

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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### A BELGIAN MILITARY HOSPITAL.

Miss Dormer Maunder, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Ewell Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., now Organising Directress of a Belgian Hospital, appeals for hospital requirements for the

#### HÔPITAL MILITAIRE BELGE, BOURBOURG.

The hospital contains 300 beds. Gifts can be sent free of charge, if directed to H.M. the Queen of the Belgians. They will be received for dispatch at

THE WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC BUREAU,  
415, OXFORD STREET, W.,

where all information regarding what is needed may be obtained. Among the articles required may be mentioned the following :—

- Counterpanes.
- Pillows and pillow-cases, large and small.
- Cushions.
- Dressing-gowns.
- Pyjama suits.
- Gloves, for winter wear.
- Shoes, for ward use.
- Waistcoats, for ward use.
- A few chairs with foot-rests.
- Stationery, pens and pencils.
- Three pieces of thin white muslin or tarletan, without dressing.
- Primus lamps.
- Rugs, dark colours.
- Biscuits, jam.
- Socks.
- Handkerchiefs.
- Nightshirts.
- 300 special jackets for ward wear.

The last four items are being supplied from the Bureau, which is also providing some flannel shirts, shirts for special cases, sponges, and a quantity of bandages.

### PEACE PROPAGANDISTS.

The fiasco of the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague last April has given the country some respite from public demonstrations of a stop-the-war character. But the tenacity of the peace propagandists was sufficiently shown by the fact that they were prepared to carry their campaign to the length of splitting the main body of Suffragists into two camps. If then we are spared for the time being the offence of congresses in favour of peace or an "immediate truce," there is no reason to suppose that the pacifists have abandoned their propaganda. Only the methods of the peace campaign have been changed. Attempts to convert the public *en masse* have been superseded by more insidious means of securing supporters, and it is well that we should not lose sight of the movement. Here it may be stated that opposition to these pacifists does not imply love of war, or a desire that peace should not come as soon as possible. It implies the conviction that this is not the time to agitate for the conclusion of hostilities, or to attempt to decide terms of peace upon insufficient data.

The movement in favour of immediate peace received its first impetus from the Suffragist ranks. It was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies who conceived or first acted upon the idea of an international peace congress, with a view to introducing Woman Suffrage into the chief countries of Europe on a great peace wave. The plan miscarried. Too much opposition was encountered among Suffrage Societies, in spite of the Suffragist dressing with which it was decked out. The pacifists, however, stuck to their guns, and split the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. In the interval which has elapsed since this success was achieved, the secessionists do not appear to have evolved any new organisation of their own. Perhaps the first venture of these women in the direction of peace was not sufficiently



promising to allow them to feel justified in carrying on the work of their own accord. Be that as it may, they have shown a disposition to take shelter in the one or two societies that previously carried on a more or less clandestine movement in favour of peace or against the war. The chief of these is the Union of Democratic Control, which has tried to focus in itself such antagonism as exists in this country to the successful prosecution of the war. In ordinary circumstances this body would not call for notice in these columns. But in view of the part played by Suffragists in the early efforts to bring about a suicidal peace, and in view of the fact that the Union of Democratic Control is essentially Suffragist in constitution, we are constrained to follow its activities. Its doctrines, it is true, have been denounced by a section of Suffragists, who still hold the reins of office; but the group that has allowed itself to be associated with the Union of Democratic Control is too strong in the Suffragist world to be ignored, or to accept a permanent habitat in the wilderness. Anti-Suffragists do not forget the political truce to which they have voluntarily subscribed. The strange interpretation placed on such a truce by Suffragists, however, requires from us that we should continue to hold a watching brief for the country in regard to this one particular question. The public memory is notoriously short; the public range of vision is generally restricted to the one subject which may hold its attention for the time being. If during the war Suffragists can adduce war work done by millions of women who are not Suffragists as an argument for the Suffrage to which those millions are opposed, they are likely when the war is over to do all they can to make the public forget that in the midst of the national crisis one-half of their official representatives deliberately adopted a policy which played into the hands of their country's enemies.

The chief lights of the Union of Democratic Control are all well known in the Suffrage world. Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., W. C. Anderson, M.P., F. W. Jowett, M.P., E. D. Morel, A. Ponsonby, M.P., Charles Trevelyan, M.P., C. Roden Buxton, B. N. Langdon-Davies, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Mrs. I. G. Ford, Miss Muriel Matters, all these names, together with that of Miss Maude Royden, are associated with one or another scheme for "exercising influence in the direction of a cessation of hostilities." Their connection with Suffragism is now being turned to account in an attempt to enmesh the individual branches of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in the toils of the Union of Democratic Control. On the ground that one of its objects is to obtain democratic control of foreign policy, and that by "democratic" is understood the equal co-operation of men and women, the Union invites each Branch to form within itself a group to be affiliated to the Union. The arguments by which it is sought to persuade the Suffragist Societies have a special interest for Anti-Suffragists. They are supplied by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, at one time Editor of the *Common Cause*, and a member of the Executive of Mrs. Fawcett's Society. Mrs. Swanwick writes in a pamphlet quoted by the *Morning Post*:—"It is time that British men realised that Anti-Suffragism is Prussianism; it is time that women Suffragists realised what their denial of the major premise of the Anti-Suffragist entails. . . . Every Suffrage Society ought to be a pacifist society, and realise that pacifist propaganda is an integral part of Suffrage propaganda." Here we have a frank avowal of the aims of the Union of Democratic Control, and of

what an important section of Suffragists consider the aims of Suffragedom ought to be. How far these aims are compatible with the countries' interests whether in time of peace or in war, our readers are in a position to judge. The fact that a large body of leading Suffragists holds these opinions ought to serve as a warning to the nation in the future. The more so as the breach in the Suffragist camp is due to the temporary circumstance of war rather than to any fundamental difference of opinion. It is the actual events connected with the war that cause Mrs. Fawcett and those who supported her at the last Council Meeting to make an exception in regard to Suffragist tenets. They realise that in one particular Suffrage theory has broken down, but they will not admit that the war has demolished it altogether. Yet war emphasises the diversity between the essential functions of men and women, which the Suffragists protest are equal and identical. This point was well brought out by Miss G. S. Pott in her speech to a meeting of London Branches held in July. It had been greatly impressed upon her, she said, from experience in private hospitals, how diverse were the essential functions of men and women, the one having to consider primarily the community and the other the interest of the individual. Both might be equally indispensable, but in the one instance all the care and attention of the woman has to be given to the individual need of the wounded man, and to nurse him back to health and strength, in order that he may return to the front and again take his place as a unit of the fighting force; in the other instance those responsible for the campaign of armies and nations must disregard the fallen and stricken, in order to achieve the final success of the community. Surely those two opposing duties ought not to be required of one and the same person at the same moment? But if women are to replace men in the control of the country by virtue of their numbers, they will continue to place the need of the individual before that of the community, unless they are to be expected to stultify their nature as the result of their excursion into politics.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

### Women's Employment.

Among the University Extension lectures recently given at Oxford was one by Mrs. Douglas Carruthers (Miss Violet Markham) on the question of women's employment, with special reference to the work of the Central Committee of Women's Employment, of which Mrs. Carruthers is a member. It will be remembered that in the early days of the war there was an alarming increase of unemployment among women, especially in the dress-making and luxury trades. This state of affairs led to the appointment of the Central Committee, in whose work Queen Mary has taken a keen personal interest. As a result of the work 83 schemes in all have been adopted, with a total of about 10,500 workers, exclusive of the contract side. Mrs. Carruthers admitted that this was a modest result, but she held that the usefulness of the Committee had been established in other ways as well. She pointed out that by great good luck they had the chance of experimenting and exploring the difficult ground under fairly easy conditions. That was to say, they were not working all the time with the overwhelming pressure upon them of a large bulk of unem-

ployment. What they had been able to do was to perfect their machine, to see what was and what was not possible, and when great distress arose, they would be in a better position to deal with it than in August of last year.

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### The Passing of Unemployment.

At the present time it is satisfactory to note that there is not much unemployment. There is rather a premium on women's work. As the war progresses it has brought with it employment and the artificial stimulus of industry. The boom will not last, but before Mrs. Carruthers went on to speak of the problems of peace time, she laid stress on the duty of the moment. Women, she said, would have to be used in increasing numbers in order to set free the men, if the war was to be prosecuted to a successful conclusion. It was quite clear that in France and Germany women were being employed to a greater degree than in this country, and the munition and military activities of those countries were largely dependent on and bound up with the employment of their women. It is possible, however, while using to the full and extending the opportunities created by the war, to introduce preventives against the accumulation of evils arising out of the dislocation of normal conditions. With the new introduction of women into industry, Mrs. Carruthers pointed out, they ought to be very carefully organised and safeguarded as to conditions of employment and rates of wages, because unless this were done, there would be a position unfair to the women themselves, and unfair to the men they were temporarily replacing. At all costs, she continued, they ought to avoid the creation of a new industrial residue, half-skilled and half-paid, which would be a terrible reserve of labour at the disposal of the sweater and of the extortionate employer in the future.

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### The Future Problem.

We miss in the reports of Mrs. Carruthers' lecture any direct reference to the lines on which the experience gained by the Central Committee of Women's Employment has been running. The subject may not have lent itself to elaboration within the scope of the address. But in her reference to the efforts "to capture German trade—a phrase which went at first through the country like wildfire, and ran to the heads of many like champagne"—the lecturer indicated where the chief mistake was made at first in trying to grapple with women's unemployment. It is true that there is no reason why certain manufactures should be successful in England because they are in Germany; but it ought to be equally obvious that two or three score of women collected from anywhere to make toys from indifferent models are not going to capture the toy-trade of Germany. In the first place we must beware of hasty improvisations. An American statesman once said: "A strong conviction that something must be done is the parent of many bad measures." Organisation and decentralisation are required. The genius of women works on individual lines. We shall be well advised, therefore, to lay all possible stress on the advantage of those who wish to assist their fellow-women confining themselves to the workers immediately around them. To start a central organisation in London and subsidise a Press agent before work is begun on a small scale can hardly fail to court disaster for the best scheme.

## WAR WORK FOR REWARD.

BY ARTHUR POTT.

The formal admission made by leaders of almost all political parties and organised bodies that this is no time for the prosecution of domestic controversies has been interpreted and acted upon by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage in accordance with the spirit, as well as the letter, of that declaration, and there is no intention of departing from the attitude adopted by our leaders in this matter. Anti-Suffragists, however, will be well advised, if they take note of the fact to which reference has been made in former issues, that Mrs. Fawcett's Society is carrying on its propaganda work in the interests of Woman Suffrage by methods which can only be regarded as mean and unscrupulous. Only that obliquity of moral vision which occurs as one of the *sequela*, if not an actual symptom, of Suffragitis, can explain the phenomenon that persons whose standard of conduct is, in other matters, up to the average, can see nothing degrading or dishonourable in the use of under-hand means to secure an advertisement of their cause.

Such incidents as the publication of the notorious Selborne-Lytton letter, Mrs. Fawcett's proud boast that Suffragist nurses abuse their position by extracting from their patients promises of future support, and that war work undertaken by Suffrage Societies is marked prominently with their party label, should not be without their moral for us as giving a clear warning that those who adopt such methods cannot be trusted honourably to observe any truce the violation of which might help their ends in this particular controversy. It is noticeable also that a section of the Press refuses to be content to allow the Suffrage question to remain dormant. The *Daily Mail*, in its issue of August 4th, published several articles reviewing the war work of the past year, and amongst these were an Editorial entitled "The New Britain," and an effusion upon "Women's War Work," by Mr. Robert Segar, both of which appear to argue that the behaviour of British women during the war has materially altered the aspect of their claim to an enlarged sphere of civic activity, and both articles contain sentences which suggest that the Journal publishing them proposes in future to support the cause of Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Segar's article is vague and nebulous to such a degree that the reader is left doubtful as to whether the author has any definite policy in view, and the greater part of it might well be construed as a plea that women should be encouraged to take a larger share in the public work now open to them, a contention which Anti-Suffragists have consistently urged, and supported; there is, however, one paragraph which is hardly capable of such an interpretation. Mr. Segar writes: "Where agitation and distressful controversy failed to appeal to the nation at large, the opportunity of demonstrating the practical basis of woman's claim to undertake responsibility has cleared the air and stilled in the din of war the shrill voice of militancy." Here we have a confession and a claim; the confession that the pro-Suffrage agitation failed to impress public opinion, and the claim that women have now shown their fitness for responsible work. I enter a protest against the "now," for women's fitness for public work needed no demonstration, and is so obvious that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the *Daily Mail* writers' desire is not so much to encourage women to work in those public spheres already open to them (and badly in need of their energies) as to give them



new powers and duties. And since we are told in another passage that "they have been steadily preparing to act unaided in the conduct of public affairs," that before the war "they were becoming a vital force in politics," and that "if in their official attitude they appeared to lack ability to make allowances for man, it was no doubt because they were still battling against the stream," I am driven to the conclusion that the writer intends to advocate the granting of enlarged political power to women, and that the enormous, if indirect, influence which they now possess, is not, in his view, sufficient. The use of the phrase, "their official attitude," suggests that he has in mind the programme of the pro-Suffrage Societies, and even if the almost inevitable conclusions which one draws from this article were disproved or disavowed, or if the point were made that a signed article does not commit the newspaper in which it appears, the Editorial to which I have already referred would be sufficient to bring the *Daily Mail* under suspicion of having joined in the pro-Suffrage agitation, and further of having chosen this moment of stress and danger in which to urge the making of a hazardous political experiment. The article entitled "The New Britain" concludes with a paragraph upon the help given by women to the country during this war, and that help has indeed been invaluable, and is more than worthy of all possible recognition. British women have risen to the occasion in a manner that makes praise a superfluity and an impertinence, and to most of us this is no surprise, although it appears to be so to the *Daily Mail*, which contains the following wholly futile argument: "A vital revelation of the war has been the change it has wrought in the status and activities of women. There were people before its outbreak who said that women could not vote because they could not fight. We all know better now. . . . The war has done more for the sex than anything they could do for themselves . . . and in this new Britain women are destined more and more to share in the opportunities and responsibilities of men."

We all know that the case against Woman Suffrage does not rest wholly upon the argument of force, strong though that argument is, and the Editorial from which I have quoted has not subtracted one scruple from its weight by urging the obvious truth that the aid of women is indispensable to the successful conduct of war; but if the paragraph above quoted means anything at all, it means this, that women ought to vote because they enable men to fight. This is a weakened variant of the old and stale contention that women should vote because they are the mothers of men who fight, an argument long since considered and answered, into which it would be mere waste of space to enter again. The point to which I desire to call attention at this moment is not the validity or otherwise of the contentions of the *Daily Mail*, but the fact that this newspaper (and consequently the whole group of journals associated with it) has given grounds to the suspicion that the Northcliffe influence is to be thrown upon the side of revolution on the Suffrage question. I am the more concerned to emphasise this, because of two things that are forced upon our notice; first, the undoubted fact that members of the pro-Suffrage bodies are taking advantage of the nation's need and of the patriotic abstinence of Anti-Suffragists from their propaganda work; and second, that certain of our weaker-minded supporters and many of the great mass who are indifferent on the Suffrage question, appear to think that, because most Suffragists are energetically patriotic, there-

fore they must be right-minded upon all political questions, or at any rate might be rewarded for their patriotism by concession upon the vote issue. Is patriotism shown for reward, or is the vote a right rather than a duty and responsibility? And lastly, is it not the fact that those who have shown themselves in act, if not in intention, anti-British, the Shaws, the Roydens and their like, are also recognised champions of the pro-Suffrage cause? For if this be so, it would not seem as though Suffragism were correlated with sound patriotic sentiment, though many have claimed that such a connection exists.

### THE NAVAL AND MILITARY WAR PENSION BILL.

The decision of the House of Lords to postpone the second reading of the Naval and Military War Pensions Bill until after the recess is likely to secure for that measure more attention from the general public than it obtained during its somewhat hurried passage through the Lower House. The Bill deals with the question of pensions and grants and allowances made in respect of the present war to officers and men in the two Services and their wives, widows, children and other dependents, and the care of officers and men disabled in consequence of the present war. It is proposed to constitute for the purposes of the Bill a Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, a body appointed in 1904 to administer funds for the benefit of widows, children and other dependents of deceased soldiers, sailors and marines. As originally drafted the measure provided that of the twenty-six members of this Committee two should be appointed by the Governing Body of the National Relief Fund, and two by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. This provision was made in the expectation that the National Relief Fund would be in a position to make a contribution to the monies to be administered by the Statutory Committee. When, however, it was learned that there was no chance of such a contribution being made, the proposal to include members of the Governing Body of the Fund was withdrawn, and representatives of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association were also omitted from the Committee. This Association, as is well known, has dealt, and dealt successfully since the beginning of the war, with the enormous work entailed by the provision of separation allowances to the wives or dependents of married soldiers and sailors. Thus it comes about that, if the Pensions Bill were to become law in the form in which it left the House of Commons, not only would the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association find itself superseded, but the process of "scrapping" it was to be carried out so effectively that no provision was to be made for placing its experience at the disposal of the new Committee.

The arguments advanced by the Government to support its action in dispensing with the services of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, were as follows:—In the first place, the Bill dealt with pensions as well as with separation allowances. It would, therefore, cover a much wider field than that of the work of the voluntary Association, and there were practical difficulties in allowing the two forms of grant to be administered by different organisations. Secondly, there was the question of funds. As the grant of pensions would entail the expenditure of large State funds, it was impossible to leave their distri-

bution in the hands of a private Association. Pensions were already falling due, and the problems connected with their issue would not brook delay. For that reason the Government felt impelled to push through the measure that would give them the necessary machinery in the shortest possible time.

Both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords the unwisdom of eliminating the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association and the experience which it had gained during the war was freely criticised. The assurance given by the Government that representatives of the Association would be sure to find places on the Local Committees to be set up under the Bill, was regarded as a very inadequate substitute for official recognition and for formal provision that the Association should be confirmed in its work, at least for the period of the war. It has been pointed out that practically all that is asked for on behalf of this body could be secured by the simple remedy of restoring the two members who were to represent the Association on the Statutory Committee, according to the Bill as drafted, and securing for the Association statutory representation on the Local Committees. To both these courses, however, the Government is opposed. It had no desire to belittle the services rendered to the nation by the Association, nor was it anxious to see it prevented from continuing those services, but it preferred to leave the matter to the option of the Local Committees, and adopted the attitude that all would be well. In both Houses there was the feeling that, as Government had set its heart on seeing the Bill become law before the recess, its attitude towards amendments was dictated more by this consideration than by the merits of the proposed alterations of an admittedly unsatisfactory measure. By the time the Bill had reached the House of Lords opposition to its provisions had become more articulate, both in Parliament and outside. On the day set down for the second reading, when it was expected that a division would be taken, Lord Lansdowne was constrained to propose the adjournment of the House over the week-end, in the hope that an understanding could be arrived at between the Government and the critics of the Bill. But the adjournment failed to achieve this, and when the debate was continued the House resolved to defer further consideration of the Pensions Bill until the autumn.

If it were the case that the Government, convinced of the urgency of the measure, felt obliged to reject any radical alteration of their scheme for fear that one amendment would entail another, and that the Bill would thus be delayed, it should not be difficult to devise a plan to meet the objections of those who feel strongly that the services of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association ought not to be entirely lost to the country after the passage of this Bill.

It is of interest in this connection to realise something of the work done by the Association, and we may conclude this article by quoting from the tribute paid to it by the President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants. In a letter to the *Morning Post*, Mr. H. Woodburn Kirby wrote:—

"At the outbreak of war the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association immediately set to work to make of its nucleus peace organisation an efficient machine capable of coping with the national duty of administering relief amongst the relatives of those fighting for the country. The Association has enabled thousands of

families to tide over the period between a man's enlistment and the actual receipt of Government allowances, besides giving assistance with high rents, temporary help in times of sickness or other special needs, and befriending in countless small ways those under its care. The work of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association in London and its 900 branches throughout the country is performed by upwards of 50,000 voluntary workers. The disbursements, which are all in small sums, amounted between August 4th and December 31st, 1914, to over £1,000,000 sterling.

"To secure accuracy and uniformity in administration the Association availed itself of the services of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Council of which formed a Board of Audit Control, under whose direction some 1,200 hon. auditors supervise the accounts. My position as Chairman of that Board having brought me into close touch with the working of the organisation, I have pleasure in testifying to the high state of efficiency which it has attained. The economy in its administration is best seen in the extraordinarily low working expenses, which amount to about 1½ per cent. only of its transactions. At a time when thrift is being preached as an urgent national necessity, any suggestion of superseding this existing machinery and substituting a system which must involve heavy expense would appear to be an indefensible waste of money and experience."

### WOMEN AND THE WAR.

The *London Congregational Union Quarterly* contains an appeal for the safeguarding against abuse of the larger employment of women now taking place. Ought women, it asks, to work as long hours as men? The answer is emphatically in the negative, and here we see exposed the fallacy of the contention that there ought to be an equal flat rate of pay for women and men. The first concern of those who have the interests of women at heart ought to be to see that in no case women are called upon to do what is in reality "man's work." If she has to turn her hand to work usually performed by men, the first consideration ought to be that the conditions of the work should in one way or another be made easier for her. There will then be no occasion for the factitious outcry of equal pay for equal work, for care would be taken, as indeed it generally is taken, that there is never "equal work."

The *London Congregational Union Quarterly* continues:—

"Whatever woman's future may be, whatever other duties woman undertakes, man will suffer, the nation will suffer—woman will suffer most of all if she is robbed of her domesticity. Home life is unthinkable without the graces she brings to it—whether as wife, or mother, or daughter, or sister. It is not man's selfishness that prescribes her place, but man's need; it is not woman's limitation to be domestic, it is her glory. And she is never robbed of that glory without a very heavy penalty being paid. If, for instance, among the rich in the East, she becomes not a partner, but a plaything; not a house-mate, but the inhabitant of a seraglio, manhood is spoiled and belittled. If, as is too often among the poor in the West, she is taken from her home place to the factory, to the shop, even to the desk, her own life and her partner's suffers, and the nation's children are handicapped at birth."



## SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' BUFFETS.

Through the great central hall at Euston Station, to the right of the statue of George Stephenson (how many passing by stop to look up at the face of that wonderful inventor, to whom so much in England and in all the world is owing?) one comes, somewhat unexpectedly, upon the "Soldiers' and Sailors' Rest Room," a very pleasant sign of welcome to many weary men "back from the trenches." Here, at any hour of the day, twenty, fifty, or a hundred even, may be seen enjoying hot tea or coffee and eating cakes and sundries, etc. This particular buffet was the first of its kind to be started by the energy and resource of private ladies, and has been open since February of this year. As elsewhere, the numbers necessarily vary greatly from day to day, but frequently a thousand men have been served. The room kindly allotted by the directors of the railway is the best available, but it is none too large, and it is very much to the credit of the Organising Secretary and the ladies assisting her that it is kept clean and in such good order, for the difficulties are many. Also the arrangements made for the comfort of the guests are excellent, and small tables where they can write their letters, comfortable chairs, and even coat-pegs for their heavy overcoats have been thought of and provided. This buffet is closed after midnight, as trains are not run until the early hours of the morning, when again the buffet is opened.

At the Paddington buffet the work continues with increasing vigour, for the number of men served have been jumping up these last few days. The total on a particular day in the third week of August was 1,700, for the twenty-four hours, and five to seven hundred during the night itself is no unusual number. Some Australian soldiers were particularly appreciative of their tea. "The best they had tasted since leaving Australia." While certain despatch-riders were grateful for their water-bottles being filled with cold tea. Even a hundred men arriving tired and thirsty in the early hours of the morning would make it well worth while to keep the buffet open. And how often, just as the station roof overhead turns that peculiar blue which tells of the dawn, one sees them swinging down the platform, and come crowding up to the counter asking for "Coffee, if you please, Miss," while perhaps they will show their trophies, the head of a German shell, or the photograph of the girl they have come home to marry. They speak simply, confidently, without bombast of any kind, but they are very resolute of victory. From what distant part they have sailed, or on what longer journey they are bound, must not here be told, but their faces, keen and determined, haunt the memory, for do not they express in a high degree that power of "patient endurance" which some philosopher has defined as the truest heroism?

## THE CANADIAN ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of our London Branches held in July an account was given by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the war work activities of members of the League. This statement may be supplemented by the following brief summary of war work received from the Canadian Anti-Suffrage Association:—

We have been busy all through the winter, having in affiliation with the "Brotherhood of St. Andrew" sustained a reading room and canteen in the Toronto concentration camp for from 4,000 to 10,000 men. We have also presented five field kitchens to the various battalions and printed a French-German handbook. Much relief and Red Cross work has been accomplished by our Association, working as a body or in groups. Our secretary spent all the winter in England working on a Soldiers' Comforts Distribution Committee.

## UNITED STATES NOTES.

Utah, one of the first States in the Union to adopt Woman Suffrage, has through its legislature again defeated a Child Labour Bill, closely modelled on the lines recommended by the National Child Labour Commission.

Iowa, a Male Suffrage State, recently passed a law to limit the working day of children under sixteen to eight hours. Iowa takes rank among the States which are conspicuous for their child labour legislation.

During the last six months, says *The Woman's Protest* of July, woman suffrage has met defeat in twenty States, five by direct vote of the people and fifteen through the representatives in the various State legislatures. The five States and the majorities by which Woman Suffrage was rejected are:—Ohio, 182,905; Nebraska, 10,104; Missouri, 140,206; North Dakota, 9,401; and South Dakota, 11,914. The fifteen States in which the legislatures declined to send the Woman Suffrage question to the people for final decision are: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Vermont, Texas, Florida, New Hampshire, Indiana, Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, Rhode Island, Georgia and Michigan. In Michigan Woman Suffrage has been defeated twice by the vote of the people, in 1912 and 1913, and this year the legislature refused to send the question before the people again.

The question of Woman Suffrage will be submitted to the voters of New York State at the polls on November 2nd. Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania are also "campaign States" this year.

A Bill making women eligible for service on juries passed the Californian Senate, but was defeated in the Lower House last April. It is beginning to be recognised in the Suffrage States that voting women cannot expect to be immune from the responsibilities and duties of male voters. But the idea of placing upon women the same obligation to serve on juries as exists in the case of men was felt to be an instance of theory run mad. The Californian Senate seemed determined to put the feminist movement to the test. An amendment providing that women might be relieved from duty at their own request was defeated by a vote of 30 to 7. As the Bill left the Senate, women were to share the same liabilities with men. Jury service for men is often extremely onerous, but their private business alone suffers, for employment on public affairs is accepted as reasonable ground for exemption. In the case of women, if "equality" is to be carried to its logical limits, neither home duties nor the illness of a child could be cited as an excuse for ignoring a summons to attend a jury, it might be for several days at a time. Though essentially a Suffrage measure, the folly of it all was too much for California, and the Bill was thrown out in the Lower House.

"The lightest woman vote polled in Denver since Colorado became an equal Suffrage State was cast yesterday, according to the politicians and other experienced observers.

"Even the most ardent of the Suffragists acknowledged that the inclement weather was not the cause. All gloomily admitted that 'something was wrong.'

"I'll tell you what's the matter," said Mrs. Martha J. Cranmer, member of the State Board of Pardons and a pioneer in the Suffrage movement in Colorado. "Most of the women have become disgusted and quit voting. One might as well be frank about it. Only a few more elections and all the women in Denver will have quit voting. The women have shown that they can't stand together.

"They have divided into factions and instead of going down the line for a good cause they spend their time knifing one another. I, for one, am tired of all this fussing and fighting.

"I am completely disgusted. I shall never vote again. What is the use, will you tell me? Have the women accomplished anything in the twenty-two years they have voted? I am not pessimistic, I am simply disgusted. Do I admit that Suffrage is a failure? The facts speak for themselves."

*Rocky Mountain News (Denver), May, 1915.*

The Suffrage movement in the United States is closely associated with pacifist efforts to interfere in the European War. The following extracts from an article, entitled "Women and War," from

the pen of Mrs. W. Lowell Putnam, sister of President Lowell, of Harvard University, are of interest:—

Women are or should be the conservers of life. War is the great destroyer. How can the two be discussed together. Perhaps it would be impossible were our sex consistent, but it is filled with delightful inconsistencies, inconsequences rather, and its relation to war is as diversified as its nature readily permits. France lost all her colonies in the New World because Mme. de Pompadour was angry with Frederick the Great, who had disparaged her personal charms. Far from being averse to fighting she insisted on France's joining Maria Theresa in the Seven Years' War to avenge herself for the insult. As an antithesis to this we have Jane Addams, President of the Women's Peace Party, and yet I want presently to show that there is more similarity in these two extremes than would at first sight appear. Again there is all the difference in the world between the "Tricoteuses" of the French revolution and Florence Nightingale on her errands of mercy—and yet both were women.

What is the secret bond which binds together these divergent groups of women—that quality which at bottom makes them one? It is the power of their emotions—the quality which permits feeling, quite regardless of reason, to carry them up to the seventh heaven or down to the lowest hell. Sometimes (as in Florence Nightingale's case) it is guided and controlled by reason, but often, even in the best of women, it is not, as, for instance, in the young volunteer who wrote, in all seriousness, to the Paris editor of the *New York Herald*, accusing the nurses in the American ambulance hospital of being without feeling because "they never went out into the corridor to weep."

Pacifists promote war because they always help the aggressor to keep what he has got, which is, of course, a great incentive to further grabbing. This is inherent in the nature of things, for there is no quarrel until the provoking act of hostility has been committed, and then the Pacifist wrings his hands, and says: "Oh, let it pass, it isn't worth fighting about."

Pacifists to-day are playing directly into the hands of Germany and so prolonging the war. All arguments against our selling arms and ammunition to the warring nations are fostered by Germany because owing to England's having control of the sea, the only nations to whom our people can sell them are the Allies. Were we to refuse to sell to them, as Germany of course desires, we should of necessity cease to be neutral. Trade is free to those who can buy, transportation is open to those who can transport. This freedom to buy and to transport is England's greatest asset; were we to refuse to recognise it we must of necessity throw our refusal in the scale in Germany's favour and against England. This is what the Pacifists are urging. It is a striking example of the way their attitude favours aggression and aggression in the long run means war.

The Women's Peace Party is one of the most dangerous movements which has threatened our emotional people for a long time. It was founded by an ex-militant, a woman who had been convicted of criminal acts which were far from peaceful. This woman, to whom notoriety was as the breath of her nostrils, got the ear of several emotional women whose hearts are so large that many people have mistaken them for heads. Some have even gone so far as to say that man's part in war was so much easier than woman's—that it was so easy just to stand up and be shot and all was over in a minute, whereas women must drag their lives on unsupported for many weary years. Child-bearing has been spoken of as though it were the curse of Eve, and never a glimpse of the glory of Mary has been vouchsafed us—no one has suggested that men's relation to this common fact of life, common with the commonplaceness of all great things, is much the same as women's relation to the suffering and loss of their husbands in the war.

War is a disaster truly, but it is not the worst that may befall a people. It is a result, not a cause—like fever in the human body which is not so much a symptom of illness as a sign of the effort of the body to overcome its invaders. To carry our simile a little further, if we would escape disease we must not only make our bodies wholesome within, but at the same time we must guard the portals of entry—we must, for instance, oil our streets if we would prevent the dangers due to dust. If we would prevent war we must make our country and our world wholesome within, and having done that, we must also guard our portals. Women have not done their share in making life wholesome, in ways too many to enumerate here they have failed of doing their part. It is far easier to berate others for their failure than to do our own job well. The work that is needed must be done quietly. "The Kingdom of Heaven cometh not with observation." The world needs sane, wholesome, holy living to-day more than it probably has

ever needed it before, but in seeing this and in trying to compass it, let us not overlook Mahomet's counsel to his faithful follower who announced that on the coming night he was not going to tie his camel but was going to commit him unto the Lord. Mahomet's reply to him was, "Friend, first tie thy camel and then commit him unto the Lord."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "THE AUXILIARY SEX."

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

SIR,—The Suffragettes are making strong headway with the unthinking public, those who take things for granted. "Look!" they exclaim, "what the women have done. Look! at Serbia, at Miss Elsie Inglis." She is a clever capable doctor and organiser, and her work is splendid. No Anti-Suffrage is mean enough not to give adversaries their due. Women are doing their bit, and as helpers they are splendid. But this is one of the strongest proofs that women do not want the vote. The doors of industrial labour and of the scientific laboratory have flown open to them, and women are able to do and to help in the great whole. Miss Douglas Irvine, who had been out in Serbia, after a great eulogy to their cause, came down to plain facts. "All the way out the one question was, 'How were we women going to be able to nurse and move the Serb patients, for they are a race of mighty giants.' But this was solved when we got prisoner men orderlies to do that part." Yes, physical force, the very basis of the vote.

Then again they thanked the Colonel in command, who facilitated and arranged matters for them. Yes! man, man, man—he must be the Head. And in Germany the women are doing men's work. Yes, to a certain amount. "Yes!" exclaimed Lady Jellicoe, "because the men are becoming scarcer." Is it to be wished that we should have a greater population of women than men? Rather that Suffragettes and Anti-Suffragettes should do their best and rise to help their nation, that we should strain every nerve, and that we should do our part nobly; and with God's grace we will try to do the men's work too; but it will and must be temporary. For when we do what is not our work, we are *des pis allées—faute de mieux*.

I am, etc.,  
GRISELDA CHEAPE.

To the Editor of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

### AMERICA AND THE WAR.

SIR,—I have not time to transcribe at length, but would like English readers to see the two brief sentences which follow, which are extracts from an interview given to the *New York Times* by Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, a leading Californian feminist and author of distinction, well known in England.

"There is no doubt that women will be more powerful than ever before after the war. You see, most of the men will be dead!"

"The women of Europe must despise the men. The men let the fabric of civilisation fall to pieces from lack of diplomatic wisdom and skill."

Without comment, I sign myself

"AN AMERICAN ALLY."

Washington.

**The Beehive.**—Lady Griselda Cheape writes: Our Society, thank God, is doing very well. The quick and ready response of our members is simply splendid. On July 31st there was a flower show in St. Andrew's, and by the kindness of the Society we were allowed to have a stall. Our Bees brought gifts, and we realised £10 for the Disabled Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund. We also sent out a Furter hand ambulance to the front, the price being £17 17s. 6d. It was through the kindness of the Anti-Suffrage office that I got into communication with Sir Frederick Treves, who had the ambulance passed by the War Office. It was Sir Frederick Treves's kindness and energy that caused the War Office to send over six on trial. Since then nine regiments have been equipped with them, and the rapid transit saves much suffering and many a life of our brave wounded men. Our work for August is to try to place very poor children in Homes, Quarrier's, Aberlour, and Barnardo's, and to emigrate a child to Canada. We are glad of help. The membership of our Society is 2s. 6d. a year, which includes the REVIEW. Particulars from Lady Griselda Cheape, Straththyrum, St. Andrew's.



## A WAR PROBLEM?

In our June issue reference was made to the steps then being taken to investigate the truth of the reports regarding the number of illegitimate births likely to result from the billeting of large bodies of men away from their families. A report of the Special Sub-Committee appointed by the Rescue and Preventive Sectional Committee of the National Union of Women Workers on this subject has now been issued, and we take from it the following extracts:—

Our inquiry has been conducted on the following lines. We drew up a list of questions, which was sent to the 57 Branches of the National Union of Women Workers in Great Britain, and to 14 of the Women's Patrol Committees, working in the more important military districts. We sent to certain other towns and districts a skilled lady investigator, to make inquiries on the spot along the lines of the questions issued. The investigation has been made as far-reaching and comprehensive as possible; it has included large manufacturing towns in different parts of the country, seaports and country districts, and has extended to districts where large numbers of men have been quartered continuously since the beginning of the war, as well as to those where comparatively few have been stationed and for varying periods.

The authorities consulted have been those who were in a position to furnish trustworthy information. Reports of a specially sensational nature have been followed up. The majority of those from whom inquiry has been made are in constant touch with the girls of the district and their families; it would, therefore, be impossible for the existence of large numbers of expectant young mothers to be hidden from them. We do not profess that our inquiry covers the whole country; for that the time given us was not sufficient, nor did it seem necessary, considering the uniformity of the reports received; nor can our report claim statistical accuracy, which cannot be obtained except from the registrars' reports at the end of the year.

Fifty-five reports containing answers to our questions have been received from the N.U.W.W. Branches and Patrol Committees—of these 32 have been full and complete and 23 less detailed, but all alike contain no confirmation of the reports as to the large number of "War Babies." Special investigations have been made by our own investigator in seven districts.

In addition to our own inquiries, we have been allowed to see the answers to inquiries sent out by Dr. Barbara Tschajkovsky to 29 different places and persons, and the information collected by the Charity Organisation Society from many of its different centres. All the reports are in entire accordance with the information which we have ourselves received.

We have also seen the returns made to inquiries instituted by the Local Government Board and extending throughout the whole country, which show in every case a complete want of foundation for the statements which have been made.

A few instances may be given of the results of our investigations. We were told that in many places the Local Government Board was making large additions to the lying-in wards of the Infirmarys. Not a single new bed has been ordered.

We were told that in a well-known maternity hospital preparations were being made to add fifteen new wards and that fifty beds had been placed at the disposal of our informant. We learned that the additions being made to the hospital were begun in 1913, and that it had received no more illegitimate cases than usual.

We heard that in an important place the lying-in ward of the Infirmary was full, and that they were contemplating opening a new ward. On inquiry it proved that there was not a single case in the ward and that no new ward was contemplated.

In a northern city, where the wildest statements had been made, inquiry at a manufactory employing 3,000 girls showed that there was only a single case among them and that a doubtful one.

In another place, where it was said that 500 cases were known and that 200 had already been received into Homes, investigation has shown that there are not more than 3.

In another, it was stated that 40 girls had already been discharged from one department of a factory on account of their condition. This proved to be entirely false.

Of those individual cases reported to us, very few are under 16; many are girls known as having already borne a bad character and as having had illegitimate children previously. Place after place reports "nothing abnormal," "no increase expected," "no appreciable increase."

The general conclusion that we have arrived at, therefore, about the reports that have been circulated as to the large numbers of "War Babies" is that they are without foundation, and reflect unfairly on the characters of our soldiers and our girls. We do not mean to deny that there has been grave cause for anxiety on account of the prevailing low moral standard, as well as on account

of intemperance, often the result of thoughtless treating; nor that there has been much giddiness and foolish excitability among the young girls, leading often to most undesirable conduct. We must remember that this is the result in part of the same spirit of unrest and excitement, which makes others ready to believe and repeat the most exaggerated statements without due evidence. We recognise that we need to build up in ourselves and in all those with whom we come in contact—and especially in the young and inexperienced—a more serious and self-controlled spirit, which will enable us all to face in a calm and courageous temper the dangers and difficulties of the present crisis. But we feel that the way in which the subject has been treated in many quarters is likely to do incalculable harm. We are called upon, therefore, to redouble our efforts to provide for our girls a wholesome outlet for their natural excitement, and for the patriotic zeal which has been aroused in them. Our girls need wise friends now more than ever, who will help them to discipline themselves and to realise what they can do for the service of their country. The work both of the Women Patrols and of the League of Honour will contribute powerfully in this direction, and supplement what the older organisations are doing. We have been glad to learn from the Girls' Friendly Society that they have had no exceptional trouble amongst their large number of members. All existing approved organisations, whether new or of long standing, need increased support from the public, if our girls are to be wisely helped to avoid future dangers and difficulties. Everything that we have learned points to the need of providing opportunities for wholesome recreation for the girls and for the sailors and soldiers. We have learned nothing to oblige us to pass a harsh judgment upon them or to distrust them in the future.

## BRANCH NEWS.

**Richmond.**—Mrs. Dumergue, President of the Richmond Branch, writes: On July 8th and 14th two entertainments were given by some of the members of our Branch and myself. My house being central, though small, was considered the most suitable, and very gladly did I agree. The 8th was the more important entertainment, because it was to welcome our sailors and soldiers, chiefly our wounded ones. These arrived in motor taxis from London; a lady drove some in her own motor car; while another lady accompanied them. Their return drive to their hospital through Richmond Park was, I hear, thoroughly enjoyed. The rose ramblers forming archways and hedgerows down my garden path were a picture of beauty. Some very successful photo groups were taken. It is wonderful what a number of people that little garden can hold with judicious placing of chairs and benches. Tea, light refreshments and strawberries and cream had been arranged for out of doors. It would have been ideal, but alas! heavy showers forced us to hurry everything indoors. Still, disappointing as it was, there was no lack of good nature all round. The Scout Boys—whom I had specially invited because I take a deep interest in them and their cause—proved our brisk and busy helpers. A partial spell of sunshine after tea came to cheer us. Most of the guests gathered once more outside. The drawing-room looks out on the garden, and the window being flung wide open, enabled Sergeant A. Varney, E. Surrey (Territorials), to sing out song after song and lead off choruses with his splendid voice. Such a young stalwart soldier—a soldier heart and soul. We all wish him God-speed when he starts for the front, as he longs to do shortly, though he must bid good-bye to his brave little wife and though he must leave his father and mother, Richmond folk, who are bereft already of their eldest soldier son—fallen in fight for his country. I am so grateful, and so are all who heard her, to Madame St. Elmo, who voluntarily gave her professional musical help. She sat on the garden steps with her guitar, and it was delightful to listen to her sweet singing; great was the general appreciation. Only owing to the watery weather the programme had to be curtailed, so we unfortunately missed her recitations. However, when we wound up with the national anthems of the Allies and "God save the King," led off with fine spirit by Sergeant Varney, we felt that all had passed off happily.

Our party on the 14th took place here also. This time it was for the wives and children of some of our sailors and soldiers who are now in the Fleet or at the front. I grieve to say the rain fell even more heavily than on the 8th, so we just had to make the best of everything indoors. Once more Sergeant Varney was very kind, and brightened us by singing—quite of his own accord. Every child present got a little gift, some of the gifts being garments made at our working party, and there were dainty toys distributed by a pretty tiny girl, besides other playthings brought by some of our Branch, whose kind hearts remembered the little ones, and generous contributions from others, not of our Branch, towards our party on the 8th.