generation. But in order to give, even for a noble purpose, we must first take. This benefit is going to cost 1½ millions of money, and that money will have to be got from somewhere. It will have to be taken away from wages, taken away from profits. However ultimately productive it may prove, it will constitute a present tax on the employment and industry of this country, and will be felt most by that class of community whom it is especially designed to help.

This is a scheme, then, to be approached with care, and it is in no spirit of light-heartedness, or in any way without having counted the cost, that we say, that, setting aside every social question and all considerations of humanity, merely taking this scheme as a hard economic investment, if it succeeds in its object it is cheap at the price. But the whole crux of the position lies in that "if"; and, indeed, if the bestowal of large sums of public money is not to degenerate into a mere shameful bribe to a venal electorate, it will only be because the one clear purpose of the Bill has been kept steadily in sight, absolutely irrespective of every ulterior consideration.

Up to the present time, the general public has been strangely apathetic with regard to the national side of the maternity benefit. Partial critics have been many, but few give themselves the trouble to try to see the thing steadily or as a whole. Of course it has been a distracting as well as a tropical summer. We have had the Coronation; we have had the Constitutional crisis; and, so, from one reason or another, the nation is allowing to drift

towards the Statute-book, without check and without consideration, a measure that lies about the very roots of our national life.

The problem of the maternity benefit is the problem of the improvement of a race that is being every year increasingly recruited from the ranks of the mentally, morally, and physically unfit. The Bill stands face to face with the fact that this undergrowth of population, of which Mr. Lloyd George spoke with such terrific earnestness four years ago at the Imperial Conference, constitutes by far the most prolific section of the community; it faces the fact that the life thus produced is not wealth; it is merely a parasite preying upon the national resources and checking the growth of a healthy population. At intervals the public rouses itself to some knowledge of these things. It reads topographical statistics of the birth-rate; it sees figures relating to ophthalmia and tuberculosis; it hears of criminal lunatics and pauper idiots; it declares in a sudden panic that something really ought to be done—that no nation can hope to go on like this, and then it thankfully dismisses a disagreeable subject.

Women who are fighting for their homes and for their country are not going to dismiss a subject merely because it is disagreeable. The problem of the race is very painful; it is a subject difficult of discussion and fatally easy of misrepresentation, but it is one that women, alike in virtue of their womanhood and of their citizenship, may no longer dare to ignore. Let us see, then, quite simply and quite frankly, what it is that the Bill proposes to do. We spoke just now of the benefit for the unmarried mother. In an irresponsible age that finds sentiment less trouble than sympathy, and that would a great deal rather be cruel than appear anxious, this arrangement is not likely to meet with much opposition. "Live and let live" is such a comfortable motto, and sounds broad-minded withal. We all know, too, the rather cheap gibe that it is women who have good homes who are most hard on the women who have not. But we want to get a little beyond that. Does anyone, least of all any woman, wish to be hard on poor girls who stumble into a wrong path because literally, perhaps, they have never had any one to show them anything better? There are few things more pathetic than the thought of those young mothers of sixteen and seventeen who go sobbing away from the workhouse infirmary hugging tightly up to themselves the white unconscious bundle that is at once their great shame and their great comfort. But it is that little bundle that is the problem, the thought of which must steel our pity.

Speaking in the interests of the race, we think the State should make a clear distinction between the children who are, and the children who are not, born in lawful wedlock, and that, therefore, the unmarried mother's benefit is untrue to the

principles of the Bill. And, again, we remind ourselves that to give you must take. This benefit is being taken from the insured wife, from the hard-working spinster, from the desolate widow, taken, in short, from the builders of the home and family, in order that an offence against the first principles of home and family life may be, if not encouraged, at any rate, condoned.

We might also add that if the benefit enabled girls of this sort to keep out of the workhouse infirmary, we think it would be a grievous pity. Not only do the mother and child get much better nursing than if they were at home, but often, either through the matron or some visitor, they find, in their time of trouble, some good woman friend who will help them to take up again their lost womanhood, and try to make it yet the thing it was meant to be.

And if the benefit be inadmissible for this type of unmarried mother, what are we to say of the women of whom Lord George Hamilton, as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, has time and again given the public such grave and frequent warning?—those miserable women who come back to the workhouse infirmary year after year in order that their degraded inefficiency may be perpetuated on another generation. These women are a grave menace to the State, and we are glad to know that on this question of the segregation of the unfit, we are working side by side with our Suffrage sisters. Sometimes we wonder if, when our legislators have quite finished settling what they will do with the House of Lords to-morrow and with Ireland the day after, they will find time to think about these children who are being born into the world to-day, and on whom will depend in such large measure all the miseries of the hereafter. In the meantime, if these women can just scrape into the wide mesh of the Insurance Bill, they will be entitled to a maternity benefit, paid out of the women's fund. Frankly, we regard this proposal as an outrage.

The question of the married women's benefit we must leave for another article.

E. M. MOORE.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND: A COMMENTARY.

BY A WOMAN DOCTOR.

I HAVE been asked what my personal experience of the Woman question is in New Zealand. It is that the emancipators of women have gone very much too far. The idea many people at home have of New Zealand, based largely on the inflated statements of a few who lead the van of "progress," is that a few really or would-be enlightened Acts on a statute-book have made a Utopia in the Southern Pacific. Even if this idea were correct, it would not necessarily be a proper model

for the Old Country to copy. But I consider myself that whether Woman Suffrage is the cause, or merely one of the consequences, or simply an accompaniment, this country is not one of happy family life. The census returns are not yet issued, so I cannot give the very latest statistics, and, in any case, statistics prove very little. Marriage is not so frequent here as it should be in a young country; the small birth-rate causes continual anxiety, and incessant appeal for increase of population by emigration from Great Britain; the high death-rate amongst children is a disgrace to the women of New Zealand. In the opinion of many schoolmasters and doctors, and some soldiers I have met, who hail from the Old Country, and, therefore, are able to make a comparison, the proportion of nervous children is very large, particularly among the boys. The standard of education is low; the public school code sets a high ideal, but one that most of the schools fall far short of, except in large centres, and it must be remembered our "towns" would often be called "villages" at home. Divorce is thought much less of here than at home, but what is grievously common is separation by mutual consent and wife desertion, matters which frequently cannot appear in statistics, as many cases never come before the Courts. Wife desertion is so serious in extent, that special legal arrangements have had to be made with the authorities at Sydney, which is the nearest port for any in a hurry to leave New Zealand, just as Calais is for England.

Now it would be absurd to put all this down to the fact that women have had the vote for several years; but it does not make quite such a rosy-hued picture as that drawn of New Zealand at some Suffragette meetings.

Personally, I think the country has gone much too fast in the way of "advanced" legislation. Every labourer is anxious to make his girl a clerk, nurse, or anything but a worker with her hands. I met the wife of a man who worked carrying sacks at a flour-mill, and suggested that as one of her girls showed great taste in colours, she might make a good milliner; the mother replied that she looked much higher for her girls than that. The hospitals, public and private, are turning out nurses on Old Country lines, i.e., nurses who expect to do strictly nursing work. Such women are only of use in towns, where most houses able to engage a nurse in sickness would be able to procure a servant, temporarily, at least. What is wanted in the country (and the prosperity of these Colonies depends chiefly on the country workers, who are responsible for the sheep, wool, and butter which are New Zealand's chief exports) is women who do not need a servant to work under them. For the same reason, the ordinary girl teacher is useless except in towns. She is frequently of the neurotic type, hails from town, where she has had access to a laundry,

and finds life in a very small and scattered settlement, where she has to do her own washing and sometimes her own cooking, very hard. The higher education of girls is one question at home; it is quite another in the new countries. Here it turns out quite a number of young women who shrink from hardship, dislike country life, want town society, glee clubs, tennis and rowing clubs, and a circulating library, and who really have not the strength for a knock-about life in the backblocks. Moreover, the type of husband produced by farm life would not suit them. Can one wonder that numbers of men in these new countries remain unmarried simply because the girls they see on their rare visits to towns (girls who may be very attractive from their superior refinement) are not likely to be able to bear the loneliness and hard work of the life of a settler, or other country worker?

When marriage does take place, even where the couple are not in a very remote part of the colony, the woman is usually overworked, and hence the small birth-rate, and the high death-rate of children. She may have boasted before marriage that she would never stoop to domestic service, not even under the guise of a "lady" help or companion; after marriage she soon wishes more girls were willing to give a hand to those who are carrying on woman's unique work of motherhood. She gets overwrought by bearing children in an under-doctored land, where she is single-handed a fortnight after child-birth except for that much-abused but invaluable person, her husband; nerves fail, temper fails, and the man's temper also fails, as, besides his proper work, he has to help in the house, and in a little time she returns to her mother, or sets up some little business under civilised conditions in the town; and the man turns with more or less relief to his old solitary life. The joys of marriage seem to have faded out of existence where life was one fight against Nature outside, and dirt, difficulties, ill-health and ill temper within. In his bachelor life, he need only keep two rooms going; he will wash the dishes when not a single clean plate is left, and makes his bed once a week, but at least he has no children's pinafores to wash, and no mangle to turn, and no hysterics to contend with, nor doctor to ride twenty miles for.

Now if such a state of things exists frequently in a country where women have the vote, it looks as if their vote had not succeeded in making home a heaven. I believe myself that woman has already such an important place, and such important and varied work to do, that she has no time for politics in any country, but least of all in new countries. The women I have seen at political meetings were mostly taken up with keeping young children quiet. I saw a New Zealand lady graduate lately; she was washing dishes. She told me she sometimes got some literary work to do, which she

was glad of, as her husband's income was small; but she was glad when she had finished it, as housework had accumulated so. She had no children, or she could not have managed it at all. I heard from a professor's wife, an old college mate of my own. She said the accomplishment she was proudest of was that of blacking stoves. I know something of the life of four women doctors here; one had to give up backblock practice, owing to her starting a nursery. She managed some practice in town, because she was so wise as to have married a doctor. The second has just died at the birth of her first and stillborn child; was it not very likely due to overwork and exposure? The third gave up medicine altogether, finding it, she said, incompatible with babies. A fourth could do well if she could find any woman her medical conscience would allow her to entrust her children to, as lady mothers do to nurses and governesses at home; but I understand she thinks very little of the average New Zealand woman as a guardian for young children or for the sick. One patient in a hospital (herself a New Zealander) told me that the only nurse in her ward who seemed to consider anything but her own personal advancement was an Old Country nurse. I must own that often the same could be said of the doctors, male and female. The humanity, benevolence and gratuitous treatment of the poor which reflect such honour on the Old Country doctor and nurse, are practically rarely seen out here, and when they are, the ministering angel was born by Atlantic and not by Pacific surges.

No doubt many of these are phenomena due to the difficult conditions of a new country. But I often think it a pity that women (and men too) who know only one (and that the most favourable) aspect of a country, should publish their views with the absolute cocksureness which certain of them do.

I met a lady who had made a tour round the world, including New Zealand, for her health. When I narrated to her a few such facts as I have here penned for you, she replied, "But, my dear —, where can you have been?" I might have replied in the words of the song:—

"If ye had been, where I hae been
Ye wad na be sae brankie-oh."

She had seen two or three of the large ports (large for New Zealand, that is) and I believe Rotorua, which is especially subsidised by the Government to attract rich tourists—in fact, there is a special Government Tourist Department—and also, I think, one or two of the rich and prosperous sheep "stations," which are by no means in the majority. I had been in about ten different places, mostly in the North Island, which differs a good deal from the South, and is less developed, owing, partly, to the warmer climate and the lingering of the Maori war here while the South Island was peaceful.

New Zealand has, nevertheless, much to recommend it, but I, for one, will do nothing to induce the Old Country to adopt Women's Suffrage under the idea that it has produced in New Zealand a family Paradise.

W. G.

WOMEN'S "SWEATED" WAGES.

We desire to draw attention to the answer which Colonel Seely gave to Mr. MacCallum Scott in the House of Commons shortly before the recess on the subject of women's wages in the Royal Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico. Suffragists continually cite the wages paid in this factory as an instance of the Government oppressing women workers. It is said that the Government would not dare to pay such wages if the women had votes. We might well argue that to pay the rate of wages demanded by many Suffragists would make matters much worse; for if the Government were forced into an artificial expenditure, all but the best and quickest workmanship would be weeded out, and many women whose wages added to the family budget now make all the difference between comfort and misery would lose those wages and their families would suffer simply for the enrichment of a more highly-skilled class of labour. But there is no need to discuss the matter from an economic standpoint, for the fact is that the wages paid in the factory are not "sweated" wages. We hope that now that the figures have been put on record Suffragists will cease to use the Pimlico wages as an argument to delude working-women into believing that Government factories bully women because they are voteless.

Mr. MACCALLUM SCOTT asked the Under-Secretary of State for War what number of women are employed in the Royal Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico; what is the rate of wages paid to such women; and whether they are paid by time or piece?

Colonel SEELY: During July the average number of pieceworkers was 1,191. The average weekly wage earned by these was £1 os. 1½d.

	£	s.	d.
The above include 296 machinists who averaged	1	5	6½
And 895 sewers who averaged	1	8	¼
Included in the sewers are 49 learners who averaged	1	3	6½

The learners except 20 have twelve months' experience.

All broken times are included in the above figures. The time workers employed in the Factory are:—

	£	s.	d.
1 Instructress at	1	3	6
1 Woman trimmer (acting fore-woman) at	1	8	0
1 Woman trimmer (employed on special work) at	1	8	0
7 Women trimmers (employed on rolling parts of garments into bundles) at	1	5	0

	£	s.	d.
28 Women trimmers (old women employed in ripping for alteration or cutting down, &c.) at	15	0	
1 Lavatory attendant	18	0	
1 Lavatory attendant	15	0	
16 Girl trimmers aged 14 to 18 (employed in assisting women trimmers at wages varying 6s. to 11s. per week according to service)	2	6	0
	10	7	0
	2	8	0
	1	10	0
	1	11	0

A NOTABLE PIECE OF FURNISHING.

If the shade of the great Grinling Gibbon ever revisits the earth, it must surely pause to admire the fidelity with which the characteristic features of that great artist's work have been reproduced in the recently remodelled and decorated dining room of a Wiltshire mansion. The work has been carried out by that well-known firm of Bristol furnishing experts, Messrs. Wood & Hemmons, whose headquarters are to be found in that interesting relic of the old city known as Canynges House, in Redcliffe Street. In the clear-cut carving and the natural and unconventional pose of the birds and the grouping of the flowers and foliage that decorate the fireplace and overmantel they have produced effects that are worthy of Gibbon at his best. The dog-grate of steel and brass is equally true to the period, and its effect is enhanced and thrown up by the delicate apple-green of the tiles that line the hearth. The same shade is used in the wall panels to relieve the woodwork, which is in white throughout. A dado with carved enrichments is carried round the room itself and the recess provided for the sideboard. Above the dado the walls are panelled out with mouldings and finished with a richly moulded frieze; the ceiling is similarly treated, the mouldings in this case being supported by corbels. To complete the *tout ensemble*, the doors, four in number, are of finely carved figured Spanish mahogany, with enriched mouldings, and even the door furniture has been specially designed and manufactured in harmony with the general scheme. The whole effect is one of great richness and distinction—a worthy reproduction of all that is best in early Georgian decoration. The versatility is further evidenced by the equally faithful manner in which they have reproduced a very different period of decoration, a period when bold carving was out of fashion and delicate and meticulous inlay took its place. But in spite of this divergence of style, the furnishing of the bedrooms and reception rooms of a Clifton mansion in the style of Sheraton has been as successfully carried out as the earlier example described. How far attention to detail will go is shown in this case by the fact that even the Axminster carpet has been specially woven for the firm in order that there may be no possibility of a lack of harmony between it and its surroundings. Those who appreciate good furniture, as well as those who care for houses of historic interest, would be well advised to spend an hour or so in the 14th century house where they may reckon on a courteous and cordial welcome from Messrs. Wood & Hemmons, whether they are purchasers or not.—[ADVT.]

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 93 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply.
125,793 44,479 19,963 8,727 52,624
(Include deceased, removed and ill.)

THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY REPLY-PAID POSTCARDS:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Bournemouth ...	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	962	453	9	620
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2217	1,118	447	13	639
East Toxteth (Liver- pool Division) ...	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Sheffield ...	2,158	237	445	32	1,444
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Brixton ...	1,826	741	267	8	810
Ealing ...	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
North Hants ...	1,496	426	417	25	628
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester ...	1,374	246	198	—	930
Gloucester ...	1,221	413	185	2	621
Richmond ...	1,098	413	98	150	437
Chiswick ...	1,078	240	141	18	679
Watford ...	934	302	178	7	447
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
Hereford (part personal)	792	279	143	40	330
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
St. George's-in-the-East	457	123	81	2	251
Boxmoor and Hemel Hempstead ...	450	131	35	3	281
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group ...	336	145	74	58	59
Hampton ...	277	92	39	14	132
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total	60,442	17,648	9,687	1,454	31,653

THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS CONDUCTED BY MEMBERS
OF THE LEAGUE OR PAID CANVASSERS:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Walton ...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
*West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
*Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
*Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
*Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
*Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
York ...	2,297	773	516	—	1008
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,116	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey (13 districts) ...	1,819	869	151	419	380
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester ...	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare ...	935	380	235	69	251
Camlachie ...	855	457	110	84	204
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	405	196	87	—	122
Camberley & Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown & Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	65,351	26,831	10,276	7,273	20,971

* These five divisions were canvassed **after** the correspondence between Miss Rathbone and Col. Chaloner, published in the August issue, and the cards bore the simple statements, "I do not want a vote" and "I do want a vote," and the signatory was asked to put a cross to one or other and return the card signed.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

THE "Morning Post" has published a considerable correspondence as the result of an article entitled "The New Feminist Movement," printed towards the end of August. The writer of the article, who signed herself "An Australian Woman," and afterwards turned out to be Miss Beatrix Tracy, said that the "new feminist" movement spoiled women for matrimony, lowered wages in trades in which women were employed, and produced unemployment among men. Lady Chance wrote in the course of a letter to the "Morning Post" of August 28th:—

"These lessons would be more convincing and of considerably more value to seekers after truth if 'Australian Woman' would give your readers some facts to go upon."

"She says that there are 111 men in Australia for every 100 women, therefore 'there should be a place for every Australian woman as wife and homekeeper for an Australian man.' Will she give the figures on which she bases her assumption that a proportion of Australian men are unable to find wives, *i.e.*, (1) what percentage of Australian women over twenty-five years of age remain unmarried? I take twenty-five because presumably 'Australian Woman' would not advocate marriage at a much earlier age than this for women of the English race.

"(2) What percentage of the adult female population of Australia is at present engaged in industrial and professional work? It is not sufficient to say 'an appreciable and increasing number.'"

"And (3) will she cite specific cases in which wages have been lowered and unemployment caused by women entering industrial employment—*i.e.*, name the industries and give wages tables and employment tables which prove the statement to be correct?"

In the course of a letter published on August 29th, Miss Vida Goldstein wrote:—

"The almost immediate effect of Woman Suffrage was to make equal pay for equal work a question of practical politics. The principle already prevails throughout the Commonwealth Public Service, in many State Departments, in certain private employments, and our public men admit that 'now women have the vote we'll have to give them equal pay for equal work.' Your contributor says 'already in Australia there is a sharp cleavage in the ranks of the feminists' as to the vote itself, to women entering Parliament, and to the removal of all restrictions on women in industrial and professional life. The cleavage was there before the women were enfranchised. The women who worked for the vote never left the public in doubt as to their opinions on these questions. The women who were opposed to their sex being enfranchised expressed their eternal hostility to each. Now, I rejoice to say, the lines of cleavage are rapidly disappearing, as the result of women coming out openly into the political world as responsible voters, instead of using their influence as irresponsible canvassers on behalf of men candidates for Parliament."

In the "Morning Post" of August 31st Miss Beatrix Tracy wrote:—

"In answer to Lady Chance, the most favoured ages for women to marry in Australia are twenty-one and twenty-two years. The number of unmarried women in Australia between twenty-one and forty-five years at the 1901 census was 229,000. The number of unmarried women over forty-five years of age was 13,163. The number of married women in the same age group was 44,376. These figures will show that there is a large percentage of women in Australia who do not marry. Likewise will the fact that the marriage rate of Australia comes after that of eleven civilised countries, including France, Belgium, and Germany. In a new country possessing a surplus of males, these unmarried women are wasted homemakers."

"At the last calculation there were 70,179 women employed in factories. In 1905 the rate of such female employment was 278 per 10,000 of the population. In 1909 it had increased to 343 per 10,000."

"In the space of a letter it is not possible to give wages tables and employment tables showing how 'wages have been lowered and unemployment caused by women entering industrial employment.' Nor do I think it necessary. It surely is a truism, questioned by no economist, that female competition in any industry has the effect of lowering wages."

"In answer to Miss Vida Goldstein, in spite of what politicians may promise, 'now that women have the vote' there is a huge disparity in the wage rates for men and women. To give one fact from last year's figures available, in New South Wales factories, the proportion of employment was 717 males to 232 females—roughly three to one. The men received 80 per cent. of the wages; the women 11 per cent.—roughly eight to one."

"The cleavage in the ranks of the Suffragists as to the wisdom of women entering into professions and industries and public life is, perhaps, best illustrated by Miss Goldstein's own experience as a candidate for the Australian Senate. There are 357,640 women enrolled as voters for the Senate in Victoria. If, at any election at which she has offered herself, a reasonable proportion of Victorian women had voted for her, Miss Goldstein would now be a Senator in the Commonwealth Parliament."

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.

THE "Standard" of September 16th published the following account of an interview with Miss Gladys Pott:—

During the past four or five years England, and particularly London, has grown familiar with the activities of the ladies whose cry is "Votes for Women." But not half so much has been heard of their opponents; of the women who do not believe in votes for themselves. This autumn, however, we are to see the beginning of a campaign waged by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, which is now getting ready to show the other side of the shield and to give battle to the most militant of the suffragists.

At the present time the League is carrying

on a big propaganda at all the resorts along the East Coast, where holiday-makers are being adjured to tackle their members on the question of Women's Suffrage, and particularly as to what they intend to do about the Conciliation Bill before Parliament. The whole efforts of the League, in fact, are to be directed to seeing that the Conciliation Bill, which gives the Parliamentary vote to a certain number of women, chiefly those who are property owners, does not by any chance become law.

"The position is this," said Miss G. S. Pott, a prominent member of the Executive Committee of the League, "we have got to attack the apathy which the great bulk of people in this country show to the question of Woman's Suffrage. There lies the greatest danger. Comparatively few people realise the tremendous importance of what is involved, and we have got to make the great public—I mean the men—see the matter in its true light, otherwise there is just the possibility that a measure like the Conciliation Bill might pass through Parliament without the country in general thinking that anything in particular had happened, whereas it would be the beginning of an enormous social and political revolution which might see women participating in the governing of England and, as a consequence, the end of the British Empire."

THE COUNTRY NOT CONSULTED.

"The advocates of votes for women are bringing forward their Bill hoping that it may slip through unnoticed, while attention is focussed on what are now greater Constitutional issues. And what we want to drive home to the country during our autumn campaign is that this Parliament has in no way any right to deal with such a question as women's suffrage. Nobody could pretend for a moment that the question played the slightest part in the last two elections. The House of Lords, Home Rule, Tariff Reform, Free Trade, and a few other important matters were what the country voted on. No member of Parliament has yet won his seat on the question of votes for women, either one way or the other. Their constituents have never yet been questioned on the subject. We of the League feel quite sure of what the answer would be if the question were ever presented specifically to them, and we are determined that the Conciliation Bill shall not be allowed to slip through Parliament unobserved if we can possibly help it. It has been promised big facilities during the coming session, and the voters of this country—the men—must let their members know what they think before the Bill comes on for discussion."

"Any measure that is going to alter the electoral system, which hits at the very bias of the Constitution, ought to be specifically fought out at an election. Votes for women is a proposal radically to alter, for good or evil, the system on which the country is governed. How long should we retain the Empire so soon as one woman was elected to Parliament? And yet the woman member of Parliament is the logical outcome of votes for women."

"Our campaign begins in October, and we intend to rouse the country to a sense of what this question means. We shall not, of course, be able to use what the advocates of women's suffrage call 'militant tactics.'"

THE GUILDFORD DEBATE.

THE following correspondence has passed between Mrs. Carter, the Hon. Secretary of our Guildford Branch, and Miss Baker, Hon. Secretary of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society:—

September 13th, 1911.

DEAR MRS. CARTER,—I have seen in the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW for September an account of the Guildford open-air debate. I do not know who is responsible for that account, but as there are several inaccuracies in it, I should be very much obliged if you could get them corrected in the October REVIEW.

In the first place, I did not announce the numbers for and against the resolution. I merely said: "The resolution is lost." The figures quoted are those given in the newspaper accounts of the debate. I suppose the reporters counted for themselves, but their figures did not tally with mine, as I counted that ten voted for the resolution and twenty-seven against. This, however, is a detail of no great importance. The inaccuracies of which I complain are contained in the following sentence:—"This result cannot be taken as representing the attitude of the working women of Guildford towards woman suffrage, for the resolution was defeated chiefly by the members of the Guildford Women's Suffrage Society, reinforced by a contingent from Godalming, none of whom could be considered working people."

I should like to point out that the Guildford Suffrage Society contains a large proportion of working women members. But, in any case, there were but four members present at the debate, so that it is quite incorrect to say that the resolution was defeated chiefly by them. The contingent from Godalming consisted of one person, namely, Lady Chance. Neither her chauffeur nor her companion voted.

You must remember, also, that you voted yourself, while I, as Chairman, was unable to do so.—Yours truly,

NOELINE BAKER.

September 15th, 1911.

DEAR MISS BAKER,—I much regret the inaccuracies in my report of the debate on August 12th, but I wrote only what I believed to be true. Thank you for pointing out my mistakes. The words "working women" should have been "working men." I will ask the Editor of the REVIEW to insert this desired correction. At the same time, I must adhere to the statement that the result of the debate did not represent the feeling of the working people of Guildford towards woman suffrage, and, while it was perhaps rather sweeping to say *none* of the audience could be called working people, yet the majority certainly were not working men and women as I understand that term. As for Lady Chance's presence, I can only say that, as the meeting was organised, and was advertised, specially for working men, she was quite out of place there. I voted as a matter of course, and I think you would have been quite within your rights if you had done so. The Chairman at the Woking debate voted, I remember, and I believe that at another debate I attended the Chairman did so.—Yours truly,

LUCY A. CARTER.

BOOK REVIEW.

The Position of Woman, Actual and Ideal. With a Preface by SIR OLIVER LODGE. (Nisbet & Co.)

THIS consists of seven lectures and a closing address given at meetings organised by an Edinburgh Committee, formed, not to advocate any particular movement or view, but to make careful inquiry as to the actual history and status of woman. The series opens with a noteworthy paper on "The Position of Woman: Biologically Considered," by the Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen. This gives a most impartial statement of arguments for and against certain sex differences of character being fundamental, and the conclusion cautiously reached is that instead of there being too much differentiation between the sexes in present methods of education there is too little—"the most hopeful line of evolutionary experiment is that which seeks to make the most of the deepest organic differences." And this, in the main, is the upshot of the book. It is excellently summed up in the closing address by Sir Oliver Lodge's brother, Professor of History at Edinburgh. "The essential question," he says, "is not whether the franchise is necessary to enable women to exert political influence. It is whether it is desirable in the interests of the community to break the long tradition which has associated ultimate political responsibility, as it has associated the duty of national defence, with the male sex. I am inclined to think that the demand for the vote is part of that revolt against what is deemed to be masculine domination, which may be carried to dangerous extremes, and that the concession of the demand would be a gigantic stride towards that identity of occupations which seems to be inconsistent with the assumption of deep-seated differences between the two sexes." The italics are ours, placed to draw attention to the root principle of the genuine anti-suffrage position. It suits our opponents to neglect its existence. Arguments of this seriousness would, of course, be rather taxing to the perceptions of ladies who find "Votes for Women" "the only literature" over which they are able to keep awake, but to their more intelligent sisters they, and this book which contains them, may be highly commended.

RECENT PRESS AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

In addition to the books, articles, and letters in the current magazines, and the daily press which we have commented on elsewhere, our readers will no doubt be interested in the following:—

An article in "The Queen," August 10th, by Mme. Jeanne Schmahl, on "The Question of Woman Suffrage in France"; "Women Workers' Wages; Figures from the States," by A. Maurice Low, "Morning Post," August 21st; "Some Lessons from Australia," by an Australian Woman, "Morning Post," August 25th; "Standard Women," by George Edgar, "Daily Mail," August 29th. "Some Disabilities of Wives under the English Law," "The Queen," September 2nd. "Where Women Fail," by Barry Pain,

"Health and Home," September 7th. "England's Child Workers," by Francis Low, "Daily Mail," September 13th.

THE "STANDARD" AND ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

WE learn that the "Standard" will publish articles upon the Anti-Suffrage movement by Lady Jersey and Lord Cromer in the first week of October. It is hoped that these will be followed by articles from prominent Suffragists, and that open discussion of woman suffrage from every point of view will follow. It is understood that the "Standard" proposes to devote a certain space daily to such discussion, and we would draw the attention of our readers to the value and interest of this project. We hope that many members of our League will not only follow the arguments, but themselves take part in the discussion.

WOMEN'S WAGES.

THE following letter from Miss Gladys Pott appeared in the "Times" of September 16th:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—At the meeting of the Trade Union Congress on September 7th, Miss Mary McArthur stated, as reported in your issue of September 8th, that with the exception of the Lancashire textile trades, the average wage of women workers in England is "something under 9s. a week, taking it all the year round." In an article published in "Women in Industry," in 1908, Miss McArthur writes that she estimates the average wage of the woman worker, including the women in the highly-paid Lancashire textile trades, to be not more than 7s. 6d. a week. I venture to ask Miss McArthur, through the courtesy of your columns, how she accounts for the large difference in her estimates at the present time compared with those of three years ago, and whether she is prepared to admit the seemingly just inference that there has lately been a large increase in the weekly wage of women?

Yours obediently,

GLADYS S. POTT.

September 13th.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

A MISREPRESENTATION.

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

SIR,—The following paragraph appears in "Votes for Women" of August 18th, 1911:—

PROFESSOR DICEY.

Professor Dicey is reported to have said recently at an anti-Suffrage garden party near Oxford: "The Suffrage agitation is not a decent agitation; it is not a respectable agitation; it is not an agitation a good man or woman would carry on." The W.S.P.U. speaker at an ensuing open-air meeting called for contributions in order to supply Professor Dicey with VOTES FOR WOMEN. A clergyman in the crowd started the collection and others followed his lead. We wish Professor Dicey a speedy conversion.

This paragraph has conveyed to at least one of my correspondents the totally false impression that I am of opinion that no good man or woman could take part in the movement for obtaining Parliamentary votes for women. This opinion I have never held, and I have assuredly never expressed. The words attributed to me are apparently taken from a short and condensed report in the "Oxford Chronicle" of a speech made by me on the 14th of July last, in Mr. Massie's grounds at Headington. The speech was delivered *extempore*; it was curtailed by the reporter, whose report, as it happened, I did not see till several weeks later. Whether I employed the actual words attributed to me, I am not sure. I am quite willing, for the sake of argument, to admit that these words, or something like them, were used by me. But they have no application to the Suffragist movement as a whole; they apply to the agitation, *i.e.*, to the mode of agitation adopted by the suffragettes, popularly known as the "Fighting Suffragettes." The words, in short, form part of a deliberate denunciation of the methods of such fighting suffragettes; they have no reference to any advocate of Woman Suffrage who neither takes part in nor encourages the lawless antics of the suffragettes. I do not believe that any man or woman of ordinary intelligence among my audience could have mistaken my meaning. I doubt whether a candid reader of the report in the "Oxford Chronicle" could fail to see, if he took my speech as a whole, that the words cited referred to the follies of the suffragettes. There were two reasons which made it impossible for my audience to misunderstand me. Many of them knew well my opinions and my career. They knew that I have been on terms of intimate friendship with many suffragists, both men and women. They knew that for many such women, whilst now dissenting from their views on woman suffrage, I have always entertained, and do entertain, the profoundest respect. But I must go a step further than this. No single person who has read my *Letters on Votes for Women*, can fail to see that I could not, without pleading guilty to the charge of absurd self-contradiction, have said or meant that the movement in favour of woman suffrage was a movement in which a good man or woman could not take part. The very opening lines of my book avow that for many years

I myself was an advocate of the introduction of woman suffrage into England; and one object of that book is to explain why I became a convinced opponent of a movement to which at one time I gave my honest support.

As to my censure of the Fighting Suffragettes and their methods, I have nothing to explain or retract. The methods of lawlessness and violence have been hateful to me during the whole of my political life. In a country like England, at any rate, they can be defended only on grounds which would serve as an apology for conduct at which I am certain the wildest of English suffragettes would stand aghast.—I am, &c.,

A. V. DICEY.

"MANY THINGS WILL HAPPEN."

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

SIR,—"Many Things will Happen."—This is how Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., like the fat boy in "Pickwick," tries to make our "flesh creep." What is it all about?

"Pending the fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's promise to give fair play to the Conciliation Bill next year Suffragists of all sections are observing a truce." Mr. Asquith's idea of "fair play" involved that the Conciliation Bill should be "open to amendment." But Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., solemnly writes:—"It is common knowledge that a deliberate attempt . . . will be made to wreck the Bill in Committee; widening amendments will be proposed." "If such tactics should prove successful . . . many things will happen." "I ask you" (the Editor of the "Times") "to confess that this Government holds the secret of manufacturing rebellion and violence." What does she mean? And what does she want? Does she understand Parliamentary procedure so imperfectly as to claim that "the Government" should step in and say "there shall be no amendments"? And this, when the condition of facilities was that the Bill should be "open to amendment"?

Really, the logic of these ladies—or, at any rate, of Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.—is past finding out.—I am, Sir, &c.,

J. MASSIE.

MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS AND ASSASSINATION.

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

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a letter printed in your August issue which quotes from my book, "The Emancipation of English Women." As I am not sure whether your correspondent believes that assassination was and is a part of the Militant Suffragist programme, I should be much obliged if you would allow me to make some comment on her letter. There is not, and has not for some months, been the slightest danger of any personal injury to a Cabinet Minister. The passage quoted from my book by your correspondent simply dealt with the temporary condition produced by the policy of forcible feeding. There is nothing easier in government than to turn an enthusiast into a fanatic, and a fanatic into a criminal, and I pointed out that the stupid policy of Mr. Herbert Gladstone was producing these effects in a few of the Militant Suffragists. With the coming of Mr. Churchill to the Home Office a wiser course was adopted, and the ill-temper

vanished at once and has never been revived. It would be perfectly fair, of course, for your correspondent to argue that people who could be exasperated to such a point were not fit for the franchise, or ought to be locked up. But it would be very dishonest to argue from that passage in my book that this exasperation was a permanent condition of mind, or was ever likely to recur. I feel bound to make this comment, as it appears, from her statement, that I am an "out-and-out champion" of the Militant Suffragists, that your correspondent has not read my book with much care, and may have misunderstood the statement quoted as much as the rest of my last chapter.—I am, Sir, &c.,

W. LYON BLEASE.

2, Harrington-street, Liverpool.

[It is surely bad enough that Suffragists ever contemplated assassination.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S LETTER.

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

MADAM (*sic*).—OUR attention has been called to a letter, purporting to be written by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

That men, in their party bitterness, should so far forget what is due to age and infirmity as to bandy the name of this gentleman—whose services and misfortunes surely entitle him to greater respect—in their unseemly recriminations; that the family of an illustrious public servant should acquiesce and co-operate in this melancholy development of modern politics, seems to us nothing but what we have learned to expect from party politicians.

That women, however, from whose stronger moral development so much is expected, and rightly expected, in all ranks of public and private life (and on whose "superiority" so much stress has been laid by one of your Society's best-known women speakers, Miss Violet Markham) should join in this deplorable lapse from political decency, is truly lamentable.

It would almost seem as if the organ of the National Society for Opposing Women's Suffrage was bent on furnishing a concrete example of how low women can sink when they enter public life—in support and in imitation of existing ideals! Unless, indeed, the power behind THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW belongs to the "nobler" sex?—I am, &c.,

C. NINA BOYLE.

"The Women's Freedom Review,"
1, Robert-street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.
September 6th, 1911.

[The name of our League is "The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage," and it consists of both men and women. The Editor of this REVIEW, who happens to be a man, is glad to stand between the other sex and the diatribe printed above.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

WOULD ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS USE THE VOTE?

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

SIR,—The letter published in your recent issue signed "A Member of the Women's Social and Political Union," in which the question is asked "Will Anti-Suffragists use

the Vote if they have the opportunity," betrays on the part of the writer an extraordinary lack of appreciation of the true meaning of the Parliamentary Vote, and of the principle underlying Anti-Suffragism. That principle, put in its briefest form, I take to be as follows: That, as in the opinion of Anti-Suffragists the majority of women do not possess some of the most important characteristics which are necessary in a good Imperial voter, it is undesirable, in the interests of the British Empire, that women should exercise the Parliamentary Vote. But the bestowal of the vote upon any individual is the laying upon that individual of a special duty and responsibility, and the elector who does not exercise his vote is simply avoiding his share of that responsibility, and refusing to fulfil his duty to the State. If the Anti-Suffragists are correct in their contention as regards the majority of women, and the State places the burden of the vote upon the shoulders of women, it will require, at the hands of the female portion of the electorate, a duty which that portion will inadequately perform; but none the less will it be the duty of every woman-voter to perform it to the best of her ability. And it is the very fact that the community, and not only the individual voter, will suffer from the result that obliges Anti-Suffragists to protest against the proposal of thus easing the shoulders of men at the expense of both women and the whole Empire.—I am, Sir, &c.,

GLADYS S. POTT.

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

SIR,—Apropos of the letter in this month's ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, under the heading of "A Poser," the writer of that letter may be glad to know that the same question came up in newspaper correspondence in the year 1909, when the following reply was made to it:—

"To the Editor of the 'Birmingham Daily Post,' March 20th.—I should like to say a few words in reply to —'s letter, in which she assumes that, if the sex qualification were removed, women Anti-Suffragists ought, in consistency with their principles, to abstain from voting. Apart from questions of national and sex interests—which, in my belief, women Anti-Suffragists would be unwilling to leave in the hands of lady politicians belonging to the Suffragist and Suffragette parties—the exigencies of party politics would compel women, . . . of both political parties, Liberal and Conservative, to qualify themselves for the vote."

The same point was also taken up in a short pamphlet addressed to Members of Parliament, from which I quote the following extract:—

"It is often said that women need not use their votes, and that many of them probably would not trouble to do so. People who argue thus must, however, be singularly blind to the fierce exigencies of party politics in this country. Is it conceivable that a Tory or Unionist canvasser would pass over the women voters on that side, while on the other side the number of Liberal votes was being swelled by Liberal women? This Party incentive to voting is one which would not fail to apply in the case of every woman voter throughout the Kingdom who happened to reside in a hotly contested constituency."—I am, Sir, &c.,

E. M. SIMON.

September 5th, 1911

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WRITE FOR PARTICULARS.

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

SIR,—A "Member of the Women's Social and Political Union," who is anxious to know if Anti-Suffragettes will use the vote if they have the opportunity, suggests that by so doing they would show "they were really for the Suffrage"!

If an opponent thrusts a weapon into my hand and challenges me to combat, am I to refrain from using the weapon lest he should think I wanted it before? It is much to be hoped that all Anti-Suffragists, in the event of their having the vote forced upon them, will see the enormous importance of using it, instead of withdrawing themselves, in indignant and dignified disgust, from the arena. So only can they hope to counter-balance the mischievous effects of the narrow social and political view expressed by that noisy minority of women who are clamoring for a revolution as if it were a new fashion in hats.—I am, Sir, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR
OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
August 30th, 1911.

A FIASCO.

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

SIR,—Considerable sensation has been caused locally by a distraint on the goods of Mrs. Sky, a prominent local Suffragette, for non-payment of the King's tax. The goods seized will be offered for sale at Elam's Auction Rooms, London Road, tomorrow (Saturday) evening at 7 o'clock, and the Suffragettes will take the opportunity of making it the occasion of a demonstration, when several of the leading persons connected with the movement, including Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Mr. Hugh Franklin, and others will be present."

[Extract from the "Southend and West-cliffe Graphic" for September 15th, 1911.]

I read this announcement, and decided to attend the auction in question. I quite expected to find at least a thousand people present, with a large number of police to prevent the "sensation" becoming a riot. I arrived shortly before 7 p.m., and on the rostrum was a woman addressing the audience, and the auctioneer was sitting

meekly beside her. She was employing the usual suffrage argument about "taxation and representation" going together, and pointing out what a noble woman Mrs. Sky was to break the law by not paying her taxes, &c. She sat down with a slight cheer from a few men and women in the front. The auction room was about a quarter full. When the speaker had finished, the auctioneer at once proceeded with the "sensation" of the evening, and put up two lots of spoons, which were evidently bought in on behalf of the tax resister. He then made the solemn announcement that the auction was at an end, as enough had been realised to satisfy the amount of the levy.

I spoke to a man who arrived with his wife before the end of the sale, and he said he had come to see some sport, and seemed greatly disappointed. The large and mighty army of Suffragettes then formed up and marched with a banner from the auction room through some of the streets. When the procession started the total number of persons in it was twenty-six. I counted the number when the procession was in the High Street, and it had dwindled down to twenty. Thus the demonstration ended in a fiasco, and the Suffragettes also found their advertisement an expensive one.

Conundrum for Suffragettes and Anti-Suffragettes.—If a "prominent local Suffragette" can only muster under thirty persons at a demonstration out of a population of over 60,000, what evidence is there that there is any real demand for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women?—I am, Sir, &c.,

J. M.

September 18th, 1911.

The Editor desires to state that he does not necessarily accept the opinions expressed in signed articles or correspondence.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

BRANCHES can obtain advice, information, and pamphlets about Women's Local Government Work by applying to the Secretary of the W.L.G. Sub-committee, which meets at our offices at Caxton House once a month.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan), at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Wednesday, October 4th, at 3 o'clock. Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

ALL through the holiday season Anti-Suffrage propaganda has gone steadily forward, and, in addition to our organising from headquarters, all over the country the branches have done a good deal of quiet work. The holiday campaigns on the East and South Coast and in Bristol have been both most successful, and the result of the systematic holding of out-door meetings in and about London, which has been carried on by some of our workers, has resulted in the addition of a great number of recruits to our ranks. From several holiday resorts we hear that bungalows, cottages, and tents are flying flags of the Anti-Suffrage colours—rose, black, and white. We are now settling down for a strenuous autumn and winter campaign.

Bradford.—Lady Priestley presided over a very well-attended inaugural meeting at Bradford on September 14th, when a speech by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was much appreciated. Mrs. Maggs, who has done effective work lately in this district, was also present.

Bristol.—A week's campaign in Bristol and neighbourhood was conducted by Mr. G. L. Borrodaile, and "dinner hour" meetings in the open air were a successful feature of this campaign. Mr. Borrodaile addressed some interested working-class audiences at Bedminster Bridge and Bedminster and the village of Pill. At Keynsham and Thornbury village meetings were held, and at the latter place a sub-branch is being formed. On Clifton Downs on September 16th a large meeting was held, and some questions were addressed to Mr. Borrodaile. As a result, a good many signatures to the Anti-Suffrage petition have been obtained.

Croydon.—We have received the following interesting note from Miss B. E. Jefferis, Hon. Treasurer of our Croydon branch:—"During August and September out-door meetings have been held with most satisfactory results. Speakers: Mrs. Stewart and Mr. Hicks. Each meeting was largely attended, and at Thornton Heath on September 7th, it was estimated that the crowd numbered over 400. At this meeting Miss Leslie Hall, a lady from the Suffrage side, caused a good deal of interruption,

and was invited to address the people for ten minutes. Mrs. Stewart completely crushed her arguments, and when the vote was taken at the close of the meeting there were found to be only ten dissentients.

"The interest shown at all meetings has been noticeable. The crowd listening with much appreciation and attention, and at the last meeting, on September 20th, in spite of cold rough weather, showed little inclination to disperse afterwards. The Croydon Branch should feel much encouraged to fresh efforts and renewed enthusiasm this autumn, with the knowledge of this very general sympathy and support at the back of them."

East Coast Campaign.—This campaign, which has been conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie, has been attended with marked success. During this tour ten open-air meetings were held in six days at Cromer, Overstrand, Sheringham, Beeston Hill, Mundesley, and North Walsham. Following these, meetings were held at Lowestoft, Gorleston, Oulton Broad, Beccles, Southwold, Aldeburgh, Norwich, Ipswich, and Felixstowe. Large audiences have attended all these open-air meetings. To quote the local Press: "At these meetings resolutions hostile to

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATE.

MISS GLADYS POTT

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MISS CICELY HAMILTON

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'votes for women' have been carried by overwhelming majorities of the visitors and residents attending them."

It is most interesting to note that our resolution was *not once* defeated, and wherever there was suffrage opposition there was our majority largest. A large number of ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEWS were sold and a quantity of our leaflets and general literature distributed. A large and enthusiastic meeting had previously been held by the Felixstowe branch in the Hamilton Hall, Felixstowe, in June, when Lady Farren was in the chair, and Mrs. H. Norris and others spoke.

East Kent and South Coast Campaign.—Holiday-makers at the principal resorts on the east coast of Kent and the South Coast have shown a great deal of interest in the series of open-air meetings which Mr. G. L. Borrodaile has been holding. At Walmer and Deal Mr. Borrodaile addressed audiences at various points for a week—afternoon and evening—and had a good reception from the crowds. At Folkestone and Dover large audiences, where the majorities were all in our favour, collected in the central open spaces selected by Mr. Borrodaile, and the literature distributed always aroused clearly expressed sympathy for Anti-Suffragism.

During the first week in September Mr. Borrodaile held meetings every night on the front in Hastings and St. Leonards. The audiences were large and much interested, as was proved by the number of questions they asked. At one meeting some Suffragist interruption added some zest, and the meeting ended successfully for us.

Hampstead.—On September 20th Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a large meeting of men in their canteen of the Hampstead Garden Suburb. The resolution against woman suffrage was passed with two dissentients; and that demanding that the measure should be placed before the country before it was made law was passed unanimously.

Hawkshead (Lancashire).—A thriving little branch has just been successfully launched at Hawkshead, and, judging from the interest displayed, Anti-Suffragism will be well supported here. The inaugural meeting was held on September 13th at the residence of Mrs. Hadley, The Holm, Hawkshead, who kindly entertained the large audience in her drawing-room. Mrs. Maggs gave an address on the work of the League, which was listened to with much interest. Mrs. Hadley has consented to be President of the new branch, and Mrs. Redmayne, Brathay Hall, Hon. Treasurer.

Manchester.—Two enthusiastic meetings of the Manchester Teachers' Anti-Suffrage Sub-committee have recently been held, and we have received many encouraging reports from individual teachers as to the growth of the Anti-Suffrage movement. We have heard that at a meeting of the Salford Association of the N.U.T. a resolution in favour of woman suffrage has been rejected.

On September 9th the Secretary of the Manchester Branch presented "the case against woman suffrage" at a well-attended meeting at "The County Forum." There were several members of the Women's Freedom League present, one of whom opposed Miss Moir's views in the open discussion which followed. There was no vote, as these meetings are for purely educational purposes, but Miss Moir's remarks were very well received, and members of the audience have since visited the office in search of further information on the case against woman suffrage.

Invitations to debate have been accepted by the Manchester Branch for the following dates:—

October 11th.—Debate arranged by the Preston Suffrage Society.

Speakers: Suffrage, Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., Mr. C. L. J. Holt, B.A.; Anti-Suffrage, Miss Cordelia Moir (Secretary Manchester Branch), Mr. H. A. Pickup (Hon. Secretary St. Anne's Sub-branch).

October 13th.—Drawing-room meeting given by Mrs. Hiller, at Oakholme, Whalley Range.

Speakers: Councillor Margt. Ashton, Suffrage; Miss Cordelia Moir, Anti-Suffrage.

Mrs. Hiller has very kindly arranged to ask (through the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage) an equal number of Suffragists and Anti-Suffrage members to this meeting, as well as a number of ladies whose views on the subject are not decided. Various other meetings have been under-

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WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.
153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.
1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.
24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by Inspectors.
3,243 Sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.
99,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.

The increased operations of the Society have drawn from the funds an amount vastly exceeding the yearly subscriptions. The Council need much greater assistance, and unless such additional support be extended to them, this most righteous cause of humanity must suffer.

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WESTBOURNE GROVE

LONDON, W.

Howard, Greystoke Castle, Hon. Secretary for the Cumberland and Westmorland County Branch. Mrs. Breeks made an excellent speech from the point of view of the woman of property on "Why I do not Want a Vote." Mrs. Maggs addressed the meeting on behalf of the League, and spoke of the urgent need there is for more work to be done. The result of the meeting was very successful, as nearly all present joined, and Lady Wynne, who presided at the meeting, has promised to be Vice-President.

As the October REVIEW will have gone to press before the debate between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Billington Greig takes place on September 20th, we hope to give a full account of the proceedings in our November issue.—Ed.

"WHEN THE VOTE WAS WON."

A ONE-ACT Anti-Suffrage play, produced at the Portman Rooms, May 17th, 1911. No scenery required. There are seven women's parts and three men's parts, but one woman's part can be doubled to reduce the cast. The time of the play is previous to the first election after the granting of universal suffrage. Acting fee, including loan of parts and prompt copy, 10s. 6d. Apply, Miss Hackblock, 69, Wynnstay Gardens, High-street, Kensington.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 3d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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East and West Molesey—
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Garland, "Farrs," East Molesey.

EWELL—
President: Miss Auriol Barker.

Ewell—
Hon. Secretary:

Cheam—
Hon. Secretary: Miss West, Cheam.

Worcester Park—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park.

LEATHERHEAD—
President: C. F. Gordon Clark, Esq.

Leatherhead—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cunliffe, Tyrrels, Leatherhead.

Fetcham—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. C. F. Gordon Clark, Fetcham Park, Leatherhead.

Bookham—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pick, The Nook, Great Bookham.

SUTTON—
Hon. Treasurer: Col. E. M. Lloyd, Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton.

GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT—
President: Miss S. H. Onslow.
Vice-President: Lady Martindale.
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carter, 15, Wodeland Road, Guildford.

KEW—
Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Road, Kew.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES—
Hon. Treasurer: James Stickland, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cooke, Tankerville, Kingston Hill.

MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN—
President: Mrs. Kelsall.
Hon. Treasurer: George W. Moir, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Franklin, Westhay, East Sheen; John D. Batten, Esq., The Halsteads, East Sheen.

PURLEY—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Atterbury.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sadgrove, "Clonard," Foxley Lane, Purley.

REIGATE AND REDHILL—
Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.

Reigate—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate.

Redhill—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.

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

SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE—
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottermill, Haslemere.

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

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

WIMBLEDON—
President: Lady Constance Monro.
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: The Countess von Hahn, 192, Worpole Road, Wimbledon.

WOKING—
President: Susan Countess of Wharnclyffe.
Vice-President: Lady Arundel.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

SUSSEX.

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

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

EASTBOURNE—
President: Mrs. Campbell.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss I. Turner, 1, Hardwick Road, Eastbourne.

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

FOREST ROW—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. de Rougemont, Pickridge, Forest Row.

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

Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—
Local Hon. Secretary: Miss Madeleine Rigg, East Lodge, Dorset Road.

LEWES—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.
Hon. Secretary: Lady Shiffner.

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

WARWICKSHIRE.

BIRMINGHAM—
President: The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.
Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; W. G. W. Hastings, Esq.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row, Birmingham.

Solihull (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Maud Pemberton, Whitacre, Solihull.

WILTSHIRE.

SALISBURY—
President: The Lady Glenconner of Glen.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kane, Wilsford.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

MALVERN—
President: Lady Grey.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Sheppard.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hollins, Southbank.

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

YORKSHIRE.

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

HULL—
Chairman (provisionally): Miss Ferguson.
Hon. Treasurer: H. Buckton, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Legge-Roe, Pryme Street, Hull.

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

LEEDS—
President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 3, Woodsley Terrace, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 15c, Oley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

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

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

SHEFFIELD—
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tipton Crescent Road, Sheffield.

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

YORK—
President: Lady Julia Wombwell.
Hon. Treasurer: Hon. Mrs. Stanley Jackson.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Jenyns, The Beeches, Dringhouses, York.

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

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

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

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

IRELAND.

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

SCOTLAND.

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

BRANCHES:

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

DUNDEE—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. MacGillivray, 23, South Tay Street; Miss Craik.

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

GLASGOW—
President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.
Camachie (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 32, Belgrave Street, Camachie.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—
President: Lady Lovat.
Hon. Treasurers and Hon. Secretaries: Inverness—Miss Mercer, Woodfield, Inverness; Nairn—Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary Gardens, Nairn.

ST. ANDREWS—
President: The Lady Griselda Cheape.
Vice-President: Mrs. Hamar.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

WALES.

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

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