

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 1/6, post free.

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.
Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."
Telephone No.: 1418 Gerrard.

No. 88.

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1916.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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LOVING OUR ENEMIES.

Apart from the problem of ending the war, there is probably nothing that exercises the thinking section of the nation more than the question how the enemy is to be treated after the war. We have indications of the different ways in which people's minds are working in the Stop-the-War or Peace Settlement meetings on the one hand, and the Anti-German League or Trading after the War discussions on the other. Over all, for those who try to model their lives to some extent according to the tenets of Christianity, hangs the stupendous dilemma brought about by the juxtaposition of the doctrine of loving our enemies and the record of German atrocities in Belgium and German connivance or instigation of Turkish massacres in Asia Minor. Except in the case of a discredited and negligible minority, the voice of duty rings clear; our country must win in this struggle, and we must do all that in us lies to help forward the victory. But are we then to soothe our conscience for a momentary lapse into bloodthirstiness by exaggerating our love for our enemies directly the war is over? Are all those who would try to penalise the German nation after peace is declared necessarily failing in their Christian duty?

It will, perhaps, tend to clearness of thought if we try to distinguish between crimes and their perpetrators. Nowhere are we bidden to palliate the former, and we may indulge to our heart's content the execration of the outrages that have disgraced Germany in Belgium and elsewhere. There can, however, be no wholehearted condemnation of crime which culpably leaves open loopholes for the repetition of such crime. And here we come to the present parting of the ways for so many people in this country. There is little danger of Britain giving herself up to a gospel of hatred as Germany has done. An English Hymn of Hate directed against the Germans is unthinkable. Tommy at the front is in this respect a true reflex of the nation; he has never asked for one, and

he would derive far less satisfaction from it than from listening to the German hymn, which, if report be true, he has been known to ask for cheerfully from an astonished and embarrassed prisoner. The problem, then, that ought to engage the national attention, is how to ensure that there shall be no repetition of the crimes which have marked our enemies' conduct of the war. It is not enough to leave the matter to the good sense of the German nation, or merely to say that in view of what has happened there will never be another war in which such crimes can be perpetrated again. These arguments were employed before the war, and are known to have been valueless. They have gained no weight during the course of the war, for the Germans have passed from the horrors of Belgium to the murder of non-combatants at sea, and the massacre of hapless Armenians. It is asking too much, therefore, of people who feel keenly for the future welfare of this country, and of humanity in general, to expect them to be content merely with pious hopes that these crimes will never be committed again. They are the crimes, not of individuals, but of a nation and of the system which that nation represents. Until the system has been destroyed root and branch, and until the nation has been brought to view its former attitude of mind in the light in which it is seen by others, there can be no security that the world will not once more be subjected to the terrible ordeal associated with the years 1914, 1915, and 1916. Hatred on the scale of which Germany has been the exponent is only possible with extreme vindictiveness, and for many years after the present war the ruling passion of the nation and of individual Germans will be to wreak vengeance on their foes, or at least on the foe they hold to be mainly responsible for their defeat. To parry this vindictiveness it becomes necessary to take out of Germany's hands the weapons with which she can work to gratify it. It is some such thought that actuates those who would continue to wage war on German trade, even after peace has been declared. They have seen how

in the past Germany has exploited her resources and built up her strong economic position, solely with the object of enforcing her political domination upon the world. If she is suffered to repeat the process before a change has been wrought in her disposition, Europe, so they argue, will certainly be laying up for herself a further heritage of trouble.

Does this line of argument clash with the doctrines of Christianity? Is it not possible that those who feel compelled to demonstrate their love for their enemies have failed to appreciate the danger of condoning, and even encouraging, crime in being too anxious to show what they consider Christian forgiveness towards the perpetrator? Our attitude towards individual Germans does not need to be influenced in any way by the political considerations that call for the curtailment of every means by which Germany may recover too quickly a dominant position among the Great Powers. When German preachers of high repute can say, as Pastor Fritz Philippi, of Berlin, is reported (by the Rev. William Burgess, in the *Methodist Times*) to have said from his Protestant pulpit, that "on Germany is laid the Divine command to bring about the destruction of those who are the personification of evil"; that it is her duty "to crucify humanity; the duty of German soldiers, therefore, is to strike without mercy; they must kill, burn, and destroy; any half measures would be wicked," can there be the least doubt that the Allied Powers should one and all be on their guard lest they scotch the serpent of militarism without killing it? The sermon quoted is not the isolated raving of an anomaly among German pastors. From the same source we learn of other instances, among them that Pastor Zoebel, speaking in the great Lutheran Church in Leipzig, said:—"It is this deep consciousness of our mission that permits us to congratulate ourselves, and rest content with a heart full of gratitude, when our guns beat down the children of Satan, and when our marvellous submarines—instruments to execute the Divine vengeance—send to the bottom of the sea thousands of the non-elect." Teaching of this kind, as Mr. Burgess remarks, is saddening in the extreme. The recital is not likely to inflame passions in our own country, but it may well give pause to those who in their anxiety to end the war are apt to be blind to the dangers of leaving the struggle to be fought out again a few years or decades hence, with the same loss, suffering, and frightfulness.

If the distinction that ought to be drawn between the offence and the offender could always be observed, there would be less misunderstanding among the well-meaning sections of every community. It is possible for the parts now filled by the Germans and the British in this war to be reproduced *mutatis mutandis* in the sphere of domestic politics. We see the doctrine of hatred preached and practised not against actual offences or shortcomings, but against the individuals who are held to be standing in the way of the attainment of certain aims or personal ambitions. On the other hand, however friendly the feelings between individuals, there need be no dallying with any school of thought which, whether it adopts the outward form of the Prussian military system, or of the German Lutheran pastor, entails lawlessness or the lowering of political ideals.

In the New Year's Honours List it was a source of no little gratification to members of the N.L.O.W.S. to find that the King had been pleased to appoint Lord Curzon a Knight of the Order of the Garter.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN HOSPITAL.

Since reference was last made in these pages to the scheme for sending out a Hospital to Russia, the unit has been transferred to Petrograd. A letter from a member of the staff, written in the latter half of December, reported that, although the personnel had arrived in the middle of November, their stores were still on the way. The ship conveying these had been caught by a storm soon after she sailed, and was forced to put into port for repairs. Up to the time when the letter was despatched no official news appeared to have been received concerning the ship's further movements. In the meantime the Palace of Dimitri Pavlovitch was being made ready for the Hospital, the valuable walls and paintings being protected by match-boarding.

In the following letter the correspondent gives an account of the journey to Archangel:—

The fortnight's voyage was not productive of any notable incidents. On the second evening at sea there was a beautiful display of Aurora borealis. Once a large Arctic owl perched on the rigging. It is a large bird, with beautifully marked brown speckled wings, measuring at least four feet across. The owl stayed with us for many hours, but disappeared when we got near land. The mouth of the Dvina was reached in the afternoon, and we anchored for the night, in order to start up the river in the early morning. By eleven o'clock we were pushing our way slowly up a narrow path of broken ice.

The river banks on each side are lined with pine forests, and there are numerous little settlements around gigantic saw mills. It was wonderful to see piles and piles of logs stretching in uninterrupted lines for miles along each bank, and our Canadian sister declared that it made her quite homesick. Every here and there plank bridges had been thrown across our channel, and picturesque groups of peasants assembled round the hut and fire of the man in charge of them, waiting for us to pass and the planks to be replaced. Some were dragging rude sleighs, laden with their purchases, and others were driving their graceful but neglected-looking little horses. As we rounded the bends of the river the ships behind us seemed to be advancing over a field of ice, for not a drop of water was visible anywhere, except for a few yards just behind our propeller; then the ice closed up again. We anchored off the Archangel Dock just before mid-day on November 18th, and though on the whole we had made a satisfactory voyage, I think the captain and his passengers were equally relieved that it was safely over. The Customs officials were most obliging, and got all the formalities over so quickly that we were able to land in the afternoon. An officer who had been sent to receive us conducted us into the town, and showed us the Troitzki Cathedral, which is over 200 years old. The chief priest is an old man of some culture, and he asked us to return the next morning and see the church properly. It has two storeys, the upper one being used during the summer months, and the lower one in winter because it can be heated. The summer church has curiously painted walls, and in it is preserved a large wooden cross carved by Peter the Great, as a sign of gratitude when he was providentially saved from drowning while on a voyage in the White Sea. Both churches contain beautifully-worked silver ikons.

There are several hospitals in Archangel, and these we visited in large parties, and in every case had a remark-

ably warm reception. Some of the men had valaleikas, and these played while others danced to us, and wonderful dancers many of them were. They would have done credit to a ballet. Finally, they sang us their National Anthem, and in their deep-toned voices and strange harmonies it was a revelation to most of our party. The version that we sing is neither so fine nor so characteristic as theirs.

On the morning of the 21st I went with two others to see the log house which Peter the Great built for himself in Archangel, and where he had his famous smithy. It has been carefully preserved, and a brick house built outside of it. The rooms are small, and the bedroom tiny, but it is a picturesque little house from the outside, and a very interesting relic. On leaving we asked the peasant-woman who was in charge whether she would let us see her own little cottage, and she and her husband welcomed us in most cordially. The cottage consisted of a tiny entrance-way, full of stores—a sack of flour, etc.—and one living-room, in which a large proportion of the space was occupied by the stove. The temperature must have been about 75 degrees, but the air was not really stuffy, as it often is. A samovar was boiling gaily on the floor, and we were immediately invited to drink tea with them. It was impossible to refuse, though they were obviously very poor, and indeed the woman told me that they lived on 20 roubles a month, or about £2 at the normal rate of exchange. They were much hurt when we wished to drink our tea without sugar—they could provide neither milk nor lemon—and the little man went round and put large pieces into our glasses. They had no children, but a letter lay on the table from their godson at the front. Neither of them, alas, could read, so one of us offered to try. It was a difficult proposition, for our knowledge of Russian was imperfect, and the writing and spelling were not without reproach. The greater part of the letter, however, was taken up with the formal greetings of a dutiful godson to his respected godparents, and when we stuck they could prompt us, greatly to their own amusement and delight. The only "news" in the letter was that the artillery (his regiment) had been having a busy time and getting the best of it, and he was alive and well; but it was nice to see how conscientiously and heartily he had laboured through all the formal greetings.

In the afternoon, after a good deal of delay and trouble over the luggage, we got away in a Canadian ice-breaker, which ploughed its way across the frozen harbour to the point on which the station stands. It was fine to see the powerful bows crashing through the ice, and pushing it aside. We reached Petrograd on Wednesday morning at five a.m., but even at that early hour Lady Sybil Grey, Dr. Fleming, and several Russian officials were there to greet us, and we were grateful indeed to them for all the preparations they had made to receive us. We were packed with our luggage into Red Cross motors, which bounded away over the rough snowy streets at the most alarming speed, and deposited us at the Smolny Convent, where we were to stay till our own Home was ready. The Russian Sisters had been expecting us for nearly 24 hours. They were all up waiting, and had tea ready for us in a few minutes. They were extremely kind. Many of them were just home on short leave after hard work at the front.

On Saturday we removed to our Home, which is on the first floor of a large Commercial Club. The rooms are large and high, and the cubicles which are being pre-

pared for us promise to be very cosy. At present we are just camping in them, surrounded by paint and shavings, but we get along famously, nevertheless.

J. C.

HOP-PICKING IN WORCESTERSHIRE.

MISS C. M. CODRINGTON.

[We are indebted to the well-known Secretary and Organiser of the Bath Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. for the following brief account of an experiment which may lead to further work by ladies in the hop and fruit gardens of England.]

My experience was an interesting one. I wish it were possible in a short space to give a full account of our life. It lasted for a month only. We had signed on for five weeks, but the hot weather expedited matters, and the hops were safely housed in the kilns a week earlier than usual. Like so many others I had been anxious to do my bit, and I joined the camp of 60 gentlewomen who were determined to make up for the shortage of men in the district. Camp life is necessarily somewhat rough, and as ours was in a remote district, with one lady volunteer cook only, we had perforce to leave home comforts behind, as we began the day with breakfast at six o'clock, to the fields at nine, some of us had a long way to walk, work until 10.30, then a hasty sandwich. Tea was provided in a tent, work until 5.30 or 6 p.m., back to supper at about seven o'clock. The life was a strenuous one, but no one feared a little fatigue, and we were amply rewarded and assured of the success of our undertaking by the fact that many of us were asked by fruit farmers to return and help them in the spring; they are already looking ahead for labour on their land. We were well looked after by the lady nurse in charge of the camp, a most competent organiser. The rules were strict, and all had to conform to them. The country round was beautiful, and we experienced the greatest kindness from neighbours who learned of our effort, and from the ordinary hop-pickers, who were curious to see how we should acquit ourselves of our job.

We gave two entertainments—one to the men on the estate, the other to 450 hop-pickers. Both entertainments opened with supper, and it was real hard work to run these successfully. We left our fields of labour in October, and had a grand send-off from our fellow hop-pickers, who cheered us along the lanes, and begged us to come again another year.

The League has learned with regret of the death of Lady Bidulph of Ledbury, one of the first members of the Executive Committee, and at the time of her death President of the Herefordshire Branch. In an appreciation in *The Times* "One Who Knew Her Well" wrote:—"She had unusual intellectual powers, marked interest in political and national affairs, and a personality which made itself felt in any company. She was an admirable administrator, and her friends were sometimes tempted to think that the practical abilities which would have ensured success in any career open to a man were wasted on a woman. But those who surrounded her or who had any claim upon her affections will prefer to dwell upon her more womanly characteristics, her eager interest in others, and her loyalty and warm-heartedness, the memory of which they will cherish to their dying day."

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

In *Woman in Modern Industry* *we have a deeply interesting study of the history of women's work, her entry into the competitive labour market, and her movement towards organisation. Miss Hutchins' writings upon industrial women are so well known that any new volume from her pen should be welcome to all concerned. It is noticeable that we find her in disagreement with the ladies who consider that the burden of working women was introduced by the factory system, and that in earlier ages feminine pursuits were of a gentle pastoral nature from which grasping man ousted his long-suffering partner. Miss Hutchins regards her labouring sisters as working their way upwards from a "more servile to a relatively civilised state," and considers upon the whole that women have profited by the factory system, the decay of housework, and the growth of capital.

Extremely interesting chapters upon Women's Trades Unions, the Factory Acts, and the effects of the present war upon the employment of women, are included in this handbook. Not least remarkable is the description of Women's Unions in Germany, which, we are informed, was written before the outbreak of hostilities. A close connection between the Social Democratic Party and Trades Unionism in that country is pointed out, and a table is given showing the numbers of women in Unions there in 1913.

Another noticeable reference is made to the disastrous results upon wages of the relief work given under the Poor Law in 1701, when the Authorities had to give out work to the unemployed, an unsound principle which unfortunately did not cease with the 18th or 19th century.

The essential differences between the two sexes as industrial workers are alluded to again and again by Miss Hutchins. That marriage makes the woman less permanent, and therefore less valuable in the labour market, that her work is often not so good, that her physical strength cannot be compared with that of a man, and that she is less willing to undergo long training; these and a hundred points are in turn mentioned, as is also the fact that men have constantly assisted women to organise and have fought battles with employers on behalf of their sisters. Miss Hutchins' usual acuteness fails her when discussing the question of equal chances in the industrial field. She remarks quite truly that a woman supporting a mother or brothers and sisters is entitled to as much sympathy as a man upon whom a wife or children may be dependent. But when she goes on to say that the charge upon the man is voluntary, for he deliberately took it upon himself by marriage, whereas the woman "could not help her responsibilities," she appears to confuse the various meanings of the word "responsibility." The woman and the man are not in the same legal position as regards dependents. Adverse criticism of so useful a book is ungenerous, but one cannot but regret two instances in which Miss Hutchins seems to lose her usual fairness in discussion. More than once she mentions a statement, that the Labour Commission of 1891 did not intend to hear evidence from women witnesses, and only admitted such evidence after urgent representation on the part of Mrs. Hicks and Miss James. In the absence of any

* *Woman in Modern Industry*. By Miss B. L. Hutchins. London. G. Bell and Co.

definite authority for such an opinion, one is unprepared to accept it. Several years previously women had been asked to give evidence before a Government Committee upon Labour, the House of Lords Commission on Sweating, and there seems no valid reason to suppose that the Labour Commission meant to depart from the precedent thus set. The second unsubstantial rumour to which Miss Hutchins gives publicity is that the recent Board of Trade's Appeal to Women to register for War Service owes its origin to an agitation of the Farmers' Union, whose members hoped to get cheap labour on the land. The repetition of such unauthorised suggestions is unworthy of so good a writer as Miss Hutchins.

In her final chapter we find a brief discussion of the effects of the war upon women's employment, with wisely expressed warnings against drawing premature conclusions, and the likelihood of less demand for women's work when peace is declared. The book should prove a most valuable and useful addition to the library of those interested in the social and industrial problems of women in industry.

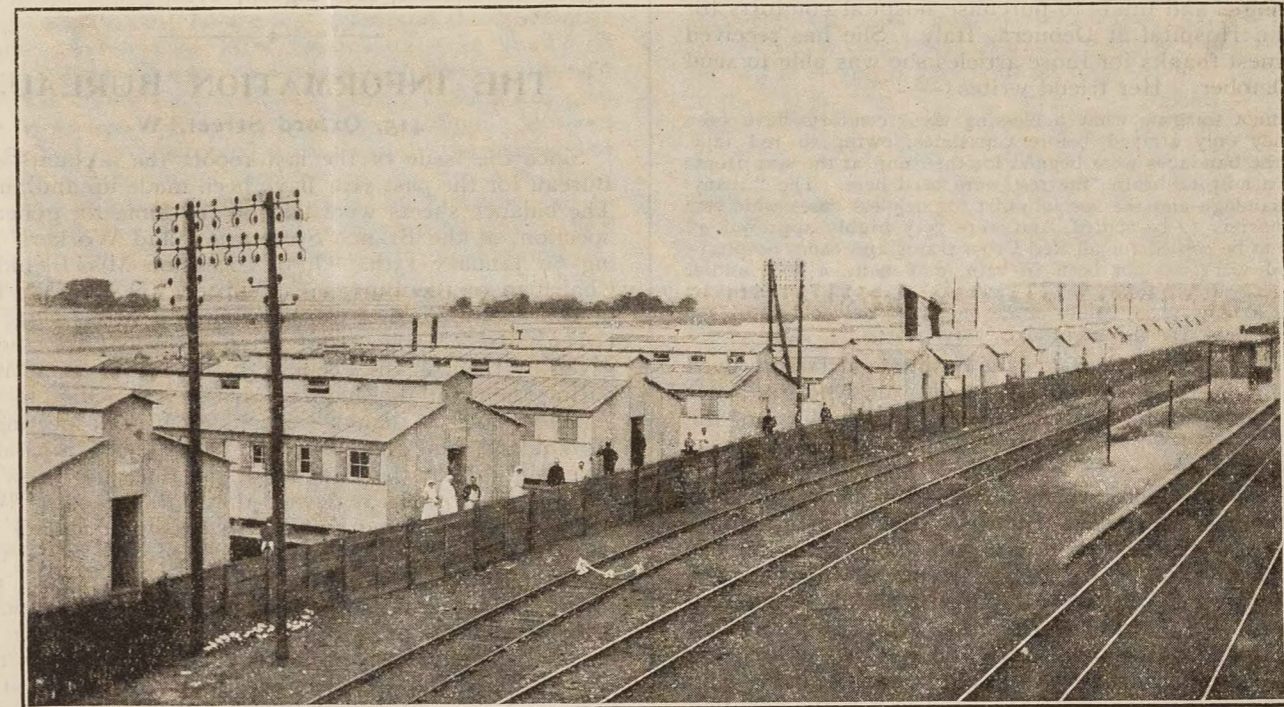
G. P.

MISS DORMER MAUNDER'S HOSPITAL WORK.

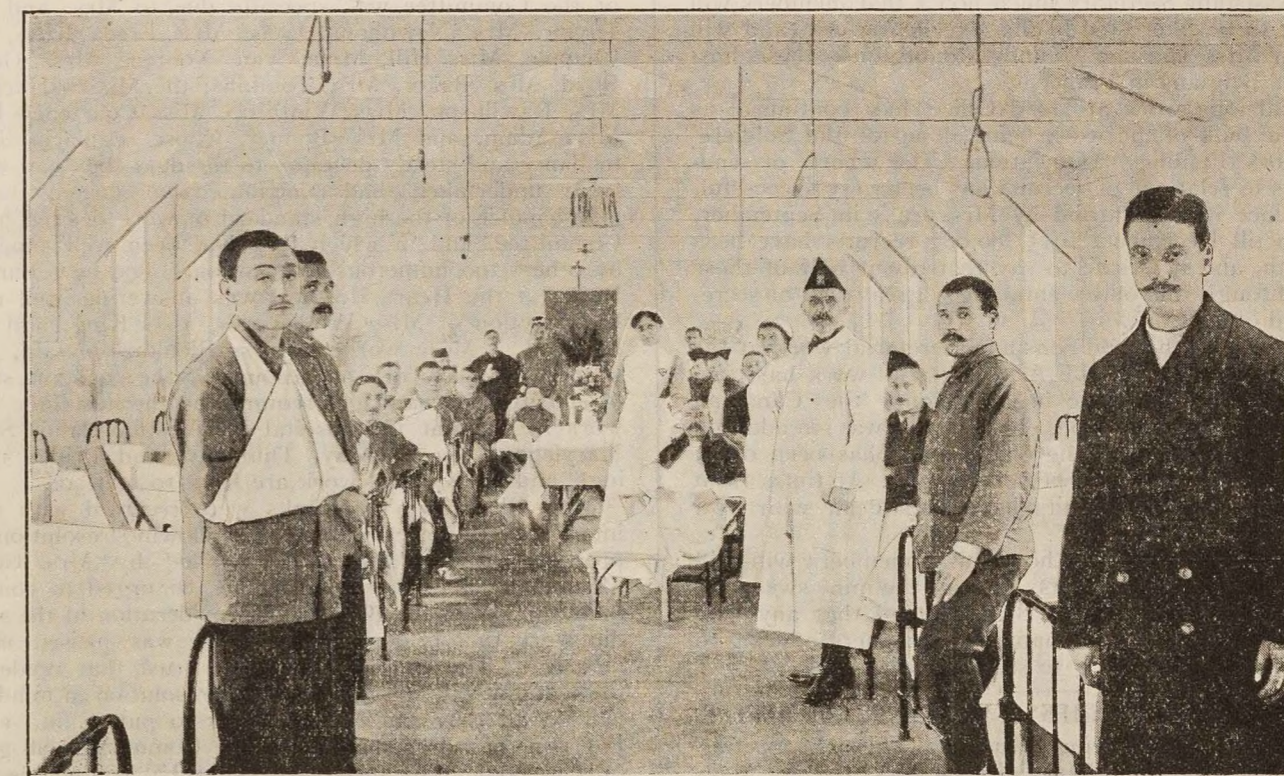
By A. MACONACHIE.

I have been asked, as Hon. Treasurer of the British Fund in support of Miss Dormer Maunder's hospital work for the Belgian soldiers, to write a few words to accompany the photographs of her hospital at Bourbourg, appearing on the opposite page. I do it willingly, as I think that those readers of the REVIEW who remember Miss Dormer Maunder as a zealous and able comrade in those distant days when the country rang with the Suffrage controversy, will have pleasure in hearing again of an old friend, while all our readers will be interested to see something of the scene of her present labours and triumphs for the suffering soldiers of our gallant little Ally, who saved Paris and Calais.

Recent numbers of the REVIEW have already chronicled so much of what Miss Maunder has achieved, that it is not necessary to do more than recall it in outline. Her admirable work at Ostend, nipped (in the blossom) by the German invasion; at Rouen, where French and Belgian authorities vied with each other in doing her honour; at Bourbourg, where she has established another eminently successful hospital, and has been earnestly requested by the Belgian military to organise a fourth in the vicinity, are fresh in our recollection. Nor will it be forgotten that Miss Dormer Maunder is one whom the King who rules over her patients delighteth to honour, His Majesty having conferred on her "La Croix de Chevalier de l'Ordre de Leopold." Single-handed, by sheer weight of capacity and contagious enthusiasm, she has gathered around her an ever-growing body of supporters from Britain to New Zealand. Every one who sees her at work feels with a sure instinct that here is a woman bent exclusively on her self-imposed task, with one thought only, for the ideal she has before her, of helping the helpless from the field of battle. There is no waste—of words, of time, or of money. Every penny, every moment, is turned to the best possible account for the cause which to her is a holy cause. A woman, I should say, just of the type and fibre of Edith Cavell.



MISS DORMER MAUNDER'S HOSPITAL AT BOURBOURG. THE HOSPITAL COMPRISES 17 SHEDS.



INTERIOR OF ONE OF THE WARDS OF MISS DORMER MAUNDER'S HOSPITAL AT BOURBOURG.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

The Hon. Secretary wishes again to appeal to members for bandages and funds to purchase hospital comforts for an Italian Hospital at Deonera, Italy. She has received the warmest thanks for those articles she was able to send out in October. Her friend writes:—

You cannot imagine what a blessing these comforts have been here. They only arrived before Christmas, owing to red tape. Some of the bandages were begged for the camp at the war front; some for a hospital train; the rest were used here. The "many-tailed" bandage and the special shirt for helpless cases were sent to headquarters to be copied, and were very highly approved, of. They are to be copied for all Red Cross trains and camp hospitals. Your good work has not been in vain, and many a poor soldier will be able to lie undisturbed instead of being tortured by inevitable moving. . . . Many of the men had only old vests, not even nightshirts, for the hospital is very poor.

The Hon. Secretary can get the hospital shirts (approved pattern) made by a member of the League who gives her time, if funds can be forthcoming for the purchase of the material.

The Assistant Secretary wishes to thank most sincerely those members who sent comforts for airmen, mine-sweepers, etc., in answer to her appeal in the December issue of the REVIEW. As a consequence of this help she was able to send off several parcels, in all about 150 garments, just before Christmas. She has received grateful thanks from the Royal Flying Corps Aid Committee and the Mobilising Officer, R.N., at Grimsby, who much appreciate the gifts. She also had holly and two cakes sent her for the Hospital at Bourbourg, over which Miss Dormer Maunder presides with so much success, and has had a grateful card of thanks. Miss Maunder so much appreciates the help and sympathy which is given to her from this League.

The Assistant Secretary much hopes that members will continue to be interested in this excellent work, and will still help Miss Dormer Maunder to organise these hospitals for Belgians in France.

The patriotic work at Head Office has continued as usual, the bulk of the work being done for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. The scheme of sending cards to relations of recruits has been very successful. In all, since it was started by Mrs. Cass in September, 1914, up till December, 1915, 80,087 recruits have been dealt with, and it is safe to say that about half of these passed through this office, entailing a great deal of secretarial and other work.

In addition to this and constant secretarial work at the Head London Office, S.S.F.A., secretarial work has been done for various patriotic organisations, the Canadian Field Comforts Commission, etc. In this way, in addition to the ordinary work of the office, much has been done, and the staff have been kept very busy. At times from 300 to 400 cards to recruits have been dealt with in a day.

The Assistant Secretary hopes that members will still send her socks, gloves, shirts, etc., for the mine sweepers, airmen, and 3rd Batt. Rifle Brigade, and that any who wish will apply to her for names of prisoners of war, to whom they may be willing to send parcels.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES' & WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

These meetings are being resumed. The next meeting will take place (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., on Thursday, February 10th, at 11.30 a.m. This notice constitutes an

invitation to all who wish to attend the meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott. Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU.

415, Oxford Street, W.

Since the issue of the last report the accounts of the Bureau for the past year have been made up and audited. The balance sheets were laid on the table for general inspection, at the Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Meeting on January 13th. On this occasion Miss Blenkinsop, Chairman of the Bureau Committee, speaking on behalf of that body, paid a warm tribute to Miss Rigg, Miss Green, Miss Maples, and Miss Housden, for the help given by them in the keeping of the accounts and in preparing them for the auditor, Mr. George King, to whom a hearty vote of thanks was passed by the meeting, for his kindness and generosity in again placing his valuable time and skill at the disposal of the Bureau. Miss Blenkinsop then briefly reviewed the work of the Bureau during 1915, and the steadily increasing demands made on it by the various military hospitals which it had undertaken to supply with extra comforts and surgical necessities. In addition to these, the Bureau had received urgent applications for special articles from a fresh hospital. The working parties in connection with the Bureau are doing excellent work, notably those at Dulwich and Arneside, and those presided over by Mrs. Deane and Mrs. Percy MacMahon at Westminster, Miss Hastie in Arundel Gardens, Mrs. Crowther at Wimborne, and Mrs. Tillard at Huntingdon. The work sent up by all these parties was of high excellence.

With regard to the work at the Bureau, the gratitude of the Committee was specially due to Mrs. and Miss Taylor, Mrs. Newnham Davis, Miss Freda King, Mrs. Chapple, Miss Hill, Mme. van Nooren, Mrs. Gordon Boyd, Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Tomkins, the Misses Harrison, Mrs. Rawlinson, Miss Winthrop, Miss Courteney Boyd, Miss Adam, and Mrs. Bonner, whose regularity in attendance and steady devotion to the duty they had voluntarily undertaken had contributed so largely to the maintenance of the high standard of work desired by the Committee, and in which they had been well supported by others too numerous to mention. The new Bandage Room at the Heart Hospital was answering well under the direction of Miss Wadsworth, Miss King, and Miss Macleod. More workers, Miss Blenkinsop said, were needed for this work on account of the constant supply of sponges and bandages required by the hospitals. The workers meet at the hospital in Westmoreland Street, Marylebone, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday mornings, and the hours of work are from 10 to 1.30.

Miss Blenkinsop's remarks were received with much interest by the meeting, and the following resolution was proposed by Miss Pott and seconded by Mrs. George Macmillan:—"That the Branches be urged to continue their support of the Bureau, in consideration of the splendid work that is done there." It was passed unanimously. The Bureau Committee trust that readers of the REVIEW will not only bear this resolution in mind, but will do all they can to endeavour to put it into effect. Everyone can do something. The Committee will gratefully welcome assistance of any kind that will enable them to carry on and extend further the good work the Bureau is doing for the country.

NOTES FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Nothing illustrates better the absorption of the United States in the European War than the attitude towards the Suffrage question after the great defeats at the November elections. A few days after the results were known, a leading Suffrage Society uttered the following threat: "New York men have lost—lost their chance to give justice to women. They will not have another. Woman Suffrage will now be forced upon them by the passage of the Federal Amendment, and ratified by the New York State Legislature." In other words, the question was to be taken out of the hands of the electorate, and settled without reference to them by lobbying in the Legislature. In accordance with this threat the Suffragists set to work to prepare for the customary Suffrage Bill before Congress. What is known as the Susan B. Anthony Bill, providing for a Federal Amendment granting the vote to Women, subject to ratification by the States, has been introduced in one form or another at every session of Congress since 1869. In view of the fact that a large majority of the States are opposed to the measure, its introduction is clearly a waste of time, but as the Bill has been brought forward every year until now, the Suffragists see no reason to discontinue the practice. Their view, however, is not shared, as far as can be gathered, by the general public, and on every hand may be heard expressions of resentment that the Suffragists should be so impervious to all that is entailed by the struggle in Europe and its bearing on America, that they are prepared to carry their "Suffrage first" policy to the extreme limit.

Under the heading "The Wrong Time," the *New York Times*, of November 30th, makes the following editorial comments:—

Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, which at the last election opposed all the Democratic candidates for the House, whether Suffragists or not, on the theory that the party in power must be held responsible for the defeat of the woman suffrage constitutional amendment, defends that course in a statement from which it is enough to quote this curious opinion: "We believe that there is at present before the country no more important issue than the enfranchisement of women." This just as Congress is about to meet, and the vital matter of national preparedness, grave international questions, inescapable questions of revenue and commerce are to be discussed; when abroad and at home the thought and energy of Americans are engaged by problems of prime necessity and national well-being and self-preservation.

The sense of proportion of the Federal Suffragists is all askew. They injure their cause by seeking to foist upon Congress and the country a change now and for long impossible in the form of a Federal amendment. They injure Woman Suffrage, even in the several States where it is properly to be granted or withheld, by vociferation about a subject which in the press of ineluctable duties that spring from the war is for the moment secondary and even negligible.

It is no time for theatricals in Washington.

Statistics in regard to the Suffrage movement in America are always useful for reference. The eleven States that have adopted full Suffrage for Women within the last 46 years have an aggregate population of 8,189,469, and their combined majorities for Suffrage were 93,174. During the last three years eleven States, with an aggregate population of 38,209,953 (35 per cent. of the total population of the United States) have voted against Woman Suffrage, the total majority against being 977,891. During the year 1914-15, adverse action

on Woman Suffrage was taken in eighteen State Legislatures.

We have not received the complete figures for the elections of last November (the majorities for New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were 51,108, 133,447 and 55,686 respectively), but the statistics for the remainder of the eleven States were as follows:—

State.	Year.	For Suffrage.	Against Suffrage.	Majority Against.
Ohio	1912	249,420	336,875	87,455
Ohio	1914	335,390	518,295	182,905
Michigan ...	1912	247,375	248,135	760
Michigan ...	1913	168,738	264,882	96,144
Wisconsin...	1912	135,546	227,024	91,478
Nebraska ...	1914	90,738	100,842	10,104
Missouri ...	1914	182,257	322,463	140,206
N. Dakota...	1914	40,009	49,410	9,401
S. Dakota...	1914	39,605	51,519	11,914

In reply to a letter of congratulation from the Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., on the results of the elections in November last, Mrs. A. J. George, of the National Association, wrote:—

"Victory in Pennsylvania was no uncertain one. In New York and Massachusetts it was overwhelming. In my own State of Massachusetts there was the largest vote given against Woman Suffrage that was ever recorded on any measure, or for any candidate in the 125 years of voting in that State. In the College towns and in many communities where the standard of intelligence among the citizens is particularly high, there was a two to one vote against the measure. In communities where "no-licence" prevails, under local option laws, there was the same overwhelming sentiment against Woman Suffrage. Out of 353 cities and towns in the State there were only two which recorded a majority for Woman Suffrage; one of these towns gave a majority of one vote, and the other a majority of three votes. Even the Suffragists said the election was fair.

"Mrs. Catt, who has just been elected President of the National Suffrage Association, called upon the Suffragists of New York State, the week before her election, to take as their slogan, "Suffrage First," and to refuse to enter into any philanthropic, educational, or relief work until the women had won the vote. This action has cost the Suffragists many friends.

"Again thanking you for your courtesy in passing this compliment, and I do hope that the New Year will bring many rich returns to the men and women who are working in your organisation with the highest patriotic purpose."

On the same occasion Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association, wrote:—

"I can assure you that this past year has been a very strenuous one. I had but five days' vacation last summer, and practically gave up all my other interests for the sake of waging the campaign. We, of course, are most delighted with the results, not only here in New York, but also in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We feel that Woman Suffrage has received a staggering blow in the eastern part of our country, a blow from which it will not soon recover. The Suffragists are very much discouraged—more than they are willing to acknowledge."

A letter from Mrs. S. H. Guilford, of the Executive of the Pennsylvania Association, said:—

"We have just finished a most strenuous campaign, in which the Suffragists were badly defeated, thus bringing

the number of defeats in the past three years up to 37. But we cannot rest, as they are preparing new lines of activity, and began an attack on the National Congress on its opening last Monday, although we are assured they have not a shadow of a chance of any amendment to the National Constitution."

THE WORK OF EDUCATED WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE.

Apart from the temporary assistance which women can give to farmers and others on the lines indicated in an article appearing in this issue on hop-picking in Worcestershire, there is the larger question of the openings in agriculture for the permanent employment of women—particularly of educated women. In this connection the report of the inquiry conducted on behalf of the Women's Farm and Garden Union is of special interest. It has been published in full in the *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, and we reproduce below the summary appended to it. The report was written by Mrs. Roland Wilkins.

PREFACE.

This report is the outcome of an inquiry conducted on behalf of the Women's Farm and Garden Union, for the purpose of ascertaining what openings exist for educated women to take up some form of agricultural or horticultural work as a profession.

The information given in this report is based entirely on the accumulated evidence collected from a large number of those who have been engaged in the profession for years. Personal visits have been paid to 70 places where women are working holdings of their own; evidence has been received from several hundred women in salaried posts by circularising them with forms. An endeavour has been made to reproduce, without bias or prejudice, in a summarised form, the information and opinions given, and the statements made on many thorny points must, therefore, not be regarded as merely an expression of personal opinion. The report is confined strictly to the experiences of the past, and no attempt has been made to discuss any of the many new openings which the war may have created.

SUMMARY.

We have now considered what training exists in the various branches of horticulture and agriculture, and have briefly reviewed the prospects for subsequent employment.

In *Horticulture* we have found that until the outbreak of war the salaried posts were limited in number, and that the salaries, although often higher than those accorded to male gardeners of the working class, were low relatively to the expense of training, and did not admit of saving for illness or old age. Of those who have set up on their own account, a very few have struck out along new lines and done well. Putting these aside, practically no one is making an entire living without the aid of pupils; those who have started under proper conditions are supplementing small incomes and leading the outdoor life, which they prefer.

What has been said above applies also to *Farming* on a small scale. In normal times there are practically no salaried posts at a living wage for educated women in farming.

In *Dairy and Poultry Work*, while the training can be obtained at less expense, and for the lower posts in less time, the better paid posts are fewer in proportion, and require long experience. Those who wish to set up for themselves would probably find that training in dairy work alone would only enable them to run some form of retail business or a cheese factory (both of which involve business capacity, and cannot be classed as outdoor work), for dairy farming entails experience in agriculture as well as in dairy work proper. Poultry farming is carried on successfully by many women, but is a very risky occupation for anyone without proper experience.

Apart, however, from the commercial point of view, there are certain advantages in outdoor work to which a money value cannot be attached; and to many women the important point may be not so much whether gardening or farming pays, but whether an intelligent woman, coming into it from the outside with certain qualifications, and having had sufficient training, can hope to supplement a small income, or, alternatively, be able to live after having invested in it the few hundred pounds she possesses. The answer is that quite a number of women are doing this; they find the work congenial, though hard, and the life healthy. Those

who have not invested all their capital in the business, but retain a small private income, are not involved in an actual struggle for bare existence. They have their own homes, and live an independent life; they get many of the necessaries of life thrown in which in another existence on the same income would be regarded as luxuries, such as fresh air, fresh eggs, butter, vegetables, and milk, and possibly a pony to drive, and they can wear old clothes. The life is not monotonous to those who understand it, but full of change with the varying seasons and the different work they bring. A money value cannot be put on these things, but to women who prefer the country to town life, and to whom a rural career, even if attended by a reduction in income, would be preferable to more highly-paid but uncongenial work in town lodgings or private situations, the advantages are priceless.

Those, however, who are dependent on social intercourse must realise that they may be largely cut off from this. Also, if they have no liking for the life, it is drudgery, for there is very little leisure, and much hard, continuous work; there is nearly always Sunday work, and week-ending and holidays are only possible when substitutes can be obtained—and substitutes as often as not involve mishap.

How far these drawbacks can be overcome by co-operative colonies, where personal independence is at the same time assured, is still a matter of experiment.

It must also be remembered that the answer to the question whether women can make a living on the land depends to a considerable extent on what is to be regarded as a living. The profit that would keep a man and his wife, the wife doing the housework, would be quite insufficient to keep two educated women, if they are to live with any of the comforts they are accustomed to.

As regards salaried posts the war has caused a large number of employers to do their part in adapting conditions of work, in such matters as housing accommodation, provision of meals, etc., to the needs of women. It remains now with the women to make employers realise the difficulties of women workers who are doing work usually done by men of the working class, and the demands which they may reasonably make in view of their somewhat higher standard of life. It is for them also to overcome prejudices on the part of fellow workmen as well as employers. Tact and competence, now that the doors are open, will go far to obviate existing difficulties; while, on the other hand, unreasonableness and incompetence will do the profession an immense amount of harm.

A SUFFRAGIST REVIVAL.

Under the above heading the following report of a Suffragist meeting appeared in *The Times* of January 27th:—

Mrs. Tanner, at a meeting of the Women's Freedom League at Caxton Hall yesterday, said that before long there would be a revival of Suffragist activities. A great many of them were getting tired of doing nothing and seeing their organisations going to pieces. It was not good that women should keep quiet for too long at a time, and they did not want the old idea to get hold of the public that women should neither be seen nor heard.

Mrs. Despard said it was their part to stand firm, to present a solid phalanx to the world, and not to accept the gush and sentimental flattery poured on to them at the present time.

The speakers were not flattering either to their own society or to the United Suffragists, both of which organisations have repeatedly assured an indifferent public that they have no intention of discontinuing their Suffrage work during the war. Further, there is the W.S.P.U.—or at least there was. A daily notice of Mrs. Pankhurst's sayings and doings no longer appears in *The Times* (but then she is in America, or just outside it, according to the decision the immigration authorities of that country may arrive at), and she has not taken any other organ of the Press under her wing. But from the exiguous and expiring *Suffragette* (ex-Britannia, ex-The Suffragette—*excunt omnes*) it may be learned that the Suffragettes of the W.S.P.U. in solemn conclave met resolved that "we here present now proceed to devote ourselves to suffrage work." That was before Mrs. Despard's meeting, and the resolve was taken under the presidency of Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. Can it be that the sight of Mrs. Sanderson's name in the paper fired Mrs. Despard with a longing for some of her old triumphs, or are these different Suffragist meteors, which in the course of a brief flight have all in turn separated from the parent body and from one another and everything else, coming together again as a result of the cataclysm through which the world is passing? We cannot tell, but we shall know where to look for reports of their doings, unless, indeed, Mrs. Pankhurst returns to this country and all other news is crowded out.