

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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We should like to remind our men friends of the rapidly spreading influence of our Men's League: *Secretary*, MR. F. W. RAFFETY; *Address*, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

## POLITICAL OFFENDERS?

EVIDENTLY the Suffragettes were anxious lest the sea serpent should have the silly season to itself. So they set to work to excite interest, even if they could not win sympathy. We are glad to see that for once the Home Secretary spoke out manfully, though his subsequent action rather weakened his words. Political offences are, he told us, not recognised in any way by the common law of England. For certain offences, specified by statute, such as sedition and seditious libel, the law lays down imprisonment in the first division as the appropriate penalty; but for breaking windows and assaulting policemen or obstructing them in the execution of their duty there is no such statutory limitation. These are ordinary offences at common law, rendering the offender liable to fine or imprisonment, and the question of motive is as irrelevant as the offender's views on politics. It is as well to have that clearly understood, as a great deal of nonsense has been talked about the unfairness meted out by a government of men to these latter-day specimens of the old-fashioned nagging woman. An attempt to meet force with force is one thing, a policy of aggravation until you have provoked the force you profess to despise is quite another, and the Suffragette, who tries to goad a policeman into losing his temper, is like nothing so much as the wife who nags at her husband till he hits her, and then calls him a brute.

Scratching and biting in Parliament Square are, however, more childish

than serious, and the attempt to obstruct both political parties and every kind of political activity until they get their own way is likely to recoil on the heads of the women themselves. The Irish party tried that with very dubious success. But there is a more serious side to the mutiny against prison regulations, which has recently prevailed in Holloway. Such things spread, and if Suffragettes can release themselves by indulging in a few days' fasting, what is to prevent the burglar and the wife-beater from following their example? And if the foundations of law and order are undermined, who is going to suffer most, the sex that can protect itself, or the sex which needs protection? It cannot be too often repeated that women can afford to play these antics, and men can afford to let them, just because we live in a country where law and order are so firmly established. But in so far as women could succeed in bringing the law into disrepute, they would have helped to make, not only their political activity, but their industrial and social independence, absolutely impossible. Once let loose the wild beast, which the law holds in chains, and who are likely to fall the quickest and easiest prey?

It is for these reasons that, whilst sympathising with the Home Secretary's difficulties, we deplore his too ready acceptance of the easiest way out. There really is something to be said for muzzling the press, or proclaiming martial law in the fashion of General Mitchener. If hunger strikes were not reported, it is most probable that they would not occur,

and though public opinion would not, as Mr. Balsquith remarked, stand the shooting down of a woman, it would bear with remarkable equanimity hearing nothing more about her. In this country we can trust the common sense and humanity of the officials who, under every kind of safeguard, administer our prisons; and if the Suffragettes endured a little wholesome neglect when once they have closed the doors of Holloway upon themselves, certain dangers to the hold of law over the lawless population in this country, which have been increased by the suffrage agitation, might be avoided.

#### NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are afraid that the title of these columns is gradually becoming a misnomer so far as news is concerned. As was pointed out in the annual report of our League, the English public is getting bored with the Suffragettes, and is absolutely uninterested in the Suffragists. A few months ago the monthly review gave a liberal allowance of space to the question of "to vote or not to vote." But at the present moment it is only the police-court side of the agitation which makes "good copy." In this Review we stand severely aloof from party politics, and we hazard no prophecy as to the prospects of a General Election in the immediate future. But it seems certain that when the struggle does come, the issues will be of such a nature as to thrust female suffrage completely into the background. The attempt to rush the position by a *coup de main* has failed dismally, and there is a very serious danger that the vigilance of the defenders may relax when the cloud of immediate danger has lifted. This must be avoided at all cost, and the duty of quiet, steady organisation in every constituency throughout the kingdom was never more imperative than it is to-day.

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A SIGN of the times is the change that has come over the tone of *The*

*Englishwoman*, founded at the beginning of the year, "to reach the cultured public and bring before it, in a convincing and moderate form, the case for the enfranchisement of women." From being the fiery organ of the suffragette, relying on Mr. Bernard Shaw in his most freakish mood, it has become a gentle and very readable miscellany, which discusses the Budget and the taxation of land values without any trace of acrimony towards the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and supplies a charming appreciation in French of the mother of Guy de Maupassant. The articles by experts on the trades in which women are engaged form a valuable and attractive feature of the magazine, and though we may not agree with the bold statement that "the working woman to-day stands nearer, socially, than most people would care to admit to the slave of Roman times," and that "man the law-maker is her exploiter," the fact that in many forms of labour women are horribly underpaid is only too notorious. But that this would be mended by the concession of the Parliamentary vote to women is an assumption for which there is not the smallest warrant or authority.

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THERE is also to be noticed in the August number of *The Englishwoman* a shifting of ground which deserves careful attention. "What do most people believe now?" asks a contributor to the Editorial columns. "Merely that a few women of the educated classes want to send a few more men to Parliament. What should the public be told? . . . They should be told that women who want the vote may not primarily be concerned with programmes of party politics, but demand that the internal economy of the State should be considered by a body of legislators, elected by the country for that purpose, and that men and women should be elected in equal numbers to this representative body, which, under the name of 'Home Committees,' would be entrusted with legislation on these questions, which could be properly termed Domestic Politics." Here we have the thin end of the

wedge with a vengeance, and the writer goes on naively to admit, "It is also true that Imperial Politics and Domestic Politics cannot be separated with a clear line of cleavage." Of course they cannot, and the suggestion to unpick the British constitution in this fashion is only worthy of the Abbé Sieyès. But the logic of the demand is undeniable. Admit women to the franchise and you cannot impose upon them any disqualification from sitting in Parliament. We have seen that in town and county councils. It is a good thing to have got the admission in black and white from the more temperate wing of the female suffrage party.

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PROFESSOR DICEY'S admirable "Letters to a friend on votes for women," to which we briefly alluded last month, form a reproduction and expansion in popular language of his famous article in last January's *Quarterly Review*. They should be in the hands of every member of our League, and they will form an invaluable storehouse of argument, both for speakers at public meetings and for those engaged upon the equally important task of peaceful persuasion. We gave an epitome of the *Quarterly* article in our own issue for February, and we only venture now on a single quotation taken from the summary in the last of the five letters. "Women's votes, we are told, will raise women's wages; but in the sense in which every overworked woman will understand this assertion it is false. The current rate of wages cannot be fixed by law. In the only sense in which the assertion may be true, it supplies the strongest of arguments against the extension of electoral rights to a body of persons tempted to use their votes as the means of wringing higher wages from the State. It is with confidence asserted that woman suffrage will make for the suppression of private vice at home and the maintenance of public peace abroad. This idea has for many noble and public-spirited women an immense fascination, but it is grounded in the main on error. Enthusiasm for a legislative crusade against immorality rests on that eternal confusion

between the sphere of law and the sphere of ethics which, as all experience shows, is invariably productive of immense evil. For the belief that women will always be in favour of peace there exists no solid foundation whatever. Capacity for passionate emotion is unfavourable to the calmness of judgment which anticipates the risks and forbids the cruelty and the usefulness of war."

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It should be difficult for the most ardent advocate of "Votes for Women" to derive much satisfaction from the four by-elections which have been held since our last issue. In each case a Ministerialist seat was attacked, and in each case it was held against the assailing forces. In one only, the Cleveland division of the East Riding of Yorkshire, was there a sensible diminution of the majority. Here, we are given to understand, the women claim to have been the dominant factor, a claim which is fiercely contested by the supporters of the Unionist candidate. Without attempting to adjudicate in so delicate a matter, we are prepared to admit that in a wide and scattered constituency, where the sayings and doings of the extremists are little known, there is virgin soil for the well-trained and eloquent speakers whom the Political Social Union has at its disposal in such rank luxuriance. The moral is obvious: the propaganda must be met by counter organisation on the part of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League. Our experience has shown us all over the kingdom what can be effected by the temperate advocacy of women speakers who are prepared to show that the demand for the vote is confined to a small but noisy section of their sisters. It is characteristic of the movement that Mr. Samuel, whose seat was so fiercely assailed, is the godfather of the Children's Bill, the most beneficent piece of social legislation of recent years, and one which should appeal with especial force to the heart of every woman, whether she be a mother or not.

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WE believe that in constituencies where

opinion has been properly instructed and organised, the violence of the Suffragettes is proving fatal, apart from all other considerations, to their claim for the franchise. But, unhappily, this process has been accompanied, so the keenest observers are convinced, by a distinct setback in the movement for electing women to local authorities. Excellent women candidates are forthcoming, but the prejudice which the recent proceedings of the advanced wing has aroused against them is so strong as to prove a well-nigh insuperable bar. This is especially the case in London, where the electors have been living for the last twelve months and longer in actual contact with these deplorable demonstrations and processions and "martyrdoms." We have one particular instance in our mind. But provincial cities, where political and social meetings have been turned into bear-gardens, are not likely to be more sympathetic. And the action of those women who disturbed the Eisteddfod, which to the Welsh mind possesses all the sanctity of a religious service, has provoked the deepest resentment throughout the Principality.

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WITH the broader questions involved in the struggle between the self-constituted women prisoners and the Home Secretary we deal elsewhere, but on one of its most theatrical aspects we have still a word to spare. The "hunger strike," borrowed from the Russian prisons, where it has been occasionally resorted to in circumstances which have not the remotest analogy to anything conceivable in this country, has enlisted the accomplished pen of Miss Elizabeth Robins on behalf of the strikers. Her aim, she declares, in addressing the editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, "is to prevent anyone's having a right to say, when one of these women succumbs in Holloway Gaol, that it was 'death by misadventure.' It will be no accident. But for the Government it would be a misadventure which even their opponents would gladly see them spared if one of these prisoners forces the gates of Holloway and sets out upon the Great Adventure that even heroes evade as long as they with honour may." This grandiloquent clap-trap is sufficiently disposed of by another correspondent of the same paper, who contends that the death of a hunger-striker would not be "death

by misadventure," indeed, but suicide, "possibly heroic, certainly piteous," but suicide by the will and act of the sufferer, and in no way forced upon her by the present political situation." If the prison authorities do their duty, undeterred by sentimentality, there is no danger of any such piteous termination. The practice of self-starvation is well known both in prisons and in lunatic asylums, and there are simple mechanical means, constantly put in force, of feeding the recalcitrant patient, whether he or she objects or not. Attempted suicide is an offence of which the law takes cognisance, and it is the duty of the custodian to prevent suicide by starvation as much as by strangulation or any other method. If the hunger-strikers are released merely because they are Suffragettes, how will it be possible to keep any other criminal in prison who chooses to resort to the same tactics?

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THE sordid story of the Holloway rebellion is lit up by occasional gleams of humour, as in the letter which one of the Miss Pankhursts has recently addressed to the editor of the *Yorkshire Post*. "Our prison friends," she writes, "realising the extremely difficult position in which the prison officials were placed, were most scrupulous in their behaviour to the wardresses and other officers, and did their best to show that they had no quarrel with them, but with the Government, who were responsible for all that was happening." There were two cases, however, in which this rule of action was departed from. One of the prisoners was so annoyed by "the insolence" of her wardress that she was compelled to order her to leave the apartment, and on this command being disobeyed the victim of man's injustice pushed the minion of the State out of the cell, "using no unnecessary force," and shut the door. "Another prisoner refused to go of her own accord into the punishment cell, and was therefore forcibly removed by five or six wardresses. As this was being done, two of them pommelled her with such roughness that she had serious bruises. In the struggle, and under this provocation, two of the wardresses were kicked by her." As the editor of the *Yorkshire Post* very pertinently remarks, when ladies spit at policemen they must not be surprised if the public believe Mr. Gladstone's official statement as to kicking and biting. "Young women in a condition of ex-

citement cannot be supposed to be accurate witnesses. If a Suffragette invites the application of force by refusing to obey prison regulations, she has no sort of reason to complain if she gets the worst of it, and no excuse for catlike behaviour or for kicking wardresses."

THE metropolitan magistrate before whom these "ladies" were charged has decided that there was no intentional biting, though in the case of one of the prisoners it appeared that her teeth had come accidentally in contact with the wardress's hand. Mr. Fordham held, however, that in both cases the kicking was proved, and that one of the wardresses had been struck brutally on the breast. Sentences of a month and ten days' imprisonment were imposed in default of the payment of a fine, and the magistrate significantly refused to make any order as to the division in which the sentences were to be served. "These people," he said, "ask for equal rights, and I do not see why they should be treated differently to any others." As a matter of fact, and we do not complain of it, these "revolting sisters" have received very different treatment to that which would have been meted out to men who had kicked and assaulted warders, or to the woman prisoner of the class which usually occupy His Majesty's gaols. To relax discipline would be to turn these places into pandemonium, and sooner or later the Suffragettes will find that the law has the last word. The *Westminster Gazette* expresses the pious hope that as the line seems to be drawn at biting, it will soon be drawn at kicking, and that the agitation will be taken altogether out of its present atmosphere. What our contemporary fails to see is that these forms of advertisements are not only the life and breath of the movement, but they help to keep a large number of agitators in clover.

How many people nowadays, we wonder, read "The Ladies in Parliament," that brilliant bit of political persiflage by which Sir George Trevelyan, fresh from Harrow and Cambridge, gained his literary diploma more than forty years ago? There is one passage in it, so strangely prophetic of what we have witnessed, and are witnessing, that, with due apologies to the distinguished author, we feel compelled to quote it *in extenso*. The

speaker is a certain Lady Matilda. "One chance remains, the last and surest course  
Of injured worth:—a bold appeal to force.  
Through crescent, terrace, circus, and arcade  
Shall scouts proclaim a feminine crusade.  
Let Knightsbridge, Pimlico and Brompton meet  
Where Grosvenor Place is lost in Eaton Street;  
While Portman Square and Hyde Park Gardens march  
At break of dawn beneath the Marble Arch.  
Across Victoria Road with beat of drum,  
Straight towards the Abbey bid our musters come;  
Beset the House, and all approaches guard,  
From furthest Millbank round to Palace Yard;  
Invest the lobbies; raise across the courts  
A barricade of Bluebooks and Reports;  
Suspend for good the Orders of the Day;  
To serve as hostage seize Sir Thomas May;  
And with one daring stroke for ever close  
The fount and origin of these our woes,  
Till man, who holds so light our proper charms,  
Is brought to reason by material arms,  
And learns afresh, what all his fathers knew  
His highest function, our most cherished due."

The "function" in question, we are constrained to add, was nothing more lofty than a better attendance at the frivolous amusements of the London season, which the young men of that day were neglecting for politics. But Lady Matilda's tactics are the foundation of the investment of the House of Commons, which is still "in being" as we write these lines.

#### OUR NORTHERN MOTOR CAMPAIGN.

THE Anti-Suffrage League Motor Campaign through Yorkshire and adjacent counties, arranged by Mr. and Mrs. H. E. F. Norris, of London, for the first fortnight in September, is sure to bring splendid results. Mr. and Mrs. Norris, who have also generously lent the motor car, will, accompanied by Mr. A. Maconachie, visit all the most important towns and villages in this northern district, halting to hold meetings wherever practicable. Mrs. Norris and Mr. Maconachie are well known as excellent speakers for the League, and are certain to attract large audiences everywhere.

The Secretary of the League will be greatly obliged if anyone in the northern district, who is interested in the Anti-Suffrage movement, and who can place halls or their own drawing-rooms at the disposal of Mr. and Mrs. Norris, would at once offer to do so. If they will write to the Secretary, at Caxton House, Westminster, she will make arrangements for any meetings. We shall be also very glad if all Branch Secretaries in this area will take advantage of the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Norris, to call meetings as frequently as they possibly can.

#### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

ACTIVITY in the camp, despite the many calls of the social season, has again to be reported of our loyal army of Branch workers. New Branches have been formed, and many interesting meetings held—those of the garden fête variety proving very popular and successful.

An important London meeting of the month was that at which Lord George Hamilton took the chair, on July 20th, at the P.M. man Rooms, when the West Marylebone Branch gathered in force. Among those present were Sir David Gill, Sir E. Fremantle, Dr. Alexander Scott, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mr. J. W. Waterhouse, R.A., and Mr. J. Comyns Carr.

Lord George Hamilton said that he had been for many years connected with politics, but that was the first occasion upon which he had ever spoken on the question of woman's suffrage. He did not previously look upon it as a serious question. But it was coming to the front, and he wanted his audience fully to realise what the agitation of the suffragists meant if it was successful.

The manner in which women were being used as street hooligans in the hope of calling public attention to their cause was disgraceful. He would advise all who took part in such unseemly scenes as those which had recently occurred to recollect that there was nothing more serious to a community than for anybody to break the law by acts of violence. If the franchise was given to women it would lower women from the pedestal which they now occupied. It would tend to lower the whole tone of national life and efficiency of government by introducing a great mass of inefficiency and hysteria in politics.

Most interesting speeches followed from Mrs. Colquhoun, Mr. J. Comyns Carr, Sir E. Fremantle, and Sir David Gill.

The Isle of Wight Branch was formed at Ryde on the first day of July at an enthusiastic meeting held at the residence of Mrs. Perrott, Clentagh. Mrs. Oglander was in the chair, and Miss Lindsay, Mrs. Banks, Mrs. Forsyth, and Miss Pilkington made excellent speeches.

Under the auspices of the Westminster Branch, a meeting was held at the Lecture Room, Horticultural Hall, on July 20th. Mr. Alfred Barker presided.

Mrs. Arthur Somervell dealt with the principal arguments against the granting of woman suffrage. The sphere of woman, she said, was to prepare public opinion, for the reason that in her hands lay the future of the race. If there were things with which the women of today were not satisfied, they could say those things should not continue in the next generation, and this was a law the Suffragettes forgot. If woman took man's burden

on her shoulders who would take hers? In Burnley ninety out of every hundred women were working in factories in competition with men, and one out of every four of the children born in that town died young. This was where women were economically independent!

Mr. A. Richardson sought to prove that man-made law was not oppressive to women, and that this was clearly shown by the legislation governing industrial life and the position of married women. He contended that the working woman had been dragged into the controversy merely as a convenient prop for a poor case, and that to introduce the weaker into the stronger was to weaken the whole.

During the evening Miss Somervell gave some charming classic dances, the Rev. Gillfillan Cotesworth recited, and Miss Eldina Bligh played violin solos.

"Do you women object to us men objecting to petticoat government? Would you respect us any more if we, in a moment of weakness, pusillanimity, and cowardice agreed to hand over the burden of Empire and the responsibility which belongs to our sex?" The reply to the question came with no uncertain sound from a large assembly in the grounds of "Kirkconnel," Ealing, the residence of Mrs. Forbes, president, on July 10th. A capital programme of music and entertainment was arranged by Mrs. MacClellan, Branch secretary, and a number of artists kindly lent their services.

Mr. J. P. MacClellan presided, and briefly introduced the speakers.

Mrs. Colquhoun said if the vote was granted to women it would alter their relation to the State, and their relationship to the other sex. The claim of the suffragists was that women should have the vote on the same terms as men. This proposal would enfranchise spinsters, and disfranchise those who were living the normal life of women. It would, moreover, bar the vast majority of the working-class women who were married and could not afford to qualify by paying separately for their dwellings, as richer women could. In local government power had already been placed in the hands of women—a power which the women of this country would hardly touch. She believed that "woman still is mistress of the man, though man be master." The women knew what that meant! The enforcement of the law was man's province, and women had no right to make a law which they could not enforce. One argument of the suffragists was that they believed women would not secure adequate wages until they had the vote. But she would like to point out that during the last forty or fifty years women's wages had been rising much more in proportion than men's wages.

Mr. Maconachie said he thought that the instinct that men and women had had for generations, that men could manage the fighting for and the government of a country much better than women, was a sound instinct. It was not true that taxation and representation had ever gone together. All the men in the country were taxed, and less than half of them had votes. It was to the best interests of all, that men should do what was essentially their work, and women should do theirs. The country was coming to a part-

ing of the ways in that matter, and unless that League took an earnest position a good deal of harm might be done.

Mrs. Gadesden (president of the North Hants and Newbury Branch), Mrs. Norris, a very energetic League worker, and Mr. A. Maconachie (barrister), a fluent speaker on our behalf, gave capital addresses at a garden meeting at Burley, East Woodhay, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Gadesden.

Mrs. Gadesden stated that their Branch had sent up nearly 500 names for the petition against women's suffrage, and considering that their Branch only represented a small area of the Parliamentary Division of West Hants, they felt that was a very good average.

Mr. Maconachie, in an incisive speech, said women's own interests and those of their children were concerned in leaving things as they were, making the men do the hard work and leaving the women to be queens and mistresses in their own homes.

The Haslemere meeting on July 13th was a great success, when Mr. Heber Hart, LL.D., occupied the chair, supported by Mrs. Somervell, Mr. F. J. Newman, Mrs. H. Beveridge, Mrs. R. S. Whiteway, Sir James Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., Lady Bourdillon, and others.

The Chairman said, if they wanted a suffrage which should be satisfactory to the community, it must be distributed fairly amongst the various classes of the community. If they wanted an equally fair distribution of power among women, they would find that they would have to abolish qualifications altogether, because, as a matter of fact, few working women would be able to satisfy any qualifications which now existed. Then they would find there would soon be a complaint that it was only women of means who were enfranchised, if they preserved any qualifications whatever. He was one of those who thought it was quite likely that the coachman's wife was quite as well qualified to exercise the vote as the mistress or her husband, but the point he wanted to emphasise was, if they had women's suffrage at all, it must be women's suffrage on the broadest and most democratic basis, which meant that the majority of the electors of this country would be women. If they seriously considered the question, they must come to this conclusion, that so long as human nature was constituted as it was at present, so long as women were doing their duty in the family and the home, they must be necessarily withdrawn from that active participation in public affairs, which was the only sufficient training for political franchise and political activity.

Mrs. Somervell, in an eloquent and impressive speech, dealt with the important work which women were doing in the home, and Mr. F. J. Newman dealt with many of the arguments put forward by adherents of the movement for the suffrage.

Members and sympathisers with the Anti-Suffrage movement held a very successful garden party at Northcote, near Reigate, by the kind permission of Mrs. F. C. Pawle. Mrs. Wilfred Ward, of Dorking, who opened the proceedings, made a telling little speech, and Mrs. Lemon expressed the thanks of the assembly. Cakes and sweets found a ready sale, while many amusements were provided. Some hundred and twenty guests assembled, and it is a source of regret that space could not be found for more. A good contribution was made to the funds of the League, and

thanks must be given to Mrs. Rundall and Mrs. Yates, on whose shoulders fell the arduous duty of organising and arranging.

Other very successful meetings held during July have been at the Manor House, Stoke D'Abernon, by permission of Mrs. Abbiss Phillips, in connection with the Surrey Branch; and a garden party at Esher, at Halfway Lodge, the residence of Mr. F. Wicks, was well attended. Mrs. Clarendon Hyde presided at a meeting of our Paddington Branch on July 10th, when Mrs. Colquhoun made a very able speech, and Mr. Morgan Veitch also spoke.

At a garden meeting at "Brinklea," the residence of Mrs. Carrell, Bournemouth, on July 3rd, the principal speakers were Mrs. Dering White and Mr. Jas. Baker, F.R.G.S., of Bristol. Mr. and Mrs. Booth Hearn also arranged an interesting drawing-room meeting at their residence in Strood, for the Rochester Branch, on July 19th; and a delightful garden party and fête in the grounds of Knellwood, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Grierson, on July 7th, greatly helped the progress of the Farnborough Branch.

An encouraging report comes from Manchester. The number of members of the League increases, though the list of Vice-Presidents is not as long as the committee wish, and they are now waiting the result of various invitations to people likely to give their names as such. The propaganda work of the sub-committees goes steadily on. A very successful teachers' meeting was held on July 13th, at the close of afternoon school at Christ Church, Harpurhey, when the teachers from five schools were invited to tea by the kindness of Mr. Grouno and Mr. Aspinall. An address was given by Mr. Grouno. On August 5th a garden party was held at Lawnhurst, Didsbury, by the invitation of Mrs. Henry Simon, when Mrs. Arthur Somervell gave an address, and on Monday, the 9th, a meeting arranged by Mrs. Hoyle, of Bassfield, Bury, was held at Summerseat. About 1,400 signatures have already been received for the petition, and a new district (Levenshulme) has just started canvassing.

#### THE "IDEAL WOMAN" CALENDAR.

A VERY interesting Calendar, which has been compiled by a member of the W.N.A.S.L., will shortly be issued. The Calendar is intended to fulfil two objects, one being the raising of funds for the League, and the other the printing of helpful extracts (many of them bearing on the Woman's Suffrage question), which, it is hoped, may be of real service to those to whom, in speaking, a good quotation is a very practical help. Amongst many prominent contributors are to be found the names of our Chairman, the Countess of Jersey, Ellen Countess of Desart, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Members of Parliament, King's Counsel, and University Professors. The cost of this interesting and very dainty souvenir is half-a-crown, and it is to be hoped that as many as possible of the readers of the REVIEW will apply to the Central Office for copies, which will be forwarded to them very shortly.

## BRANCHES.

WILL the following subscribing members of Council kindly forward their address to the League's head offices, Caxton House, Westminster? Mrs. Gadyne, Mrs. Headlam, Mrs. M. Hepham, Miss Hilbroner, Miss M. F. Moreton, Mrs. M. Pearce, Miss Prikthorne, Mrs. Ross, (Mrs. ?) Margaret Self, Mrs. Charles Smith, (Mrs. ?) Maude Waller, Miss Wilkin. Also the following members of League: F. B. J. Barnett, Esq.,—Hardcastle, Esq., Andrew Smith, Esq., A. Lomax Wood, Esq., Mrs. Alston, Mrs. Henley, Mrs. A. Hill, Mrs. (Charlotte M.) Hillard, Mrs. Hussey, Mrs. Harold Johnson, Nurse Kempster, (Mrs. ?) Emily R. C. Malcolm, Miss Amelia Matthews, Mrs. Musgrave, Mrs. Franklin Richards, Miss F. A. Samen, Mrs. H. Sullivan, Mrs. Sutton, (Miss M. E. Waterham, Mrs. F. Watkins, Mrs. Winter.

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## REVIEWS.\*

THIS little book has been compiled by a friend of the Suffragists; but we imagine that few of our readers would for that reason value any the less the admirably clear statement of the law as it stands which its pages afford. Mr. Thicknesse, himself a lawyer, has picked out carefully all such articles of the law as specially affect women. He has divided his subject under certain general headings, viz., Personal Rights, Public Rights, Family and Personal Relations outside Marriage, Inheritance, How to Get Married, Breach of Promise, Factories and Workshops, and Separation of Husband and Wife. The difficult and thorny problems of the Divorce Law he reserves for separate treatment in a future volume. Under each of these headings he gives the different clauses of the law, a selection of illustrative cases, and a few paragraphs of the most clear and illuminating comment. On \* "The Rights and Wrongs of Women." By Ralph Thicknesse. (London: The Woman Citizen Publishing Society, 1909.)

certain points the law seems to him in much need of amendment, notably in regard to the amount of provision which can be claimed from the father of an illegitimate child. We think it an admirable suggestion that it would be more to the interests both of the man and the woman, and certainly of the child—the chief person to be considered—if such cases were heard privately before a County Court judge instead of publicly before a magistrate, and we also cordially agree that a working woman ought to have some better means of compelling her husband to maintain her than the painful expedient of entering the workhouse with her children, and allowing the guardians to take proceedings. But with all due deference to Mr. Thicknesse, we think that evils such as these, and even the inadequate recognition at present given to maternal, as compared with paternal, rights over children, are matters which will gradually be put right by the pressure of public opinion upon our legislators. So much has already been done in a Parliament of men, and elected by men, to improve the status of women that we have every confidence in the goodwill of Parliament. It does not need a constitutional revolution, such as the Suffragists propose, to get a hearing for women on questions which affect them. They have already many ways of expressing their opinion open to them; in the future it is not unlikely that they will develop others. Indeed, Mr. Thicknesse almost disposes of his own case, in so far as he is presenting a case, for, on the whole, he is admirably impartial, by giving a long list of reforms obtained in France by the Feminist Movement, where, be it noted, women have no votes, and where it is not at present seriously proposed to give them votes. In England, too, we could give our long list of reforms, intellectual, social, political, all obtained without votes, but not without the bringing to bear upon public men of the opinion of intelligent and thinking women. It is in this direction that we confidently look for advance, and we believe that we shall gain all that we want without any such violent change as must be involved by Women's Suffrage.

J. E. H.

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