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ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

1912.

No. 61.



NOVEMBER, 1913.

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THE
ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
KENSINGTON BRANCH OF THE N.L.O.W.S.
will be held on
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4th,
at the KENSINGTON TOWN HALL at 3 p.m.
LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, M.P., in the Chair.
Speakers { Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN
Mr. A. E. MITCHELL INNES, K.C.
Mrs. Colquhoun will speak on "Suffragism and Morality."

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No. 61.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

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THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POSITION.

The award in connection with the competition for the best statement of the Anti-Suffrage Position is unavoidably postponed until our December issue.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

NOVEMBER 3RD, MARLOW.—Debate. Miss Gladys Pott.
" 3RD, GLASGOW.—Coatbridge Junior Imperialist Association. Mrs. G. Solomon.
" 4TH, TADWORTH.—Public Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Greatbatch.
" 4TH, EDINBURGH.—Evening Meeting in Edinburgh Café. Address. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Tea. Music.
" 4TH, WORTHING.—Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A.
" 4TH, NORWOOD.—Enmore Road Debating Society. Miss Mabel Smith.
" 4TH, CAVERSHAM, READING.—Mrs. Stocks at West Memorial Institute Debate.
" 5TH, HASLINGDEN, LANCS.—Mr. A. Maconachie.
" 5TH, DERBY.—Debate, Albert Hall, 8 p.m. Miss Pott v. Mrs. F. T. Swanwick.
" 6TH, PADDINGTON.—Branch Meeting, 3, Westbourne Terrace, 11.30 a.m.
" 6TH, CHICHESTER.—Debate. Miss Gladys Pott v. Lady Selborne.
" 6TH, CUPAR.—Afternoon Meeting. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 7TH, LEICESTER.—Mrs. Harold Norris.
" 7TH, GLASGOW.—Govan Hill Liberal Association. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 10TH, BURNISLAND.—Evening Meeting. Provost, Kirke in the chair. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 11TH, TRAFFORD PARK.—Women's Liberal Association, 7.30. Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc.
" 11TH, BRIDGE OF WEIR.—Debate. Literary Association. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 11TH, STIRLING.—Afternoon Meeting, Lesser Albert Hall. The Hon. Mrs. Stirling of Keir in the chair. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.
" 12TH, SOUTHAMPTON.—Branch Annual Meeting. Miss Pott.

NOVEMBER 12TH, BATTERSEA.—Poyntz Street Mission Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wentworth Stanley.
" 12TH, DOLLAR.—Evening Meeting. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 12TH, EDINBURGH.—S.G.F.S. Mrs. Grogan.
" 13TH, LETCHWORTH.—Miss Mabel Smith.
" 13TH, AYR.—Evening Meeting, Town Hall. Chairman, R. A. Oswald, Esq. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.
" 13TH, EDINBURGH.—St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Assoc. Debate. St. Vincent Hall. Mrs. G. Solomon (A.S.) v. Miss Alice Low (S.).
" 13TH, EDINBURGH.—St. Cuthbert's Women's Guild, Leith. Mrs. Grogan.
" 14TH, LEVEN.—Evening Meeting, Masonic Hall. Mrs. G. Solomon.
" 17TH, GLASGOW.—Afternoon Meeting, Charing Cross Hall. Mrs. G. Solomon.
" 18TH, CUPAR.—Evening Meeting, Duncan Institute. Mrs. A. Colquhoun.
" 18TH, LARGS.—Meeting. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 18TH, PADDINGTON.—Branch Meeting, 3, Westbourne Terrace, 11.30 a.m. Miss Gladys Pott.
" 19TH, EDINBURGH.—Young Scots Society. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.
" 19TH, EDINBURGH.—St. Cuthbert's Women's Guild, Gorgie Branch. Lady Christison.
" 19TH, GLASGOW.—Unionist Democratic Assoc. Mrs. G. Solomon.
" 20TH, GLASGOW.—Wesleyan Methodist Literary Assoc. Debate. Mrs. G. Solomon.
" 20TH, ABINGDON.—North Berks. Branch Members' Meeting, Kingston House. Miss Gladys Pott.
" 21ST, EDINBURGH.—Meeting in Music Hall. Chairman, The Marquis of Linlithgow. Speakers: The Marchioness of Tullibardine, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Lord Glenconner, Mr. Godfrey P. Collins, M.P.
" 24TH, CROUCH END.—Christ Church Parish Room, 8 p.m. Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. G. H. Bower.
" 24TH, SPRING GROVE.—Miss Mabel Smith.
" 26TH, BIDEFORD.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
" 26TH, BERKHAMPTON.—Town Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun v. Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C.
" 27TH, EDINBURGH.—Central Guild Women's Co-operative Society. Mrs. Grogan.
" 28TH, MIDSOMER NORTON (BRISTOL). Debate. Miss Mabel Smith (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Mrs. Rackham.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

THOSE who were responsible for this year's Church Congress have no reason to be dissatisfied with the results of their efforts. There had been indications that interest was flagging in these annual congresses, and it had been proposed that they should be made triennial. After the Southampton meeting it is probable that little will be heard for some time to come of this suggestion. The Bishop of Winchester decided to make the proceedings of the Congress under his charge more attractive to the general public by catering for the sensation of the moment. Under the reference of "The Kingdom of God and the Sexes," the Congress devoted a day to the women's movement in its various aspects. Bishop Talbot had contrived to attract considerable attention to his programme by advertising the fact that he would not expect his speakers to avoid the subject of woman suffrage. It was a bold bid for the popularizing of the proceedings, and the Bishop of Winchester went further in restricting his speakers practically to Suffragists. The wisdom of his action was challenged, but Bishop Talbot held his ground. Only when one of his original choice of speakers failed him did he so far admit the justice of the criticism as to appoint in her place an Anti-Suffragist. There can be little doubt that Miss L. H. M. Soulsby justified her selection. Her lively sense of humour, coupled with her healthy and restful views on "such a complicated business as human life," was a welcome interlude in the sequence of demands for this and that. For the rest, the Congress came and went without striking incident. The marked preference given to Suffragist speakers over Anti-Suffragists had caused some disappointment, which perhaps gave rise to the belief that a stormy discussion might take place. There was no real ground for the belief, for the reason that the Suffragists were well satisfied and Anti-Suffragists are not given to making disturbances. Such disturbances as there were were made by Suffragists at our own meeting in the Shaftesbury Hall, and again at the close of the Congress, when the President's remarks were interrupted and the proceedings were brought to an abrupt conclusion. The conduct of the Suffragists towards their patron threw into still stronger relief the partiality which had characterized the management of the gathering.

From this aspect of the Congress we may turn to a consideration of the actual discussion of the woman's question. Of the general merit of the papers read there can be no doubt; but many of those present must have felt that the speakers left the problem where they found it. Even the Dean of Manchester, who opened the discussion with a paper on "The Ideals of Manhood and Womanhood," halted between two opinions. He was careful to point out that human life would become strangely monotonous and unattractive if men and women, instead of being complementary each to the other, should become as nearly as possible alike. The religion of Jesus Christ, he said, treated womanhood as the weaker sex, and because of its weakness claimed for it the greater honour and respect. If it refrained from giving women the same rights as men, it spontaneously accorded them privileges. Could there then be deeper folly, continued Bishop Weldon, than to destroy the mutual sympathy of the sexes by a fight for superiority or equality, a fight in which, so far as it was decided by physical strength, women must in the end come off second best? As though to combat this view, he said that the chivalry of man

to woman was a lesson still but half learnt, and to this circumstance he attributed the delay in passing the "White Slave Act," and the fact that such a measure was needed. "If ever it was said in his hearing that the custody of women's interests was safe in men's hands, he answered that alas! was not the teaching of history; it was disproved by the legislative inequalities which had too long determined the relation of the sexes, both in the sphere of politics and in the sphere of morals." Bishop Weldon left his subject in the air. He deprecated "equality" for the sexes, but denounced "legislative inequalities." His audience had to decide for itself whether the parliamentary vote was or was not essential for the realization of the Dean of Manchester's ideals of womanhood. Mrs. Paget, the wife of the Bishop of Stepney, voiced a demand for "self-expression." Women were different from men. They had a different and necessary contribution to make to the general good, and they held that it should not be indirect but direct. The same demand found an echo with Miss Ruth Rouse, who, coupled with self-expression the desire for personal service, but was at pains to dissociate her views from those of the extreme wing of feminism. Miss Constance Smith was of opinion that the greater co-operation of women with men in public service would raise the tone of public life, and in closing the discussion the Bishop of Winchester asked whether we could complain, if women demanded freedom to find out the capacity of the manliness in them.

Brief extracts cannot do justice to any of the papers, but the passages quoted serve to explain our contention that all the speakers seemed to leave the subject much as they found it. To state that there is a "woman question" to-day, and that there are definite underlying causes for some of the present unrest is to state a truism. But to urge that, because a number of women feel themselves driven out of their own sphere, they must be found accommodation in man's sphere, sharing his rights, privileges, and emoluments, is not necessarily a sound or even feasible policy. The more natural course to adopt, at least at first, would be to improve conditions in woman's sphere with a view to preventing or checking the exodus and utilizing to the full those who have left it. Suffragists, however, have obscured the issue, and are helping to thwart the work of improvement that is all the time taking place in woman's sphere as the result of the increasing enlightenment of the nation. It is begging the question to contend, as Bishop Weldon contended, that chivalry is but half learnt because certain reforms are overdue. All reforms are always overdue—a hundred or a thousand years overdue, according to the length of time that the conditions to be reformed have been in existence—and if chivalry begets reforms, chivalry must always be half learnt. But we have no more cause to blame the generations that failed to appreciate the need of the reforms that we are introducing than to blame ourselves for not carrying through reforms of the need of which we are not conscious to-day. In a letter to *The Times* the Bishop of Winchester, writing in the light of the experience of the Church Congress, comes nearer than any of his fellow-Suffragists at the Congress to the root of the whole question. He appeals for a truce on the "woman's movement" in order that there should be *inter alia* "a strenuous consideration of the question whether or not for the purpose of that movement the franchise is indispensable or material." It has been taken too readily for granted by Suffragists that the franchise is indispen-

sable, and on that foundation they have attempted to build up the connection between the parliamentary vote and the unrest among women. For his "Truce of God" Bishop Talbot advocates the promise of a referendum on the Suffrage question. There is as little doubt that Suffragists could have had one for the asking at any time within the last few years, as there is that they will refuse the offer now. Nor are they likely to accept the suggestion—far more practical for the purpose of securing the reforms they claim to desire—that any reform which by referendum or otherwise they can show to be desired by a large section of the adult women of the country should be guaranteed the favourable consideration of Parliament. It is to man's kingdom—nothing more nor less—to which the Suffragists aspire.

NOTES AND NEWS.

"Equal Pay."

IN the interests of women who earn their own living, we would bring to the serious notice of all Suffragists the following significant remarks made by the Postmaster-General on his return from a tour in Canada and the United States. Mr. H. L. Samuel, speaking to a correspondent, who reports his words in *The Times* of October 28th, said:—

"It was interesting also to notice the effect of the policy which was adopted both in Canada and in the United States some years ago of paying the same wages to women as to men. The result practically has been that no more women have been taken into the service—in fact the Post Office in Canada is almost closed as an avenue for the employment of women, and in the United States it is open to them only to a very moderate extent."

"Dancing Dervishes."

"Who can carry on an argument with dancing Dervishes?" The Dean of Durham's question at the Anti-Suffrage meeting held at Southampton during the Church Congress, was altogether impersonal, although the conduct of some of the audience might have made the allusion seem apt. He was touching on a difficulty that presents itself to most Anti-Suffragists in combatting in private life the Suffrage movement—the inability of Suffragists to argue their case dispassionately. In public the same weakness is apparent in the ease with which Suffragist speakers and writers lapse into invective in the place of argument. With some Suffragists it takes the form, now common to leaflet and platform, of the epigram: "All Anti-Suffragists may not be bad, but all bad people are Anti-Suffragists." In the hands of the Church League for Woman Suffrage the same doctrine appears in a more sanctimonious garb: "It is rapidly becoming impossible for women to believe in the spiritual insight, not to say the Christian piety, of a priest who is deaf to the demands of their sex." (Extract from the October issue of the *Church League Monthly*.) Miss Abadam, who speaks on the platform of various Suffrage societies, including Church organisations, and who, under the auspices of the Conservative and Unionist Woman's Franchise Association, was the author of the proposal that Suffrage hostesses should refuse to shake hands with Anti-Suffragists, indulges in the same practice. She is reported to have told an Irish audience recently that "All the really great men

were on the side of the women's movement; those against them were the smaller sort." No doubt the statement was flattering to Miss Abadam's two male supporters who proposed and seconded a vote of thanks to her; but their self-complacency might have been shaken if they had known that this same lady had informed a Hampstead audience less than a year ago that there was only one honest man in public life, and that his name was George Lansbury. Neither Miss Abadam nor the Church League for Women's Suffrage appears to find anything incongruous in their remarks. A whole host of Church dignitaries are told that they lack Christian piety, because they happen to doubt whether the immediate addition to an already unenlightened electorate of a possibly greater number of persons, admittedly without political experience, would necessarily be of advantage to the State. Miss Abadam is not likely to be deliberately unjust to "the really great men on the side of the women's movement," therefore we may assume that before she spoke at Hampstead last year she had investigated their characters, and found them all dishonest, with, of course, the one exception of George Lansbury. Little wonder when such are the "arguments" of the protagonists of the Suffrage movement, that the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies should wake up after nearly fifty years' existence to appreciate the need of a "vast educational propaganda."

The Real Issue.

IN an article entitled "The Monster," in the current number of the *Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*, Miss S. Macnaughtan, whose name seems unfamiliar to her fellow-Suffragists, puts forward unfamiliar proposals on the subject of Woman Suffrage. "It is always interesting," she writes, "to hear the views of our opponents; but more will be gained if we quit controversy and try to find some path where we can walk together. We believe the path will best be found by avoiding anything like invective, by putting away those side-issues which are non-essential, and by trying to get at the real facts of the case." Anti-Suffragists will respond readily to Miss Macnaughtan's invitation. "The real facts of the case" are admitted. A certain number of people wish women to be given the parliamentary vote, others do not wish it. The grant of the vote is in the keeping of the present electorate, and there can be no question of anyone to whom the vote has not been expressly granted having a "right" to it. As the vote exists not for the gratification of individuals, but as an instrument of government for the good of the State, we come to the real issue between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists:—Can women point to any benefit to be conferred upon the State by the grant of Woman Suffrage (which cannot be attained without it) in order that there may be justification for over-ruling the objections of those who are opposed to the measure? The answer will have to specify one important reform which women overwhelmingly favour, and men either oppose or are indifferent to—a reform which no male electorate has been known to introduce in any country. Moreover, if that reform cannot reasonably be made the issue at a general election, the answer should point out how the exercise of the vote will bring about the reform. Naturally the Suffragist position would be greatly strengthened, if it could also be shown that the majority or even a large proportion of women have long demanded such a reform, but had been denied it. If Miss

Macnaughtan and her fellow-Suffragists will confine themselves to this aspect of the case, they need trouble about neither "side issues" nor "invective."

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"The Practical Use of the Vote."

IN the October number of the *Free Church Suffrage Times*, Miss Anna Martin makes a bold attempt to deal with the weakest of the many weak spots in the Suffragists' armour. Shrewder advocates of Women Suffrage, carefully avoiding any discussion on the practical use of the vote, have contented themselves with vague generalities about "coping with the mischief at its source by destroying its cause." Miss Martin, however, is of opinion that Suffragists have a good case, and proceeds to make it. In support of the immoral doctrine that it is the prime function of the possessor of a vote "to protect his economic, religious, or other interests," she quotes two typical incidents:—A lighterman who refuses to vote for Mr. A. unless he agrees to uphold the "liberties of the river," and a Catholic who will not vote "blue," because he wants his children to learn their religion in their school. Quite apart from the standard of political morality that is thus held up as the ideal by Miss Martin, what bearing have these incidents on the question of Woman Suffrage? No doubt the lighterman voted for Mr. B., and was satisfied that by so doing he had protected his economic interests; but it is most probable that his particular interests were neither threatened nor affected by the result of the election. If he had a wife or a mother or a sister dependent upon him, it is certain that their interests were equally well protected by his vote for Mr. B.; whereas if Mr. A., having heard that Mr. B. had promised to protect the liberties of the river, undertook to recommend a bonus for lightermen's families, the situation in our lighterman's constituency, as well as in his home, might have been complicated. The Catholic with children is even a worse example, because clearly, if his wife was of the same way of thinking, her interests were amply protected by her husband's vote; whereas if she were a Non-conformist, and were given a vote, then, if happiness were to be maintained in that home, both husband and wife would have to agree to refrain from voting, and the Suffragist argument falls to the ground. Miss Martin's whole line of argument goes to prove that votes in the hands of women (as the Suffragists intend them to be used) will lower still further the standard of political morality. "I do not believe," Mr. A. J. Balfour once said, "in the advantage to the community of any man being introduced into the House of Commons as the representative of an interest." This is surely a higher ideal than that advanced by Suffragists in general. The ideal may not always be attained in practice, but it is better to aim at it than to accept with Miss Anna Martin the lowest of all standards.

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NOR is Miss Martin happier when she deals with facts. "The four and a half millions of women who have to struggle for bread in the open labour market must not be forgotten. No mighty natural forces operate there to prevent the weak paying the penalty of their weakness." Half of these are domestic servants, whose lives and wages are controlled almost entirely by women. Are mistresses and their servants to be given a vote to elect

men to Parliament, say, on the merits of Home Rule for Ireland or Tariff Reform, in order to enable the servants to receive higher wages from their mistresses? "The wages of most women are too low . . . to permit of their forming unions," adds Miss Martin. Sweated women fortunately form only a small proportion of women workers, probably not ten per cent. Women in better circumstances do form unions, while domestic servants, without any union, have secured a marked advance in wages, by the "mighty natural forces" which Miss Martin overlooks, namely, supply and demand. Again, Miss Martin hazards the assertion that, in regard to sweating and Wages Boards, "any satisfactory remedy is impossible as long as women are destitute of political influence." The statement is not borne out by the evidence of those who devote their lives to the cause of women workers, while the least thought will reveal its fatuous nature, for men also are sweated, and the Wages Boards have been evolved to deal with both male and female sweated workers.

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A Councillor's Conscience.

IT is impossible to read the correspondence published in the *Manchester City News*, between Sir William Cobbett and Miss Margaret Ashton, a member of the Manchester Town Council, without feelings of dismay at the effect of the Suffrage agitation on some women. In a speech to women Liberals at Castleford, on September 27th, Miss Ashton stated, "As an instance of how domestic affairs are mismanaged by men, when she visited the Royal Infirmary on one occasion she found that cotton blankets were being used." She was challenged in a letter by the Chairman of the Infirmary to state when she had seen cotton blankets at the Royal Infirmary, and replied that it was "a good many years ago now," when "she went over the old Infirmary with the late Mrs. James Worthington," and that she had spoken to our old friend, Dr. Leech, of finding cotton blankets there. To this letter the Chairman replies:—"The impression produced by your statement was that cotton blankets had recently been used at the Infirmary, whereas Dr. Leech died on July 2nd, 1900. You must have been mistaken on the occasion of the visit to which you refer, for I am able to state, after most careful inquiry, that cotton blankets have never been used at the Infirmary." Again Miss Ashton, speaking at the Town Hall, Stoke, on October 15th, is reported in the *Staffordshire Sentinel* of the next day to have spoken as follows:—"Then with regard to the children, who were the chief asset of the nation, had they diminished the infantile mortality appreciably during the last fifty years? The babies were dying at the same rate as years and years ago. Out of every 1,000 born no fewer than 150 died before they were a year old." In order that there might be no misunderstanding, Miss Ashton repeated the figure 150 four times in the course of her speech. It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that the infant mortality rate in 1912 was 95, and that a rate of 150 per thousand has not approached since 1901. From these two instances of Miss Ashton's veracity a perfectly fair idea may be obtained of the means by which Suffragists have won such support as they have in the country. The more hopeless their cause, the more indifferent they appear to become to truth, as will be inferred from the careful study of these pages.

"Australia."

SUFFRAGIST views on Australia which are so eloquently voiced by Lady Selborne and others, will have to be modified in the light of the information given in a book called "Australia, from a Woman's Point of View." Miss Jessie Ackermann, the author, is a well-known Suffragist. We shall have occasion to refer at greater length to this remarkable publication, which shatters at one blow the house of cards built by Suffragists from the "experience" of Australia. To take but a few sentences from the book, Miss Ackermann writes:—"Although women in Australia enjoy partial equality with men in relation to citizenship, a sense of justice has never extended so far as to include the same standard for the sexes, either in pay for service, or a similar code of laws for men and women. . . . In no case since women have had the vote has there been an increase in their wages, bringing remuneration up to that of men in any department where both sexes are employed. . . . Remuneration to shop and factory girls is criminally low." How often are assertions to the contrary made from Suffragist platforms!

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Women Workers in Scotland.

IN our July issue we called attention to the marked decrease in the number of occupied females in Ireland, both absolutely and as compared with the number of occupied males. The section of the Census of Scotland, 1911, dealing with occupation (Col. 6,896) has now been issued. From this it may be seen that the numbers of occupied males and females in 1901 and 1911 respectively are:—

	Males.	F. males.	Number of occupied females to each 1,000 occupied males.
1901	1,391,188	591,624	425
1911	1,473,757	593,210	402

In the last column we have calculated the number of occupied females per 1,000 occupied males, and it is seen that there has been a decrease of 23. In Scotland, therefore, as in Ireland, the displacement of men by women to which the Suffragists are constantly referring, is not as a matter of fact, taking place. The very reverse is happening. Amongst clerks only does there appear to be a more rapid increase in the number of females employed as compared with males.

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"The Free Church Suffrage Times."

FEW people who do not make a careful study of Suffragist literature and speeches can appreciate the enormous extent to which the movement relies on false statements and general misrepresentation in order to bolster up the cause. Readers of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW are aware that exception is frequently taken in these columns to Suffragist statements, but room is only found for reference to a very small proportion of the total number of untruths that do duty up and down the country for arguments in favour of woman suffrage. Some excuse may be found for those who speak on economic problems, and having neither the inclination nor time to study the subject, merely retail any piece of hearsay evidence that suits their purpose. There can, however, be no justification

for some of the more deliberate mis-statements that are only too common. A typical example occurs in the October issue of the *Free Church Suffrage Times*. The religious cloak thrown over its utterances ought at least to predicate truthfulness. On page 63 we read "Quite recently two very rich men in San Francisco abducted two girls at school. . . . and the very severe sentences were passed of £4,000 fine, and twenty years' imprisonment in the one case, and in the other a fine of £1,000 and five years' imprisonment." Except for the fact that the men were not "very rich" (the chief offender was a draftsman in the office of the State Capitol in Sacramento), and that the two girls were not at school, the first paragraph may stand. But the alleged sentence is entirely false in every particular. One defendant was sentenced to two years' confinement in a penitentiary, and a fine of £400, the other to eighteen months in a penitentiary and a fine of £300. No doubt, for the purposes of Suffragist arguments it reads better, under the heading of "Cleaner Public Opinion," to state that the sentence was twenty years' imprisonment, instead of two years' confinement in a penitentiary; but if considerations of ordinary morality could find space in the movement which the *Free Church Suffrage Times* supports, it would be impossible for such mis-statements to be made. The correct sentence was recorded in the Press of September 18.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

PRESSURE upon our space in this issue prevents a full report of the big meetings held at Southampton and Hull, but we publish elsewhere in this issue a report of the speech made by the Dean of Durham at the former. The other speakers at Southampton were Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Miss Gladys Pott. Suffragist interruptions were the order of the day, Mr. Ward's trenchant criticisms being particularly resented by the noisy section of his audience. In the face of Miss Pott's quiet, incisive logic the Suffragists held their peace. A reasoned exposé of first principles in connection with statecraft or the realities of life leaves the advocates of Woman Suffrage without an answer.

At Hull the Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers provided the occasion for an Anti-Suffrage meeting. That organisation has now definitely committed itself to Suffrage propaganda, but we are no more impressed by that circumstance as an argument for the reasonableness of Woman Suffrage than we are disposed to regard untruthfulness as a virtue because Suffragist speakers indulge in it. It was natural, however, that Suffragist members should make a special effort to "capture" our meeting. They failed, but after a good attempt. Our speakers were Mrs. Humphry Ward, who did such yeoman service in trying to keep the National Union of Women Workers on sound lines, and Miss Gladys Pott, who ably seconded her efforts. Mr. A. Maconachie was in the chair. Mrs. Humphry Ward pointed out that the Suffrage question seemed to be passing through a curious stage. So many of the old arguments advanced for it were dying out or had weakened. The old contention that women's wages were low because they had no votes survived in a weakened condition. Anti-Suffragists did not deny that wages amongst women were far too low or that many conditions required altering, but Miss Maude Royden's pamphlet on "Votes and Wages" was nothing more nor less than a disgrace, an intellectual disgrace, to the Suffragist cause. No real sane cause wanted bolstering up by such inaccuracies and mis-statements as that pamphlet contained. There was a deep, passionate feeling that the world was in many respects very evil. She believed that women could do a vast amount to set it right, but not by the vote. Devolution was in the air, and in the grouping and strengthening of local bodies Mrs. Ward suggested that they might find the solution of the suffrage controversy.

After Miss Pott's speech questions were answered. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was put and carried.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

By LADY SIMON.

As one of the founders and first vice-presidents of the Birmingham Branch of the League, I have been asked to send a contribution to the Birmingham number of the REVIEW.

There is no need to recapitulate here the well-worn arguments on the question of Woman Suffrage, or to reconsider its general aspects. Practically no stone has been left unturned on either side, and responsibility now rests, not on those who have done their best to present and formulate facts and opinions, but with the large class of persons, and especially of women, who shirk the responsibility of weighing arguments, and whose steps cannot be enticed beyond the "primrose path of dalliance."



LADY SIMON, A FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH.

There is, however, a not inconsiderable number of women, conscientious and progressive, to whom these strictures do not apply, and who, while not personally desirous of the Suffrage for its own sake, and perhaps even disliking the movement, feel it on their conscience not to run the risk of opposing any forces that may tend to raise humanity to a higher level. It is needless to add here that the women who are taking part in the Anti-Suffrage movement are actuated by motives which are no less conscientious, and that their opposition is based on the conviction that progress, moral, social, and national, does not lie in assigning to both sexes similar functions in the State.

A SEX MOVEMENT.

Every week shows more and more clearly that the Woman Suffrage movement in this country is much less a political movement than a sex movement. It is impossible for anyone who follows it and reads the speeches and literature (to say nothing of the acts of physical violence towards men), not to recognise in it

the seeds of a morbid sex-antagonism. The stage which the movement has now reached may almost be narrowed down to the answers given to such questions as the following:—Are English statesmen likely to deal fairly with the political interests of women unless women have the power, not merely of influencing legislation, but of enforcing it? In considering this question it must not be overlooked that women already take part in framing social legislation, and in its administration—in addition to their qualification for the work of Local Government—and that their co-operation in all departments of political work, where it is of value, is warmly welcomed by men.

Leaving politics on one side and again considering the question in its sex aspect, there can be no doubt that male opinion, political and otherwise, is very susceptible to feminine influence. Would this susceptibility remain unchanged, if such influence were artificially converted into driving power, not to mention such complications as might conceivably arise, if the power should run counter to the majority of masculine conviction? In domestic and social life women are mostly supreme, but is it in the interests of the race or of national stability that the sphere of their rule and of their public activity should be extended indefinitely?

The political equality of the sexes, especially in a community where women considerably outnumber men, is a doctrine which may have many rods in pickle for the nation that attempts to carry it into practice, and apply it to political work comprising not only social and domestic problems but the problems of Empire.

The purely political interest of the question now centres chiefly round the varying forms of Woman Suffrage presented by its advocates from time to time to the Parliamentary supporters. It sometimes happens that several of these proposed schemes hold the field at the same time, and it is by no means easy to keep pace with them, or to gather which of them commands the most general support. The reason for this confusion doubtless lies in the absence of any precedent except that of unrestricted adult Suffrage. (I believe Norway is an exception, but the electoral conditions of that sparsely populated country do not throw any light on the question as it concerns us here.) One thing is certain, our present Parliamentary franchise for men is breaking down, and even the agents who have to adjust it to the needs of constituencies often confess their inability to understand it. The only possible substitute for it in a country so democratic as England is adult male suffrage. Women Suffragists must please note that this would place no more political power in the hands of the men of this country than has always been theirs, although judging from the events of the last Parliamentary Session there are some very misguided ideas on this point. It must, however, be patent to all practical politicians that it would be impossible to apply to women a form of Parliamentary franchise which has become out of date.

Women Suffragists are therefore faced by two alternatives:—

- (1) Adult Suffrage for both sexes.
- (2) Adult Suffrage for men, and a much more limited form of it for women.

If the latter proposal were to be generally adopted by women Suffragists they would be in the position of again setting up for women political inequalities and Parliamentary disabilities which it has always been their avowed aim and intention to sweep away.

THE N.L.O.W.S. IN BIRMINGHAM.

In conclusion, I want to turn for a moment to the local aspect of the work accomplished by the League in Birmingham.

An account of the main features of the work of the Birmingham Branch has been kindly written for the Branch by our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Murray N. Phelps. I have no doubt that his description is no less graphic than business-like, but in one respect it is, I am sure, notably incomplete. It will contain no reference to the part played by himself, first in the formation of the Branch, and secondly in maintaining its record of activity of the most varied kind. It is not too much to say that the success which has attended the work in Birmingham is due in large measure to Mr. Phelps' efforts and to the ability and practical knowledge of affairs which he has brought to bear upon it. Not only in his capacity as Hon. Treasurer, but as a debater, he has given the League of his best, and I believe I am right in saying that he has scarcely ever failed to win a debate on the question of Woman Suffrage. All the officers of the Birmingham Branch—women and men—are hard workers in the cause of the League, and all will, I am sure, unite with me in grateful acknowledgement of the work of our Hon. Treasurer.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM.

By MURRAY N. PHELPS, LL.B.

EARLY DAYS.

The inaugural meeting of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, in the summer of 1908, was attended by several Birmingham men and women, and as the result of an invitation received from the parent Society, steps were taken in the autumn of that year to form a Birmingham Branch of the League. Amongst the prime movers in the matter were Mrs. (now Lady) Simon, who is still a prominent exponent of our views, and one whose literary and dialectical skill has been placed at all times at the disposal of the Branch; Mrs. Robert Saundby, whose work in connection with the Conservative Party in Edgbaston, and with the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society (coupled with the distinguished position held by her husband on the professional staff of the Birmingham University and the General Hospital), well equipped her for the duties of one of the hon. secretaries of the new Branch, a position which she still holds to the great benefit of the League; Mrs. Maria Lakin-Smith, whose years of service in connection with the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had rendered her name conspicuous amongst the charitable workers of the city; the late Mrs. Alan Elkington, whose active work in connection with innumerable charitable objects is now sadly missed; Miss E. M. Creak, whose position as Head Mistress of the King Edward's School for Girls in the city, peculiarly fitted her to judge a "woman's question" (such as, we are informed by our opponents, this is), is an indefatigable worker in the Unionist cause in Mr. Austen Chamberlain's neighbouring constituency of East Worcestershire, and, moreover,

one of the first women in the country to avail herself of the higher education of women opened up by the foundation of Newnham College, Cambridge. Miss Creak has been a champion whom our opponents have treated with as much respect as they ever show to anyone who does not see "eye to eye" with them. To these must be added Mrs. E. C. Keay, Mrs. J. Reynolds, Miss Russell, Mrs. George Halford, and others, who constituted a provisional committee for the formation of the Birmingham Branch at the earliest possible moment, and of this preliminary committee Miss M. E. T. Baker and the present treasurer, Mr. Murray N. Phelps, acted as joint hon. secretaries. The first duty of the new committee, the personnel of which refuted the claim of the local Suffrage party that the women locally qualified to take a lead in any movement were almost unanimously in their favour, was to elect officers, secure an office and the services of a paid secretary, and also, last but not least, to obtain such financial support as should enable the new Branch to make its existence felt. The committee decided to compel the public to recognise that the local opposition to the Woman Suffrage movement was no mere apathetic indifference, coupled with passing outbursts of indignation and disgust at the more outrageous manifestations of the militant section of their opponents.

THE FIRST OFFICE.

Sufficient funds were soon forthcoming to permit of an office being secured in a very central position in New Street, and by November 30th the Branch was installed there, with a staff consisting of the present secretary, Miss Gertrude Allarton, in charge, and a sturdy naval Commissionaire in attendance, who entered heartily into the work of obtaining signatures to the petitions against the extension of the Suffrage. These funds were the outcome of a very successful meeting at the Midland Hotel held on November 18th, 1908, when Miss Creak presided, and the Branch was formally initiated, the first officers on the committee being the following:—President, Lady Leigh; vice-presidents, Maud Lady Calthorpe, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, Mrs. E. M. Simon; hon. treasurer, Murray N. Phelps, LL.B.; hon. secretaries, Mrs. Saundby, Miss M. E. T. Baker, Mrs. Ernest Lakin-Smith.

A PETITION.

As a result of three months' occupation of the New Street premises, no less than 26,706 signatures of women were obtained for the great petition which the Anti-Suffrage League had then in preparation for presentation to the House of Commons. In addition, the signatures of 7,306 men were obtained, although these were not especially sought for. The primary object was to add Birmingham's quota to the number of women petitioners in accordance with the desire that had then been expressed by Mr. Asquith, to ascertain what the real feeling of the women of the country was on the Suffrage question. Though few in number, the men and women on the committee worked indefatigably to obtain this result, and their labours were lightened by various incidents of a humorous nature that occurred from time to time. The contemporary portrait of Mrs. Drummond displayed in the window as the likeness of "our possible future Prime Minister" created quite a stir, which was increased when rumour reported that the redoubtable lady in person had inspected the exterior of the office and had laughed heartily at the superscription invented for her delectation.

Another event which excited considerable interest was the advent of a furious militant, who paid the committee a visit with the avowed intention of wrecking the office. The accidental appearance of one of the male members of the committee at that moment may have restrained her zeal, but, at any rate, after grossly insulting a member of the committee old enough to be her mother, she withdrew without having carried her dire threat into execution, nor were the offices honoured by a second visit. The wrecking of the office at the present time would hardly create comment, as times have altered in the last five years, and such an exhibition would pass almost unnoticed. But five years ago the execution of the threat, or its attempt, would certainly have served as an excellent advertisement of the Branch's activities. With the further object of advertising the formation of the Branch, a correspondence had been carried on during the previous month, in which Lady Simon and the hon. treasurer defended the Anti-Suffrage position. This correspondence served a most useful purpose, although, as is invariably the case, neither of the protagonists succeeded in convincing their opponents. An increase of both funds and adherents seemed to show, however, that the correspondence had been widely read and had served its purpose.

The following March the Branch moved to new offices, no longer on the ground floor, but still in the same thoroughfare of the city. On the 2nd of that month the first large public meeting was held at the Midland Institute, when Dr. Robert Saundby presided, and the Branch most cordially welcomed the powerful assistance of Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, who placed the Branch under a great debt of gratitude by making the meeting a great success, although the attendance was not large, owing to the deplorable weather, three or four inches of snow having fallen that afternoon. Not the least promising aspect was the presence of a few of the more energetic and weather-proof of our opponents, whose excitable questions at the termination of the meeting caused considerable amusement to their opponents.

PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS.

The next important step undertaken by the Branch was to take once more a shop in a prominent thoroughfare for three weeks during November and December, 1909, when further signatures were obtained to petitions, and eventually the Branch took an office, which it still has, at 109, Colmore Row, in every way admirably suited to the needs of the Branch.

The crowning event, however, of the Branch's activities took place on November 7th, 1911, when a mass meeting was held in the Town Hall. The President, the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, presided, and the chief speaker was Lord Curzon, supported by Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. MacCallum Scott. That this meeting was an enormous success from every point of view was proved by the satisfactory financial return, by the increase of membership, by the subsequent controversy in the local Press, but most of all by the proof afforded to the public of Birmingham that the opposition to the Woman Suffrage movement was growing far faster than its most ardent opponents could have imagined would be the case when the Branch started but three short years before.

THE MASS MEETING.

The outstanding features of the meeting were: first,

Lord Curzon's very eloquent presentation of the case, and the courtesy and readiness with which he answered interrupters; secondly, the very clever manner in which Mrs. Greatbatch held the whole of the meeting in breathless attention, after having apparently entirely lost the thread of her argument owing to the extremely rude interruptions to which she was at one moment subjected; and, thirdly, the extraordinarily hysterical behaviour of a small band of suffragettes, decorated with the notorious colours of the W.S.P.U., who afforded the strongest possible object-lesson to those of the audience who were not in sympathy with their views. The vote against the Suffrage was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the meeting terminated without anyone having been ejected by the considerable body of stewards who were present and quite eager for the fray. Few of the committee present on that occasion could ever have imagined in their wildest dreams that within three years of the foundation of the Branch such a meeting could have been possible. Its success was due very largely to the personal interest which our President, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, took in the matter, and the firmness with which he controlled the turbulent element, who would have been only too glad to have broken up the proceedings.

OFFICIALS.

From time to time the Branch has had three Presidents, the first being Lady Leigh, whose personal interest in the Branch was active and genuine, and whose official position was not one of ornament only. Her lamented death in May, 1909, deprived the Branch of one who had never been appealed to for assistance by the committee without a ready response.

Our second President was Lady Algernon Percy, who occupied that position for a period of about twelve months, and resigned in February, 1910. The Branch has now the inestimable advantage of having as President the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., to whom, as above stated, is so largely due the success of Lord Curzon's Town Hall meeting.

No history of the Branch would be complete without mentioning the great help, financial and otherwise, which has been received from the Council in London, in particular from Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Colquhoun,

Our Portraits.—On the opposite page will be found portraits of some of the past and present officials and members of the Birmingham Branch.

THE LATE LADY LEIGH, first President of the Birmingham Branch. Photo by D. Knight Whittome, Sutton and Epsom.

MRS. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, a Member of the Branch. Photo by Speaight.

MAUD, THE LADY CALTHORPE, Vice-President. Photo by Bullingham.

THE RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, President. Photo by Layfayette.

MRS. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN. Photo by Lambert Weston and Son, 27, New Bond Street, W.

MISS BEATRICE CHAMBERLAIN, Vice-President. Photo by J. Weston and Son, 27, Sloane Street, S.W.

MISS MAUD PEMBERTON, Chairman. Photo by Layfayette.

MR. MURRAY N. PHELPS, LL.B., Hon. Treasurer. Photo by Harold Baker, Birmingham.

SOME OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH.



Mrs. Greatbatch, Miss Terry Lewis, and Miss Gladys Pott; while the experience and organising skill of Mr. W. Wrench Lee was readily placed at the committee's service for Lord Curzon's meeting. In addition, we have had visits from Mrs. Maggs, Miss Cordelia Moir, Mrs. Harold Norris, and Miss Cameron at our annual meetings, sales of work, garden parties, and similar gatherings. With reference to the question of finance, the committee have derived very considerable help from the annual sale of work, without which it would not be too much to say that the balance-sheets presented by the treasurer would have borne but an indifferent appearance. The idea of holding the sales of work originated with our invaluable hon. secretary, Mrs. Saundby, who has worked with indefatigable zeal, and made others work as well, which is not so easy of accomplishment, and has afforded our vice-presidents and friends at a distance, and in particular Maud Lady Calthorpe, an opportunity of assisting the Branch in a most practical manner.

The successive Chairmen of Committee have been:—Mrs. Lakin-Smith until February, 1912; Mr. Arthur Smith, M.A., B.C.L., until February, 1913; while the present chairman is Miss Maud Pemberton. Mention must also be made in connection with the work in Birmingham of the following, who have been of the greatest possible assistance in the formation of sub-branches or otherwise: Lady Marshall, Miss Evers, Mrs. C. A. Palmer, Mrs. and Miss Berners Lee, Mrs. Shirlaw, Mrs. Grinsell, Miss Somers, Mrs. J. E. Willmott, and Mr. R. Graham Squiers, to whom the committee owe a debt of gratitude for professional services voluntarily performed. Amongst others who have assisted the Branch financially and otherwise are: Mr. J. Arthur Kenrick, J.P., the late Richard Peyton, Mrs. C. G. Beale, Mrs. Byng Kenrick, Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey Nettlefold, Mr. J. C. Vaudrey, and Mr. and the late Mrs. Frank Gaskell.

In conclusion, there is no reason why the work of the Branch should not be carried on in the future even more successfully than it has been in the past, but one of the greatest difficulties which the committee have to meet is that their appeals for practical and financial assistance from those who are sympathetic in their opposition to the agitation, meet with the frequent reply that there is no necessity for the activities of the N.L.O.W.S., as our opponents are rapidly destroying their own cause in every conceivable manner!

THE CHURCH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH BY THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

SPEAKING at the meeting held by the N.L.O.W.S. at Southampton during the Church Congress, the Dean of Durham took as his text the monthly paper of the Church League for Woman Suffrage, a copy of which was by some considerate person sent to him the day before. That paper for October contained two articles, the one headed "The Church Congress," and the other "An Appeal to the Clergy." They were told in the first that the inclusion of the subject of woman's position in the Congress programme affirmed that the question of woman's status was a religious question. Now, in one sense all questions were, for the genuine Christian, religious questions,

for, as St. Paul had said, "Whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, it is all for the glory of God." That article meant, not that, as Christians, they must bring to the consideration of the question the best judgment they possessed—so far he thought they all agreed—but it meant that they must hold themselves bound as Christians to return one answer to the question, and that answer the answer which the advocates of Woman Suffrage gave. That was the position which he, as a clergyman, and as a citizen, emphatically entered his protest against.

They were told that the issue was the simplest in the world. It was contended that the demand of women for equality of political status with men was in harmony with the revelation which was ours, and that, if granted, it would tend to the furtherance of the Kingdom of God, and that, if it were not, the reverse result would follow. But the question really was, How were they to find the means of deciding the point? The Almighty had not been pleased to include in his revelation in the New Testament specific manifestations on all points. He left us to the teaching of experience and claimed from us a conscientious and responsible use of our faculties. There were no short cuts to political wisdom. There was assuredly nothing anti-Christian in holding that the demand which the draft petition which the Bishops and clergy of the Church were invited to sign—that Parliament should pass without further delay a measure for the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, and that was, should more than double the existing electorate by the addition of a vast multitude of persons admittedly without political experience—was to invite them to make a change of an extremely risky, he might almost say, reckless character.

LORD LOREBURN'S VIEWS.

The existing situation was described in this paper for women as subjecting them to political serfdom. He was present in the Albert Hall a short while ago, and he heard Lord Loreburn declare the reasons why he, as an earnest and even passionate advocate of the interests of women, dissented from the proposal to admit them to the Parliamentary franchise.

He gave them the case in his own words, which imprinted themselves on his memory. In effect, this was what he said: "As a lawyer he was prepared to maintain that the laws of England tended increasingly to give especially favourable treatment to women; that he was persuaded that women did stand in need of favourable treatment, and that he feared that one result of admitting them to the electorate would be to endanger that favourable treatment which in an increasingly degree they now received."

That might have been a mistaken opinion, but was it ungenerous, or was it unworthy of a Christian man? If he honestly thought that women were best served in their social interests by being kept outside the normal strife of political party, why was he to be denounced, as that paper denounced him, as a bad Christian? The temptation to make one's own opinions pass for divine truth was always strong when one felt strongly on a subject. There were many advantages about making political advocacy also a religious crusade. For, of course, if they did that they enlisted on their side the driving force of religious passion, and they created an enthusiasm and an excitement and a fervour which were none the less potent for being illegitimate. But, he asked them to believe, the disadvantages of that kind of advocacy were very great.

When once they began to advocate a political matter in the spirit of a religious crusade the first thing that happened was that discussion became impossible, and they thereby, as soon as it became impossible, made democratic government unworkable, because the very essence of that government was government by free discussion; and if that was not possible, things were brought to a more fatal issue. Who could carry on discussion with people who began with telling you that you must be bad? Who could carry on an argument with dancing Dervishes?

Another disadvantage of that policy was that they made the reign of violence, sooner or later, indispensable. If they could not, or would not, argue a question, what remained? Men fought it out and crushed the weaker side. Then the victory was but a Pyrrhic victory after all. They shook to the foundations the very sentiments which were fundamental to civilised government itself.

That article was followed by another, called "An appeal to the Clergy." In it the clergy were severely blamed for their "apathy" in support of the woman's cause. The writer apparently did not contemplate the possibility that they were honestly opposed to the Cause. The writer thought that only a simple apathy was holding the clergy back from publicly advocating it.

The article said: "The clergy are hopelessly ignorant, an ignorance which might be relieved, if they would take in the Suffrage newspaper." There were many forms of advertising newspapers. He did not know if that was one of them. The article proceeded: "The clergy are the victims of misconception. . . . Let the clergy consider how they would feel if they were disfranchised on the score of their moral and intellectual incapacity."

But he would respectfully suggest that women were not placed outside the electoral system because of personal incapacity, neither were men placed within the system because of their personal capacity. There were great numbers of women who were of unquestioned ability, who might compare very favourably with individual men. And everybody knew that there were large numbers of noodles in trousers.

DIFFERENTIATION OF FUNCTION.

It was a great misrepresentation to suggest that the sex were put outside the electoral system because it was suggested that they were mentally and morally unfit for superior purposes. What was felt was this. It had hitherto been felt that distinctiveness of nature and of function, which beyond all doubt did separate women from men—that that distinctiveness ought to be expressed in the political system. This might or might not be the best way of expressing what the most ardent Suffragette did not deny—the distinctiveness of nature and of function between men and women. In some way that distinction must be expressed, for the sexes were so differentiated that they simply could not take over one another's functions.

The clergy were at that moment disqualified by the law from sitting in the House of Commons. That is not because the clergy were held by the law to be disqualified because of their moral and intellectual incapacity. The reason why a clergyman was disqualified was that properly their business in the State was of such a distinctive character that he could best fulfil it by being put outside the rough and tumble of political combat. He did entreat the Suffragettes to believe that the vast majority of those who opposed their object did not do so because they

held that they were morally and mentally inferior, but only that they thought that the difference which attached to the female sex was of a character which should be recognised in the political system.

Then there came these words, to the full meaning of which he asked their most solemn attention: "It is rapidly becoming impossible for women to believe in the spiritual insight, not to say the Christian piety, of a priest who is deaf to the demand of their sex." He had no very high opinion of the political competence of clergymen as a class. It was in no wise difficult to suppose that they might make and had made great mistakes; but if they could be influenced by such declarations as that he would indeed despise them beyond measure. Their duty was to stand before their fellows as the representatives of the religion of sincerity, and to press on the public mind the solemn duties of man and of woman, coming into terms of charity and consideration with one another. He had not the smallest objection to their advocating, by every possible legitimate method, the view which they held; he only asked from them that they should extend the same charitable consideration to their opponents.

He thought the matter was of so great importance, that it commended itself to such large numbers of his fellow citizens, that it was most important that it should be thoroughly and carefully discussed. But it could only be usefully and fairly discussed, if there was an honourable and reasonable understanding that both parties respected each others' views, and the only possible way in which a sound conclusion could be reached was by the honest exchange of opinion and by frank consideration of one another's arguments.

INFANT MORTALITY.

After all that has been done recently to enlighten public opinion on this question—the holding of an Infant Mortality Conference, the publication by the Local Government Board of its second report on Infant and Child Mortality—it would be thought that at least no publicist would continue to fall into the old errors in discussing the subject. But there would seem to be some Suffragists who know nothing and will learn nothing. In "Votes for Women" of September 26th, edited by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, we read the following:—

" . . . During the first few years after women won the vote in Australia they brought about a reduction of nearly 50 per cent. in the rate of infant mortality in that continent." Women "won the vote in Australia" in 1900, the year of the establishment of the Commonwealth. In 1901 the infant mortality rate was 103; the next year it was 107; in 1903 it had risen to 111.

Therefore, "during the first few years after women won the vote in Australia" the infant mortality rate rose 7.7 per cent. Suffragists, in order to find an argument for giving women the vote, call this rise of 7.7 per cent. a reduction of nearly 50 per cent. The statement is symptomatic of most of their assertions on the platform and in their press.

It is true that the infant mortality rate in Australia dropped to 81 in 1904 and 1905; it rose again to 83 in 1906, and was only 74.81 in 1910. But at no time has the birthrate in "Australia" experienced "a reduction of nearly 50 per cent.," or compared with the rate in 1901 of more than 30 per cent.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, during the last twelve years the infant mortality rate has dropped from 151 in 1901 to 95 in 1912—a reduction of 37 per cent.

The League, and especially the Chelsea Branch, has sustained a great loss in the death of Lady Buxton, a Vice-President of the Chelsea Branch and one of its earliest members. Lady Buxton has been a worker for the benefit of women all her life, and was specially interested in Rescue Work in Chelsea, in which district she was greatly respected and where her loss will be much felt.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

THE Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association seeks to justify its existence by a leaflet entitled, "Women's Franchise: A Safeguard Against Socialism." From it we take this interesting paragraph:—

"The extension of the franchise to duly qualified women would only admit to full citizenship a limited number of new voters, estimated at about a million and a half; but any further widening of the franchise could not be restricted to men only, as such a course would be an attempt to re-introduce sex disqualification, which having once been eliminated from our political system could not, without the greatest injustice, be again imposed upon women. It follows, therefore, that adult suffrage must also include women, with the consequence that women voters would be a majority, and so become the controlling political power. Neither men nor women desire to see such a radical transformation in the relative position of the two sexes, and rather than submit to it the former would have every inducement to prevent the occurrence by opposing any further extension of the franchise, except within the most moderate limits. There becomes immediately apparent, how the bestowal of the voting power upon women might have a paramount influence in determining the future of Socialism in this country."

We are glad to learn from the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association that neither men nor women desire to see women voters becoming the controlling political power; but this particular line of argument is somewhat difficult to follow. If it is right that women should have votes in order to have political power, why must they not have the controlling political power? If their political influence expressed through the vote is good for the State, why should any limit be set to their power or to the good that it will have? Possibly Conservative Suffragists would add to the profound sayings on which the Woman Suffrage movement is based this one: "It is possible to have too much of a good thing." That is true, but when it comes to the point will it be the exiguous C.U.W.F.A. or the giant N.U.W.S.S., with its Socialist allies, who will say where the line is to be drawn? Anti-suffragists have been likened to Mrs. Partington and her broom. The simile fails, because they are building a stout sea-wall to protect the country against the encroachments of the ocean. Conservative Suffragists, on the other hand, would let in the sea and then hastily seize the C.U.W.F.A. broom to sweep it back.

The reader of this leaflet will also be tempted to ask why, if Woman Suffrage is to stem the tide of Socialism, all Socialists are Suffragists. A Conservative Suffragist, it is to be feared, is like a militant, "past praying for"; otherwise some would by this time have stopped to reflect that there must be something wrong, when only a handful of Conservatives have persuaded themselves that Woman Suffrage will be good for the State, while on the other hand Socialists are convinced that the vote will bring about the introduction of Socialism in Great Britain as it has done in every other country where it has been tried.

THE LONDON TEACHERS.

The good sense of the London Teachers' Association has saved that organisation from becoming a prey to the Suffrage agitation. Various attempts have been made of late to capture the Association for the purpose of furthering the cause of Woman Suffrage; but while the voting at a general meeting has been fairly equal, a plebiscite has given a majority of five to one against the enfranchisement of women. In order to obviate the danger of snatch votes and subsequent disorder on the part of Suffragists, the Committee framed a new constitution, which takes the ultimate power away from the general meeting and vests it in a delegate meeting. This course was approved by 8,000 to 200 votes as the result of a poll of individual members. When the new constitution was to be put in operation the minority challenged in the Law Courts the legitimacy of the Committee's action, and an injunction was obtained against the enforcement of the new constitution until it had been approved at the annual general meeting. This meeting was held on October 11th and resulted in a majority of 2027 to 910 in favour of the Committee's action.

We regret to learn that owing to ill-health Mr. J. Grasset has been obliged to relinquish the post of Honorary Treasurer and Secretary of the Slough Branch.

SUFFRAGE DEBATE IN BIRMINGHAM.

LORD LYTTON v. MISS GLADYS POTT.

A joint meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association and the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held in the Birmingham Temperance Hall, on Wednesday, October 22nd. The meeting, of which Professor W. J. Ashley, of Birmingham University, was Chairman, took the form of a debate between the Earl of Lytton, who spoke on behalf of Woman Suffrage, and Miss Gladys Pott, who opposed the motion. The audience, which was of considerable size, listened with great attention to both sides of the question.

The Chairman, in opening, said that the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women involved a change in the principles of our political system, which was far greater than any previous extensions of the franchise. He said that not in any sort of way to pre-judge the issue, because the gravity of the change, while it might occasion deep-seated fears on one side, might occasion far-reaching hopes on the other. (Hear, hear.) They had to consider a conflict of principles. They had to balance large considerations of public policy, and they had not to do with the merits or demerits of individuals, or the tactics of any ephemeral party. He felt confident they would show that it was possible to combine strong convictions with good temper and respect for the opinions of others.

Lord Lytton proposed "that the exclusion of women from all political representation is unjust to women and bad for the State." His lordship said the word "justice" was at the bottom of the whole question. Obviously, if it was unjust to exclude women it was bad for the State. It was inconsistent with the theory of our Constitution. He did not claim for a moment that Parliament was representative of every individual. In considering this question they had to get rid of the idea of individuality. Any body of opinion which had as such a separate interest in the laws which the State passed, and which was recognised as a separate entity in those laws, was entitled to some representation. His lordship spoke of the fight which had to take place to secure the franchise for men, and said it had never been granted to them by a spontaneous act of generosity on the part of the State. They had had to justify their demand, and had obtained it with great difficulty. There were two propositions which they had had to prove. First, that they were not already represented, and that got rid of the idea of individualism. The second thing they had to prove was that the representation for which they were asking was really demanded by the class which they represented. Once these two facts were established, it was only a question of time before they were recognised. Women were not represented, and consequently, as a body, they demanded representation. He did not want to enter into an argument as to the value of the vote. If it was of no value, then take it away from men. (Cheers.) If it was of great value to men, then it would be of equally great value to women. (Cheers.) He did not care which of the two propositions they accepted, but whether it was of value or no value, let it be at the disposal of both sexes equally. There was not a single justification for giving votes to men which was not equally applicable to women. The grievance was far greater in the case of women than men.

Miss Gladys Pott said Lord Lytton had based his argument upon the question of justice. Justice was a very large term, and Lord Lytton had not attempted to define it. When they came to apply justice they were faced with a very perplexing condition of things, namely, that they might select people who took conflicting views of what was just for themselves and for other people. Lord Lytton said it was unjust because it was inconsistent with the theory of our Constitution, and he laid down two propositions on which he claimed our Constitution rested—that everybody must have some form of representation, unless already represented; and, secondly, if they demand it, they must have it. She agreed with both propositions, but how did they work out with regard to this question. Obviously the main thesis was, what is representation and how did they find out whether persons were represented. It was not required that individuals *qua* individuals should be represented. She did not know of any interest attaching to women which was in direct conflict with the interests of men. She was constantly told that unless she possessed a Parliamentary vote she was unable to make her voice heard in Parliament, that she was unable to obtain redress for any wrong that she might suffer at the hands of the political machine; that unless she stood up and demanded the Parliamentary vote, she was content to write herself down a slave. That was not her view. The question was how were they going to remedy it. By giving the vote, apparently, to

some women? If they took the trend of legislation they could all find some laws with which they did not agree. The mere fact that some laws did not suit them did not prove that the general trend of legislation was against them. Taking the general trend of legislation during the last century, she found that, though she could pick out laws with which she did not agree, yet that the material interests of women had advanced hand in hand with those of men. (Hear, hear; and "No.") She asked for it to be shown where it was that women's interests conflicted or differed largely from those of men. It was no proof of this to say that there were some laws with which they disagreed. The fact that some laws were imperfect to-day was a proof that they had progressed since those laws were made. If the laws made ten, fifty, or one hundred years ago fitted the conditions of to-day, it would mean that we had not progressed since they were made. It was the very fact that we had progressed that made it desirable to alter them. Where was the proof that when the majority of persons demanded to have the laws altered they were not altered? Her experience and the past history of the country showed her that the interests of men and women, so far as the community was concerned, were identical. ("Oh!" and cheers.) If they took the case of women in labour, where did the interest of women differ from that of men? It was not upheld by anyone that it was to the men's interest to keep down the wages of women; on the contrary, it was directly to the interest of every man who desired to raise his own wages to raise the wages of women also. She was not maintaining that the vote was useless, but she was maintaining that if they desired to divide the interest of men in manual labour, or industries and professions, and if they were politicians, that the average vote of the average labouring man represented the interests of the average labouring woman; that the average professional man's interests were the same as the average professional woman's interests. She did not know that the demand had been clearly shown for the vote. There were between thirteen and fourteen million adult women to-day who would get the vote, if adult suffrage were given. As far as she was aware, they did not know for certain the opinion of more than half a million of the total. At present there was no proof that a proper demand had yet been shown for the vote. That some women desired it, and that some did not desire it, she admitted. It was a question of majorities; and if so, they must find out some way of ascertaining the wishes of that majority. It was not a question of giving it to a few, but to all. She contended that man was pointed to by Nature as the more fitted to deal with the affairs of the community as apart from the individual. Her syllogism was this: It was necessary in a good voter to mix with the communistic side, and woman with the individual side of life, in order to obtain the communistic point of view. Woman was not mixing with the communistic side of life, and was not developing that side and would not make a good voter. If they would not make a good voter, they had better not have the vote.

Lord Lytton, in replying, submitted that his arguments had not been affected by anything which Miss Pott had said. She said that she knew no case in which the interests of women were in conflict with those of men, and therefore she was already represented, and because she was represented that, therefore, she was adequately represented by the votes of men. He maintained that women could not for a moment be thought to be represented by men. Some women were certainly represented by the votes of some men. If they took the interests of property, the interests of women who were owners of property were adequately represented by the votes of men of property. It might be held, though with less justification, that the interests of husband and wife were the same. At least it might be said that the interest of the home, where the home was a united home, were represented as long as there was one vote for the home. As regarded legislation generally, the interests of the home, in cases where the home was a united one, was represented by one vote. They must remember that there were an enormous number of homes that were not represented. Did anyone really believe that the interests of the working women were really represented by the vote of the working man? ("Yes," and "No.") The interest of the professional woman who worked for her own livelihood Miss Pott submitted was represented by the man who was working in competition with her, and who had a vote whilst she was denied it. It was a strange sort of representation. The factory hand would be insulted by being told that her interests were represented by men who were working in competition with her. Did anybody believe that the interest of the pit-brow worker was represented by the Miners' Federation? ("No" and "Yes.") That was what they were asked to believe. Miss Pott had told them that the womanhood of the country was represented by the manhood of the country. What would any man say, what would be the reply of any community of men if they were to suggest that their interest as workers, and as men, should be

represented by women, on the ground that their interests were identical? Miss Pott told them that there was no proof of the demand on the part of women, and she said that in this matter majorities must rule. He submitted that there was a large preponderating demand for the vote on the part of women, and a very small comparatively inarticulate opposition to it. It was a fact that every body of organised women in this country had petitioned in favour of the suffrage for their sex. Wherever they found women in professional organisations, all of them without exception had passed resolutions in favour of the franchise. They had also had recently the vote of the National Union of Women Workers. When the Anti-Suffragists could show him the votes of these bodies in opposition to women's suffrage, then he would admit that they had shown him a large articulate demand in opposition. In opposition to the facts there was nothing to put except the existence of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The two things were not comparable. The demand was overwhelming. Miss Pott tried to embarrass him by reminding him that he was a member of two different Societies. Both Societies had one object, namely, the enfranchisement of women. The difference was in policy. It was the object of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association to get the Conservative Party to take up the question. The National Union of Women Suffrage Societies was not a party organisation. It existed for the sole purpose of obtaining the enfranchisement of women. It knew no other party distinction. He approved the policy of both Societies. The Labour Party was the only one which had given any support to the women's question. If it was unjust that women should not have a vote, it was against the interest of the State that the injustice should be perpetuated. (Cheers.)

Miss Pott, replying, again said that when she took the general trend of labour and labour legislation she found that legislation, which they might, or might not, regard as having been won by the vote, when it had benefited men in labour had also benefited women in labour. When she studied the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Labour she did not find any divergence of view upon the fact that the reason of the larger preponderance of low wages among women was that there was a larger amount of home work and unskilled labour. Legislation had affected women just as much as men, when they were doing the same work in absolute competition with men in factories in any form of organised labour. She did not find that Lord Lytton had given any proof that the interests of women conflicted with those of men. She was told that the demand was overwhelming, but that depended upon what overwhelmed them. It was a question which rested on statistics, and she found on examination of the membership of societies which favoured woman suffrage one lady's name mentioned in six of them, and that she was therefore counted as six and not as one. If they took the whole number she did not think it amounted to one million. But even if they numbered two millions, she asked them to compare that with the 13 millions of women whom it was proposed to enfranchise. (Applause.) Because a great many of them were not organised she did not think it proved that they were of less value to the State either as individuals or voters. The most important person in the State was the mother. The overwhelming majority of mothers did not belong to any organisation at all. Why were not they to be consulted as to whether they made this demand or not? She did not contend that there was no demand for the vote, but the question was as to what was the extent of the demand.

Lord Lytton, in summing up, agreed that Miss Pott, in studying the interests of the working people, might still have in her mind that their interest was represented by the male portion of the classes to which they belonged. The only point upon which he wished to differ was that he did not think that was the opinion which they held themselves. He wished to make it clear that he did not suggest that women could not be represented by men, but only that women were not represented by men for whom they did not vote. (Applause.)

Questions were then taken, the first being addressed to Miss Pott. The questioner wanted to know why, as Miss Pott considered that Members of Parliament represented women, they should not be allowed to vote for their representatives. In reply, Miss Pott said she had already explained why women did not make good voters, and to satisfy the interrogator she would have to repeat her speech from beginning to end.

In the second question, Lord Lytton's attention was called to the fact that a recent poll taken in the Birmingham Central Division upon the question of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women gave the following result:—Number of women electors, 1,739; anti-female suffrage, 359; pro-female suffrage, 239; neutral, 228; no reply, 922. In view of these figures, did

Lord Lytton think that the women in Birmingham wanted the Parliamentary franchise?

Lord Lytton, replying, pointed out that any society taking a vote upon a matter always secured a majority in favour of the proposition it put forward.

Miss Pott was next asked if the professional and labour interests of men were identical with those of women, why women were excluded by men from practising the legal profession? In answer, she said that if the question was intended to be an argument that men did not represent women, she would be perfectly at liberty to argue that Parliament did not represent the interests of men because the clergy did not sit there.

The following question was addressed to Lord Lytton:—"If women get the Parliamentary vote, is Lord Lytton in favour of their performing their part as citizens by serving on juries to try criminal cases at Assizes and Quarter Sessions?"

Lord Lytton: I certainly think that if serving on a jury is a duty or a privilege, it ought to be enjoyed or endured, according to the point of view of the individual, by women as well as men.

The next question was: "If unfit for military service is a disqualification for the vote, will Miss Pott say why those men who are unfit for military service should have votes?"

Miss Pott pointed out that this was a purely hypothetical question. It was the duty of every male citizen to enforce the law at any moment. It was not the duty of women; she did not think they desired it to be, and if they had legislation imposing that duty upon women, they could not perform it however much they tried. (Applause.)

Lord Lytton was asked what percentage of women who already possessed the municipal franchise took the trouble to vote in the municipal elections in the United Kingdom last year, or in any other year? Lord Lytton, in answering, admitted that the percentage of women voters was less than that of male voters. He thought it was very probable, too, if not certain, that if women were enfranchised, certainly for some years to come, the percentage of women voters for Parliamentary elections would also be less. He was confident, however, and he was fortified in that opinion by the experience of other countries, that giving women the vote would increase their interest in national and municipal politics.

The next question to Miss Pott was: How can the communistic interest which men stand for represent the individualistic interest which women stand for?

Miss Pott: Because the greater can include the less, but the less cannot include the greater.

Does Lord Lytton contend that women have taken their fair share of public work upon local bodies since those positions have been open to them?

Lord Lytton said he did not contend that women had served in the same proportion as men, but he did not deplore that fact. He did not think that because a woman demanded a vote for a public body and when that demand was satisfied was further made eligible to sit upon it that it was therefore incumbent upon her to carry out the duties herself. The difficulties in the way of women serving on local bodies were far greater than the difficulties in the way of men. It was a far greater sacrifice for women to serve. When women were eligible to sit in Parliament precisely the same results as had occurred in local government would be seen, namely, that the obtaining the right of the vote would not bring in its train the desire on the part of women voters to fulfil the duties of men.

The next question was: "If women are unfit to exercise the vote, why should they be requested to canvass men voters?" Miss Pott, in reply, said it was open to anyone to make a request, but to be requested by an individual to perform a certain act for him or her, as the case might be, was an entirely different question to being required by the law of the land to perform a responsible action which would of necessity affect the whole community.

"Should the question of woman suffrage be submitted to a referendum, and, if not, why not?" was the next question submitted to Lord Lytton. His lordship replied that when the referendum was an established part of the Constitution and applied to all political questions, he should certainly agree to this political question being submitted to it as well. If he were asked would he agree to the present Government submitting the question to a referendum, he should say, "Certainly not."

The next question was: Are women's interests adequately represented when they are paid for the same work exactly one-third that of men?

Miss Pott pointed out that such able persons as Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Fawcett, Miss Jessie Ackermann, and the

London County Council had expressed the opinion that there was a very large divergence between the value of men and women in industry even when they appeared to be doing the same work for a short time.

Can Lord Lytton give any guarantee that women's political interests will stop at the vote and that they will not seek to be legislators?

Lord Lytton: That is a very large demand to guarantee, and I am not prepared to take it upon my own shoulders. There is no question whatever that when women have the vote the demand will be made that they should be eligible for Parliament, and I think there is no doubt whatever that some day or other women will be eligible for Parliament, but I think it is sufficient for each generation to deal with the questions that confront it.

Does Miss Pott consider that would-be Members of Parliament give as much consideration to the condition of women as they would do if they had to look to women for a vote?

Miss Pott: Would-be Members of Parliament are extremely frail members of the community. They promise things of all kinds which they find impossible to carry out when in Parliament. She added that she did not think women's interests as a whole had been neglected by the general trend of legislation.

A vote was then taken, and the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Vocation of Women, by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Macmillan and Co.

The Unrest of Women, by Edward Sandford Martin. D. Appleton and Co.

The Home-Breakers. An Anti-Militant Suffragist Novel, by a well-known author. Hurst and Blackett, Ltd.

Le Suffrage des Femmes, by M. Théodore Joran. A. Savaète, Paris.

The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage, by Sir Almoth E. Wright, M.D., F.R.S. Constable and Co.

The appearance, almost simultaneously, of five books in opposition to Woman Suffrage is a sufficiently striking phenomenon, in view of the meagre bibliography that the Anti-Suffrage cause has had to rely upon in the past. Shall we be far wrong in inferring that the coincidence is connected with the declining fortunes of the Suffrage movement? The mere suggestion will be received with derision by Suffragists. They will point to "progress" in America and on the Continent, in China, and, it may be, Peru. The careful observer, however, will not be misled by the course of events in any of these countries. It is so easy for political exigencies in a State to pave the way for Woman Suffrage that the wonder is not that a number of minor States have adopted it, but that more States have not been rushed into it. Only now is it possible to gauge to any profitable extent the workings of Woman Suffrage in practice, and as the verdict—not as passed by Suffragists, but as passed by the impartial student of contemporary history—is unfavourable to Suffragists' claims, the sober sense of any sovereign State must be against such an unnecessary political revolution. Suffragist literature has never wearied of saying what votes in the hands of women will perform. It has had its say. There is at last some opportunity of checking its claims, and these five volumes are, in part, the result.

Mrs. Colquhoun's book has not been issued in time to enable a review to appear in this number. It is, we believe, an amplification of the notable article by the same writer published in the recent number of the *Edinburgh Review*. Mrs. Colquhoun predicates useful, fruitful employment for the woman who would find happiness, but maintains that she must develop along her own lines, and work with a differentiation of function from that of man.

It would be impossible to find two books dealing with the same subject that present a greater contrast of treatment than *The Unrest of Women* and Sir Almoth Wright's treatise against Woman Suffrage. The two writers are frequently covering the same ground, but while the English scientist takes a somewhat grim intellectual pleasure in setting out point by point his merciless analysis, the other author skims his subject with an engaging American freshness, sacrificing nothing in his criticism by not allowing his good humour and human sympathy to be put out of stride by Suffragists, whom he would fain win back to common sense and public usefulness. He finds feminine unrest a perfectly natural phenomenon in present-day circumstances, and he is prepared to meet it. But not by means of the vote. "When a row of pianos make a concert, then the voters will make a millennium.

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At present it is not the pianos but the players who play on them who make the concert, and it is not the voters, but the poets, prophets and statesmen, who inspire and enlist them that secure millennial improvements in legislation and government." We could fill much more space than is at our disposal by quoting Mr. Martin's good *mois*. They may be safely commended to the reader, and we believe that even the most convinced Suffragist would appreciate the manner in which the author causes them furiously to think.

The most telling part in Sir Almoth Wright's book is his analysis of Suffragist arguments. These will be ignored by Suffragists, who will endeavour to divert attention from the subject-matter by representing the author of *The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage* as an embittered misogynist. There are passages in the book where the author's vigorous handling of his arguments lends colour to the charge, at least when sentences are divorced from their context. But Sir A. Wright has set himself the task of carrying the war into the enemy's camp. His generic use of the word "woman" will only mislead those who wish to be misled. It is as absurd to imagine that he expects his readers to fit his generalisations to every woman as it would be to maintain that Sir A. Wright holds every woman capable of imitating the example he quotes as an illustration of the profoundly different moral atmospheres in which men and women live—the example of a public woman who made a deliberately false statement of fact in *The Times* and "quite naively confessed to it, seeing nothing whatever amiss in her action." Sir A. Wright has written with a mind concentrated on a type or types that go to swell the Suffrage ranks. He has seen what everybody who has followed the Woman Suffrage agitation closely has seen, women of position, education and intelligence stooping "for an idealistic purpose" to acts of hooliganism and every form of misrepresentation and untruth. Everyone knows that their example is not followed by all women, and further that, but for the "idealism" and momentary loss of balance, these offenders would be heartily ashamed of themselves. At the same time, most people draw the inevitable conclusion that if this be—as it clearly is—the effect of a political agitation on these

women, then at all costs must they and other women be kept out of politics.

In *The Home-Breakers* an anonymous author has achieved a difficult task with conspicuous success. She has contrived to invest a book on a subject that most people detest with an interest that holds till the end. Militant Suffragists cannot complain that they have been unjustly treated. There are many sympathetic exponents of their cause in *The Home-Breakers*, and it is possible that most readers will hold that a better case is made out for them than they make out for themselves in real life. "A Looker-On" has seen most of the game and has portrayed it faithfully and masterfully.

To M. Théodore Joran we have to turn for an historical analysis of the Woman Suffrage movement from the earliest days until the current year. *Le Suffrage des Femmes* deals primarily with France, but summaries of the position—not always complete—in other countries are given. The book displays scholarly treatment of the subject and comes with the recommendation of being the prize-winner in a competition set by the Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. M. Joran reminds us that Suffragist arguments have been before the public for many years, and have signally failed to impress a single generation.

Other publications received:—

PAMPHLETS.

The Response of Woman to Her Call To-day, by the Rev. Arthur W. Robinson, D.D.

Catechism on Woman Suffrage, by Mary C. Horne. Price 3d. Copies obtainable from the author, 9, Broadway, Ealing.

MAGAZINES.

The Reply. An Anti-Suffrage Magazine published monthly at New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A. \$1 yearly; 10 cents a copy. Box 1526, New Canaan.

The Woman's Protest. Published monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 37, West 39th Street, New York. \$1 yearly; 10 cents a copy.

The Remonstrance. Published quarterly by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston. 25 cents a year.

"The £ s. d. of Militancy" is the title of a leaflet published by the Tunbridge Wells Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. Price 6d. per 100; 5s. per 1,000.

NON-MILITANT SUPPORT FOR MILITANCY.

Lady Betty Balfour, of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, speaking in the King's Hall, Ilkley, on October 16th, once more delivered one of those striking justifications of militancy, which show how little there is to choose between the so-called law-abiding Suffragists and the out-and-out militants. According to the *Yorkshire Post* of October 17th, Lady Betty Balfour said:—"It was strange, but true, that there was no political party in this country which had not advocated measures by militancy in some form. In the Labour Party strikes were resorted to; they knew that Liberals in the past had been associated with militancy; the Nationalists in Ireland in the past had been associated with far more terrible militancy than anything employed by women; and to-day, in Ulster, there existed a militant section of the Unionist party. If militancy in such cases was justifiable, and did not show the unfitness of men for the vote, why should militancy in the Suffrage cause suggest that women were unfitted for the vote? It was curious that when women identified themselves with men's militancy they were said to be wholly patriotic, but when they adopted militancy for their own cause they were said to be hysterical and unsexed females.

Lady Betty Balfour went on to say that she did not desire the audience to leave with the impression that she thought militancy right or expedient. But she added: "There were splendid moral qualities in those women who had advocated militant methods."

In this connection it may be noted that a frequent speaker on the platforms of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is a Miss Muriel Matters from Australia. A lady of this name, also from Australia, was one of the earliest militants, being the heroine of the "Grille" incident, when she chained herself to the grille of the House of Commons.

The West Hampshire Branch experiences a heavy loss in the resignation of its President, Mrs. Gadesden, who is shortly leaving England. Mrs. Gadesden has devoted herself whole-heartedly to the Anti-Suffrage movement, and the widest possible sympathy will be extended to her in the circumstances that have led to the Branch being deprived of her leadership.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

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

Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty,
33, Hornton Street,
Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

BRANCH NEWS.

Secretaries of Branches and others to whom flags or banners are sent for use at meetings are asked to return them as soon as possible after the meeting to the headquarters of the League.

Barnet.—A most excellent and interesting debate was held at the Town Hall on October 10th between Miss Pott and Mrs. Baker, of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies from Finchley. The debate originated at a public meeting held in the same place in June, when Mrs. Baker challenged Miss Pott to substantiate her statements made on that occasion. The Hall was packed to the doors, not even standing room being available by the time proceedings began, and over 100 people were turned away owing to lack of space.

The Rector of Barnet was in the chair, and though a convinced Suffragist, he acted in an absolutely impartial manner, and kept the large audience in perfect order. In his introductory remarks he reminded his hearers of the origin of the debate, and gave an outline of the procedure to be followed.

Miss Pott then repeated her arguments already given at the former meeting in a condensed form, and discussed the privilege and responsibility of the Parliamentary vote, giving cogent reasons why women, with their special characteristics and duties, were unfitted to exercise its prerogative. She emphasised the fact that a Member of Parliament was called upon to consider the greatest good for the greatest number, and insisted that women, from their more individual and sheltered existence, were not capable of dealing with the larger interests of the whole community. She agreed that there were hard cases, as in every question, but brought home the fact that legislation must be for the many, not the few, and that woman as the child-bearer, fulfilled herself best in the private side of life, and if she relinquished that, it would inevitably result in loss of her power and retarded progress. Even among women themselves Miss Pott said that there was a great divergence of opinion on the subject of the vote, and especially as to who were to use it, and in what way, so that the advocates of Woman Suffrage could not even claim unanimity of opinion.

Mrs. Baker then followed and appealed for the vote on the ground that women already possessed a wider outlook to-day, and that they were at least citizens and should have citizens' rights. She suggested that the woman would be a better wife and mother if she took a greater interest in outside affairs, and that the mother's interests needed representation, especially as regards housing reform and care of children.

Questions from the audience were then invited and answered at once by the speakers.

Miss Pott then spoke for another quarter of an hour, deprecating many of Mrs. Baker's statements, and exposing the weakness of her arguments. She instanced the many positions already open to women in municipal work, and proved that if they only filled these posts they could do all that was necessary in housing reform and care of children. Miss Pott argued that women had already progressed side by side with man in spite of having no vote, and that they had already many opportunities for using their influence.

Mrs. Baker in her last remarks said that the municipal vote was only given to old widows and women who did not care to use it, which met with cries of dissent from the audience, many of whom as householders realised the fallacy of this statement.

After Miss Pott had summed up her arguments the resolution was put and carried for the "Antis" by 18 votes.

Bath.—A debate was held at the Guildhall, Bath, on October 3rd, between Mr. Maconachie, of the N.L.O.W.S., and Mr. W. J. Mirrlees, of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. Lady Selborne presided.

Mr. Mirrlees said that one of the objects of the C.U.W.F.A. was to promote the grant of women's suffrage on a limited scale. It was opposed to every form of militantism. He believed that the Conciliation Bill would have passed if it had not happened just then that the outbreak of militantism took place. It was said that women were different from men, and that the woman's place was the home. He agreed. But to his mind those were just the very reasons why women should have the vote.

Mr. Maconachie, replying to Mr. Mirrlees, said that he was in hearty agreement with all that Mr. Mirrlees said in denunciation of militancy and as to the folly of militancy. He contended that supporters of woman suffrage were leaning on a broken reed, when they talked nonsense about giving the vote on a limited scale. He agreed with Mr. F. E. Smith when he said in relation to the Conciliation Bill, "Thank Heaven, its fraudulent career is over." Another point made by the speaker was that if they took the average of men on the one hand and the average of women on the other hand, then women with all their excellencies, their virtues, all their points of superiority over men, were not on the average as fit for political work as men were.

The debate was continued by Lady Selborne and Mr. Mirrlees, and Mr. Maconachie again spoke. A vote of thanks to Lady Selborne was proposed by Mr. Maconachie.

Beaconsfield.—An interesting and well-contested debate took place in the New Hall, Beaconsfield, on October 9th. Mr. A. J. Spencer took the chair. Among those on the platform were Lady Hulse, Lady Warner, Mrs. Commeline, Rev. A. S. Commeline, Hon. G. R. Stopford, Mr. and Mrs. Dixon Davies, Mr. and Mrs. Greenaway, Mr. Mead Taylor and others.

Mrs. Swanwick proposed on behalf of the Suffrage Societies "that it would be for the good of the Empire if women were given the Parliamentary Vote," and eloquently supported her resolution with the familiar contentions of the Suffragists.

Mrs. Greatbatch opposed these contentions with convincing arguments, after which short speeches were made by the Rev. Le Pla, the Rev. Browning, Mr. Matheson, and Mrs. Commeline in favour of the resolution, while Lady Hulse, Mrs. Macdonald, Mrs. Pinchard, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton spoke from the "Anti" point of view. The speech of the last was, as might be expected, on original lines.

Mrs. Greatbatch, in her speech in reply, effectively disposed of the impassioned appeals of the two clergymen by remarking that they might gain more attention when the clergy had agreed to admit women to the ministry, and again favourably impressed her audience with the force of the Anti-Suffrage arguments.

Mrs. Swanwick then brought the debate to a close in an appealing speech, and the resolution was put to the meeting and lost by 70 votes to 64. This was most satisfactory as several known Anti-Suffragists had to leave before the vote was taken, and the Suffragists had made every effort to assemble their forces.

Bournemouth.—A debate under the auspices of the local Branch of the "National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks" was held at Boscombe on October 13th on the question, "Should women have the vote?" The supporters of the motion were led by Mrs. Howes, of the W.S.P.U., and the opposition by Mrs. Dering White. The former appealed largely to the sentimentalism and emotionalism of her hearers, the latter relied chiefly on a clear statement of facts. After an animated discussion the resolution was defeated.

Bristol.—The Young People's Branch of the Anti-Suffrage League met on the evening of October 4th, in Fort's Rooms, Royal Promenade. About 130 were present, conducted by their Secretaries, Miss Paul, Miss Evans, Miss Bull and Miss Showell. Miss Griffiths, from Fishponds, was not able to be present. Their President, Miss Long Fox, gave them a stirring address framed on Tennyson's words: "The woman's cause is man's; they rise together, dwarfed or godlike, bound or free." After the programme of winter work had been decided on and new members enrolled the Misses Andrews provided an entertainment, which was greatly appreciated.

The Sub-Committees belonging to the Bristol Branch assembled for the first meeting of the autumn session at Fort's Rooms at 7.30. The Bristol Executive Committee and a large number of members who have lately joined the League were invited to meet them. After the business meeting Mrs. Atchley gave an excellent address, which was listened to with great interest. The following resolution, proposed by Mrs. Atchley and seconded by Mrs. Bad-

cock, was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting pledges itself to do all in its power to oppose the granting of Parliamentary votes to women because it believes that it will be detrimental to their true interests and injurious to the Empire.

At the close of the meeting several of those present joined the League.

Dundee.—A most successful meeting was held in the Foresters' Hall, Dundee, on October 2nd under the auspices of the Dundee Branch of the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League. The speaker was Miss Mabel Smith, and the chair was taken by Mr. T. G. S. Little.

The granting of the franchise to women on the same terms as it is held by men, the chairman said, was just one aspect of what was known as the feminist movement. The position held by women in the world to-day, attained and maintained without the vote, was conclusive that women's influence was not dependent upon the franchise.

Miss Mabel Smith said although the Parliamentary vote was what a certain number of women wanted, it was by no means what they needed, and after all their lengthy agitation they had not proved their cause. The reason why there were Anti-Suffragists was not because of any low opinion of their own sex, but that they believed that the giving of votes to women would make things worse. Taxes were not the price of votes; they were each one's individual contribution to the upkeep of the State. What women had to see to was that they had the right kind of men, and to trust them to frame the laws which the women had inspired.

At the close of her address Miss Smith was subjected to an exhaustive cross-questioning.

Glasgow.—On October 16th Miss Mabel Smith met Miss L. Maclean in debate at the Tradeston Liberal Club, Glasgow. The Anti-Suffragist was able to demolish easily and effectively by means of official documentary evidence the economic and other fallacies advanced in support of "Votes for Women" by her opponent, who generously acknowledged from the platform Miss Smith's superiority as a speaker. Strangers having, however, been brought in to support the Suffrage resolution, it was carried by 5 votes, the voting being 27 to 22.

Ipswich.—The Ipswich Branch of the League held their first public meeting on October 6th at the Woman's Sphere Exhibition which was being held in the Public Hall. Mrs. Harold Norris, who was the chief speaker, gave a most logical and able address, and was able to answer with convincing statements the many questions put forward by a number of Suffragettes present. The Hon. Mrs. Stanhope Tollemache presided, and supporting her were Lady Cranworth, Lady Cuninghame and Miss Cuninghame, Lady Farren, Miss Rowley, Mrs. H. Jervis White-Jervis and Miss Jervis White-Jervis, Mrs. Edward Packard, Mrs. W. Paul, Mrs. O'Donnell, Admiral and Mrs. Aldrich, Mrs. Pitzer Taylor, Miss Eva Fisher, Mrs. Capel Cure, Dr. H. H. Brown, Mr. Elwyn Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. Bowring, and Mrs. Bennett (Hon. Secretary).

The Hon. Mrs. Stanhope Tollemache said that they were all sorry that Lady Stradbroke was unable to preside at the meeting, and they hoped both she and Lord Stradbroke would soon be completely restored to good health. A telegram was read from Lady Stradbroke expressing her regret at not being present to give her whole-hearted support to the Anti-Suffrage meeting. The Chairman then briefly reviewed the present situation and introduced the speaker.

Mrs. Harold Norris said that she was very glad that they had disturbed the Suffragists to the extent of having formed a Branch in the town. In times gone by motherhood and fatherhood were the supreme parties. In later times a new factor had arisen—the unmarried spinster—the highly-intellectual spinster. In civilised countries she said that the women would die of starvation as soon as the men disappeared. If the State demanded the highest motherhood she held that the State should not place on women other duties and services which would conflict with that position. She regretted that there was a scarcity of women in domestic service where they were well employed and well paid, and a larger number employed in men's work at lower wages. It mattered most to the nation, not what women did, but what women were. The greatest benefit to the nation would be the preservation of their womanhood. They knew that men could not do the work of women, and if women exhausted themselves on doing men's work they could not do their own work so well. It was because of this that they regretted the militant movement.

Lady Farren moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. Norris, which was seconded by Mrs. Pitzer Taylor. A vote of thanks to the

Chairman was also proposed by Mrs. Edward Packard, seconded by Miss Eva Fisher and cordially passed.

Some brisk heckling followed, and the proceedings closed with a brief appeal by Lady Cuninghame on behalf of the local Branch of the League.

THE EXHIBITION.

The members and supporters of the newly-formed Ipswich Branch, under the able generalship of their President, Lady Cuninghame, did yeoman service for the N.L.O.W.S. at the "Art in the Home, or Woman's Sphere" Exhibition held in the Public Hall from September 30th to October 11th. The Branch has only been established a few weeks, and no more effective way of bringing its organisation and the aims directly to the notice of the Ipswich people could possibly have been devised. Decorated with the League colours, loaded with a host of pretty trifles, all gifts from friends and adherents, and an ample supply of League literature and badges, the "Anti" stall, as it was promptly nicknamed, attracted instant attention, and the helpers in charge had a very busy time. Fortunately, there was plenty of willing help available, not only from members of the Ipswich Branch, but from the sister Branches of Felixstowe, Southwold, and Woodbridge, who each took a day or days to send representatives to relieve the Ipswich stallholders.

Among those to be congratulated on the excellent start the new Branch has made in the chief town of Suffolk may be numbered Lady Cuninghame, Lady Farren, the Hon. Mrs. Stanhope Tollemache, Mrs. Pitzer-Taylor, Mrs. Capel Cure, Mrs. Jutson, Mrs. Morrison, Mrs. O'Donnell, Miss Cuninghame, Miss Coley, Miss Wilson, Miss Parkes, Miss Rowley, Miss Jervis White Jervis, Miss Violet and Miss Bridget Cuninghame, and Miss Aldous.

Liverpool and Birkenhead District.

Abercromby.—On October 20th, by the kind invitation of Miss Barnard, a drawing-room meeting was held at 57, Rodney Street, Liverpool. The chair was taken by Alderman M. H. Maxwell, J.P., who made a few appropriate remarks. Miss M. Winifred Hughes (Organising Secretary) and Miss Gostenhofer (Hon. Secretary) then addressed the meeting, followed by Mr. F. A. Goodwin (Hon. Treasurer). A vote of thanks to the hostess, proposed by Miss Gostenhofer, seconded by Mr. F. A. Goodwin, terminated a successful meeting, which resulted in several of those present joining our Association.

Manchester.—An interesting debate took place at the "White House," Blackpool, under the auspices of the Blackpool Debating Society on October 13th, between Mrs. Bamford Tomlinson (Suffragist) and Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc. (Anti-Suffragist), Mr. Taylor in the chair.

Mrs. Bamford Tomlinson opened by saying that she based her claim to the franchise on the fact that she was a human being, and that as the lives of men and women were indissolubly bound together she claimed an equal share in the Government. Moreover, as a democrat she doubly urged her claim. She said that women, having no voting powers, got no hearing from Members of Parliament. She finished by saying what she would do if she had had the vote, and mentioned the following:—Pensions for widows, better housing, easier divorce, higher wages, etc.

In reply, Mrs. Craven pointed out that, regarded simply as human beings, women's claim to the franchise must be decisively refused. Nature herself had differentiated between men and women, making them physiologically different and man physically stronger. Man naturally has wielded the power that is in him and is the law maker. With him, owing to his superior strength, rests the responsibility of government, and therefore with him must lie the authority. The speaker clearly pointed out how, through the municipal vote, it was possible for women to bring about the reforms Mrs. Tomlinson urged.

At the close of Mrs. Craven's speech the debate was opened to the members, a number of questions were asked, and a statement of hers that only 5 per cent. of the adult women of the country are members of accredited suffrage societies was received with incredulity; but as the source was a leaflet of the N.U.W.S.S. the figures had to be accepted.

A vote of thanks to the speakers closed the meeting. No vote was taken.

It is interesting to note that at a debate held there last year there was only one Anti-Suffrage member; this year the number has considerably increased.

A meeting was held under the auspices of the Girls' Club, St. John's Institute, Higher Broughton, on October 13th, when Mrs. Watson Harrison very ably put our side of the case against Woman Suffrage before a number of girls, who listened with great interest (having already heard the Suffrage side). Many

questions were asked. No resolution was put, but the feeling was strongly Anti-Suffrage, only two of the members being inclined to the Suffrage side out of about 30 present.

Newport.—A public debate was held at the Temperance Hall, Newport, on October 17th, arranged by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage and the Newport Non-Militant Women's Suffrage Society. Sir Garrod Thomas presided. The affirmative side was taken by Miss Helen Fraser (N.U.W.S.S.) and the negative side by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun (N.L.O.W.S.).

The chairman briefly introduced the speakers. Miss Helen Fraser submitted "That the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women would be in the best interest of the State." It was in the best interests of the State that justice should be done to all the people in the State, and women who were qualified the same as men should be given the Parliamentary vote. If a woman was good enough to pay a man's salary, she was good enough to say whether she liked the gentleman or not.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun pointed out that the vote was not a reward of merit, not a certificate of education—it was the instrument of government in an Imperial country and Empire. The incapacity of women to understand, and the incapacity of women to rule, was a very different thing. Because of privileges which Nature had laid upon women there were things which men could do which they could not do. The upholding of the State must remain in the hands of men, and for that reason they must have the final decision.

Members of the audience then put forward their views, to which Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun replied, followed by a final speech from Miss Fraser.

The vote was then taken, and after a second "show of hands" it was decided that there was a small majority in favour of the Suffrage.

Votes of thanks were accorded the chairman, and the interesting proceedings terminated.

North Berks.

East Hagbourne.—A social meeting of members living in and near Hagbourne was held on October 2nd at The Grange, East Hagbourne, when Mrs. G. Kingsbury entertained the local Anti-Suffragists to tea. Lady Wantage, the President of the Branch, was present, and speeches were delivered by Mrs. Harold Norris and Miss Gladys Pott.

Mrs. Norris repudiated all suggestions that Anti-Suffragists depreciated women or women's work, and pointed out that under a representative system the vote might be regarded as a protection of class interests, but that women formed no class—they were part of every class—and that therefore the vote of a working man represented the same interests as those of the working woman, and the vote of a professional man the interests of a professional woman, while a woman landowner's interests were identical with those of a man landowner. But the average man had more of the experience necessary to enable him to deal with the business side of life than had a woman.

Miss Pott pointed out that though many Suffragists professed to denounce militancy, yet all members of the Church League for Woman Suffrage were openly co-operating with supporters of militancy. Members of that League were notorious militants, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee with five other members of that governing body subscribed to the W.S.P.U. Miss Royden, who had lately spoken at the Church Congress, and was editor of the "Common Cause" and a leader of the self-styled "Non-Militants," had sat on the Committee of the Church League with Mr. Clayton, the chemist convicted of conspiracy with other militants. Miss Pott also read an extract of a letter from a missionary in India stating that the behaviour of the Suffragist women was used as a weapon against the education of women in India, and against Christianity.

A vote of thanks to the speakers, proposed by Lady Wantage, closed the meeting.

Amongst those present were Lady Jane Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. Buckeridge, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Gillam, etc. Letters of regret for absence were read from Lady Henderson, Lady Hyde, Mrs. Leasing and others.

Perth.—A crowded meeting was held under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage in the Lesser City Hall, Perth, on October 17th. The Marchioness of Tullibardine presided, and among others present were Sir John and Lady Dewar, Lady Georgina Home Drummond, and Captain Stirling, of Keir. Apologies were intimated from Mr. W. C. Gladstone, M.P. for Kilmarnock, and Mr. W. Young, M.P. for East Perthshire. Mr. Young wrote that he was as firmly convinced

to-day as ever he had been that the experiment of placing political power in the hands of women was one they could not take the risk of making, no matter what pranks might be played in certain other countries, of which they had heard so much from those who advocated votes for women.

Lady Tullibardine said she wished to repudiate emphatically the idea that Anti-Suffragists were satisfied with the scope and opportunities afforded to the women of the early or mid-Victorian era, or that they were indifferent to all that higher education had done for women. She fully realised the value of the lives of women, and had too real a sense of comradeship with other women not to be other than proud of the many achievements in so many different spheres of life during the course of the last generation, or not to appreciate the far greater freedom of action and thought which women enjoyed in the present day. But the question of whether a Parliamentary vote was necessary to complete that freedom was quite another matter. The battle for higher education was a matter of interest concerning the individual, to which no one could raise any opposition, but to argue that women should vote as men was tantamount to saying that the service which women were to render to the community and the State were to be the same as those rendered by men. The speaker went on to say that she thought on constitutional questions they would find women holding different views, but on questions more directly touching family life there would be a general tendency for women to vote as a sex on those questions to the ignoring of any other that might be before the electors, and she instanced the case of the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association which supported the Labour Party because this party were in line with them on this one question, while every other question was swept and ignored out of existence.

Miss Mabel Smith then addressed the meeting. She maintained that whereas general social betterment is of equal importance to every member of the community, the Suffragists have never proved the connection between the evils of which they complain and the voteless condition of women. Miss Smith submitted Suffragist grievances under three headings, to analysis and criticism, showing how the expectations based upon the extension of the franchise to women were impossible of achievement. It was noticeable that during question time nobody attempted to contravert her presentation of the facts of the case.

Sandown.—One of a series of meetings held under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held in front of the Free Library on September 24th. Mr. Goodwin presided, and the principal speaker was Mr. H. B. Samuels. At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Samuels invited questions, but none were forthcoming.

Sheffield.—An interesting speech was delivered by Mr. Walter N. Drew, who presided at the annual meeting of the Sheffield and District Branch of the League, at the Cutler's Hall on October 16th. At the close of the address the report detailing the past year's activities was presented and adopted. The Duke of Norfolk was re-elected President, and Lady Talbot, Lady Bingham, Colonel C. Clifford, and Miss Watson, Vice-Presidents. Mrs. Valentine Pearson was chosen Hon. Treasurer in the place of Mr. G. A. Wilson, who is retiring; Mrs. Edward Bramley was re-elected Hon. Secretary, and the following were added to the Committee: Mrs. Walter Drew, Mrs. Turner, and Mr. S. White-man. The Chairman was thanked on the proposition of Mr. Edward Bramley.

Shrewsbury.—The annual general meeting of the Shrewsbury Branch was held on October 8th in the lower room of the Music Hall. In the unavoidable absence of the President, Miss Ursula Bridgeman, Mrs. Bather presided, and gave expression to the general regret felt at the absence of the President. The bye-laws and the Hon. Secretary's Report were then read and adopted, and the officers and committee re-elected. The Report read by the Hon. Secretary, Miss H. Parson-Smith, showed that the Branch had been very active during the past year, and that it now numbered many hundreds of members and associates. The balance-sheet, read by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Mylius, showed a substantial balance at the bank. The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Bather for so kindly and ably taking the chair at the last moment.

South Wilts.—At the Talbot and Wyvern Hall, Wilton, on October 15th, a debate was held which aroused the keenest interest both locally and throughout the county. Lady Selborne, representing the Suffragists, and Miss Gladys Pott, representing the Anti-Suffragists, debated the proposition: "That the Parliamentary franchise be extended to those women who pay rates and taxes." Mr. C. R. Straton presided, and upon the platform were Lady Muriel Herbert and Mrs. Richardson supporting Miss

Pott, and Mrs. Peart and Miss Nash supporting the Countess of Selborne.

The debate, which turned chiefly on the effect of the vote in other countries, ended in the defeat of the resolution by 150 votes to 36, a significant majority in view of the interest taken in the meeting.

Owing to pressure upon our space a full report of the debate is held over until our next issue.

Downton.—On October 16th a debate was held at Fairfield, the residence of Colonel Marriott-Smith, when, in the presence of over 100 of the chief residents of the neighbourhood, Miss Gladys Pott, of the N.L.O.W.S., argued that the admission of women to the Parliamentary franchise would be detrimental to the best interests of the British Empire, the Countess of Selborne taking the opposite view. Tea was afterwards served and the meeting dispersed.

Upper Norwood.—Mr. M. G. Liverman held a successful open-air campaign in Upper Norwood during the latter part of September, during which six meetings were addressed outside the Crystal Palace gates to large and enthusiastic audiences. Mr. J. Aylward acted as Chairman on each occasion. The speaker dealt with many branches of the subject, and answered large numbers of questions put to him. Many of the audience willingly subscribed small sums to the local Branch. Mr. Aylward has been very active in this district for some time, and supporters locally are anxious for the formation of a Sub-Branch.

Whitby and District.—The annual meeting of this Branch was held on September 9th at Bolton Hall, Danby, at the kind invitation of the President, Mrs. George Macmillan. The chair was taken by Mr. Macmillan.

After the report had been read by Miss Priestly, recording an increase of membership during the past year, an interesting address was given by Mrs. Colquhoun, who laid stress on the importance to the national life of women's work in the home and their influence in producing the "right sort of men," while for the women with the leisure and capacity there was much to be done in the wider field of local government. She mentioned some of the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage movement and their work and interests, notably Mrs. Humphry Ward's efforts on behalf of children, and Lady Jersey's far-reaching Imperial work in connection with the Victoria League.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Colquhoun, one of the audience afterwards expressing the wish that she had continued for another hour. A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mrs. Weighill, a member of the Branch Committee, and also of the Whitby Board of Guardians. Other members of the Committee present included Mrs. de Wend, Mrs. Brodrick-English, and Mrs. Mitchell.

At the close of the meeting badges and REVIEWS were sold.

THE BEEHIVE.

The Beehive met at the Christian Institute on October 18th, at 3.30. Lady Griselda Cheape opened with prayer, and gave a short address, taking the words "What is wrong with the world" as her subject. She showed that it was the lack of practical Christianity which was causing all the friction and bringing about strife and strikes. If people would only realise the true Fatherhood, then the real brotherhood would follow, and life would be brighter and happier for all.

Votes for Women! was a false god. Voting at best was a very clumsy machine. Men had made it, and it might suit them, but it was like a lumbering old stage coach, and women would be better to develop the gift that God had given them and rise to him on spiritual wings.

Lady Perrott gave an interesting address on the work of St. John Ambulance, and showed how in peace we should be ready for war. In the beginning it was instituted by the Amalfi merchants for the poor pilgrims, but later they went forth to the Crusades. It teaches people to be thoughtful and resourceful. Learning always requires time and patience, but the punctuality and application increases discipline, which is very beneficial to the individual. She referred to the excellent work done by the rescue parties at various mine disasters which consisted of men of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. She hoped all would join the local Branch of the Red Cross and benefit themselves by gaining knowledge.

A collection was taken, the proceeds of which would be sent to Miss Cheatham, an untiring worker for this great cause. Many REVIEWS and badges were sold, and members were enrolled. Tea was served and the meeting broke up.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

TEACHERS' SALARIES AND THE VOTE.

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

Sir,—I regret that an absence of several weeks has prevented me from replying earlier to Mr. Herbert G. Williams' letter in your current issue.

I notice that the ground of discussion has been shifted, and that instead of continuing the question of "equal pay for equal work" he now argues that in New Zealand men and women teachers do not get equal pay for different work, e.g., in boys' schools and girls' schools. He is quite correct in this. The difference is accentuated by the fact that a sliding scale of salaries depending upon the number of pupils in attendance is in use; in the instances he quotes the boys on the average outnumber the girls by roughly 37 per cent.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN L. CATHER.

A series of meetings is being arranged by the Paddington Branch to be held by kind permission of the Dowager Lady Dinsdale at her residence at 3, Westbourne Terrace. The dates are as follows:—

November 6th.—11.30-12.30.

November 18th.—11.30-12.30.

December 4th.—5.30-6.30.

The subject chosen for November 18th is "Sweating," when Miss Gladys Pott will address the meeting. On October 4th Mr. Maconachie will speak on "The legal position of women." The subjects for the other two meetings have not yet been arranged.

We hope that other Branches will follow the example of the Paddington Branch with a view to furthering interest in the Anti-Suffrage movement.

LEAFLETS—

24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
29. Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
32. Taxes and Votes: Should Women have Votes because they Pay Rates? Price 4s. per 1,000.
34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
41. A Liberal's Standpoint: A Plea for Conscientious Objectors. By Holford Knight. Price 5s. per 1,000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
44. The Lord Chancellor's Speech at Albert Hall. Price 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000.
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51. Suffragist Fallacies. A Mandate (?). Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
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54. The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
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