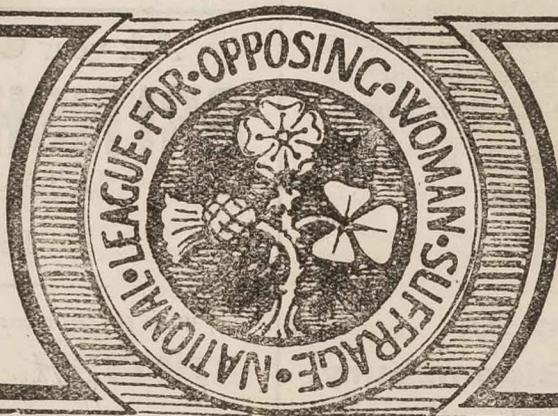


ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

1912.

No. 62.



DECEMBER, 1913.

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THE TREND OF MODERN LEGISLATION.

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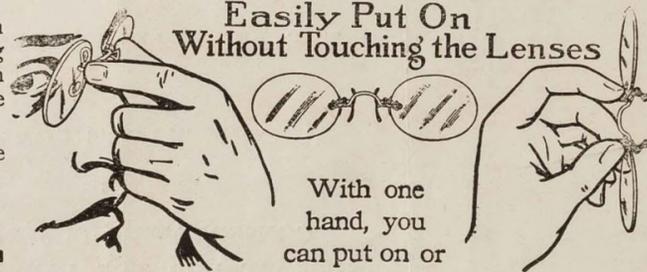
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THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POSITION.

THE award for the best brief statement of the Anti-Suffrage position has been given to Lady Simon, Penhurst, Edgbaston. Lady Simon's statement was as follows:—

We oppose Woman Suffrage—

1. Because the vote is a symbol of governing power, and the stability of a great Power cannot fail to be endangered if the responsibilities of government are entrusted to the sex which has no resources, beyond influence and persuasion, to ensure the carrying out of its decrees.

This statement is not based upon the assumption that women would, upon any conceivable national or international question, range themselves upon one side in opposition to men. It is based upon the probability—almost a certainty—that a majority numerically stronger in women than in men, as opposed to a minority representing the national male majority, might fail to be convincing from the point of view of physical force, and thus convert any time of national crisis into national chaos.

2. Because women cannot render, in return for the political power which the vote would confer, an equivalent in active service for the State. Women would therefore often be in the position of exercising power divorced from responsibility; of controlling national activities in which their sex debars them from taking part; and of dealing with many technicalities with which they have never been in touch. They would be giving up the work for which they are fitted and wanted, in order to attempt work which can be far better discharged for the nation by men.

3. Because the political constitution of any great Power which fails to take into account the different functions of the sexes, physical, social, and political, in building up the State, must prove to be radically unsound.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| DECEMBER | 1ST, MITCHAM.—Vestry Hall. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith. |
| " | 1ST TO 14TH, GLASGOW.—Women's Art Exhibition. Stall of Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Members of the League are asked to kindly give all the assistance they can at the stall. |
| " | 2ND, NEWBURY.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 3RD, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.—Corn Exchange, 8 p.m. Debate. Miss Pott (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Mrs. Corbett Ashby. |
| " | 3RD, HAREFIELD.—Branch Drawing-room Meeting, 3 p.m. Miss Helen Page. |
| " | 3RD, BRISTOL.—Anti-Suffrage Debating Society. |
| " | 4TH, PADDINGTON.—Branch Meeting, 5.30 p.m. Mr. A. F. Clements. |
| " | 4TH, OXFORD.—Town Hall. Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A. |
| " | 5TH, SOUTHWOLD.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 5TH, BRISTOL.—Fishponds Debating Society. Miss Price (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Miss Tanner. |
| " | 8TH, FINCHLEY.—Mr. A. Maconachie. |
| " | 8TH, NEWPORT, MON.—Debate. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 8TH, VICTORIA DOCKS CUSTOMS HOUSE.—Miss Mabel Smith. |
| " | 10TH, ILKLEY.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 10TH, MANCHESTER.—Didsbury League of Young Liberals. Debate. Mr. T. Macpherson (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Mrs. Stewart Brown. |
| " | 11TH, DUBLIN.—Debate. Miss Mabel Smith. |
| " | 11TH, BRADFORD.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 12TH, BARNSBURY, N.—North London Clarion Fellowship. Debate. Mrs. Stocks. |
| " | 12TH, LEEDS.—Mrs. Harold Norris. |
| " | 12TH, LANCASTER GATE, W.—St. Mary's College. Debate. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. |
| " | 15TH, GLASGOW.—Giffnock Literary Society. Debate. Mrs. Harold Norris (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Mrs. Cross-thwaite. |
| " | 16TH, HAMILTON.—Town Hall. Mrs. Harold Norris. Sir J. Stirling Maxwell, Bart., in the chair. |
| " | 17TH, EDINBURGH.—Junior Conservative Club. Debate. Mrs. Harold Norris (N.L.O.W.S.) v. Miss Alice Low. |

"THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY."

No-one will deny our Suffragist opponents a capacity for shrewdness. They have won support for their agitation by laying hands on a variety of catchwords or phrases, which they have exploited to good purpose among those whose opportunity or ability to think out problems for themselves is limited. Driven in turn from each point of their attack, the Suffragists have still contrived to find other temporary positions of vantage, and have made the most of them before their weakness has been exposed. The old arguments that did yeoman service at one time have been worked out, or have been so seriously undermined that they have to be reserved for very elementary audiences. At this stage in the controversy when definite statements have an unhappy knack of bringing refutation in their train, it is a shrewd move on the part of Suffragists to revive and to try to press home the "democratic argument." "This meeting, believing that the denial of the vote to women is contrary to every principle of democracy . . .," is now the formula that finds favour in Woman Suffrage resolutions. Without doubt, "democracy" is a word to conjure with; it offers even safer ground than "religion." We live in a "democratic" age, we believe in "democratic" institutions. The "principles of democracy" are presumed to be so obvious that no one stops to enquire what they happen to be. Certainly the question does not trouble either Suffragist speakers or the Suffragist audiences who pass the resolutions. If compelled to supply a definition, they would probably tell us that democracy means "government by the people," that "people" includes women, and that, therefore, a form of government that does not provide women with votes must be "undemocratic." It ought not to be necessary to point out the fallacy of such a line of argument. Democracy is no hard and fast conception; it has no principles save those which the interpretation of the contemporary age, in the light of past or present experience, gives it. We know as a matter of fact that democracy, whether as interpreted in France, in the United States of America, in any other present-day republic, or in Great Britain, does not recognise the principle of parliamentary votes for women. For this reason, the denial of the vote to women cannot be contrary to any principle of democracy. Any claims of this nature made by Suffragists could be echoed with equal justice by minors objecting to an age-limit as being contrary to the principles of democracy, or by syndicalists and anarchists, who would also like to win general acceptance for the theory that democracy and change are synonymous words.

But although Suffragists may experience difficulty in defining the word "democracy," there can be no doubt as to their conception of what democracy ought to mean. Mrs. Fawcett, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, has been careful to explain the inwardness of the so-called Woman's Movement. Speaking at Oxford on October 29th, Mrs. Fawcett held up to the admiration of her audience the principle of vote-catching by bribes for the electorate. Referring to the political history of thirty years ago, she is reported to have said: "You see how the clever men felt about, as it were, for something to please the electors, and if women have votes, there will be 'cows' for them." This subject has been well dealt with by Professor V. Dicey. In

his "Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women," he writes:—"A Ministry in want of support may bid high for the votes of women. But such traffic in votes is nothing better than sheer bribery, and, in the eyes of honest men and of honest women, bribery is none the more respectable because it is the corruption, not of an individual, but of a class, or because the bribe comes neither out of the pocket of a Member of Parliament, nor out of the funds of a party, but out of the public revenue." Mrs. Fawcett, whose devotion to the Woman Suffrage cause is gradually evolving for her a saint's halo in the eyes of her followers, unblushingly throws in her lot with the most degraded aspect of democracy that the demagogic wit of man has devised. Let it not be supposed for a moment that anything in the minds of politicians of thirty years ago could have borne the interpretation that Mrs. Fawcett's intelligence now places upon it. It is one thing for a political party to cast about for a measure that in meeting a popular want may count upon popular support; it is another thing for Mrs. Fawcett, at the head of her fellow-Suffragists, to offer to sell their votes to anyone who will promise to pay for them suitably. "Grant Woman Suffrage," says Mrs. Fawcett in effect, "and you shall have women's votes for the asking—on payment." It was no mere rhetorical exaggeration on the part of the leader of the Suffragist agitation. "There are plenty of things," she continued, according to the report in the *Oxford Chronicle*, of October 31st, "we could mention to the clever politician in the way of finding what these 'cows' should be—equality of the divorce laws, equality of the law of inheritance, the guardianship of children, raising the age of consent, and the fair and equal administration of the law." Five separate bribes are enumerated as infallible for the securing of the Feminist vote, when once the country is committed to Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. Fawcett's bait cannot fail to bring home to those who approach the subject thoughtfully one of the great dangers of Woman Suffrage. Votes for women would mean that practically half the electorate, not having any strong views on the subjects on which our political battles are fought out in the country, will be ready to dispose of its votes, as Mrs. Fawcett indicates, to anyone who proves the most unprincipled in the matter of offering bribes. Home Rule, Tariff Reform, or any great principle of Government, is to be decided, if Suffragists had their own way, not by the considered verdict of those interested in these State problems, but by a numerically strong section of the electorate, who have been persuaded that we ought to make divorce easy, or that the equality of guardianship makes a difference to the practical everyday life of the nation. So far the principles of democracy have at least aimed at government in the interests of the nation. Mrs. Fawcett's interpretation of democracy rules the State out of consideration altogether, and advances the satisfaction of sectional interests as the highest good.

LIBERALS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At a recent general meeting, which was fully attended, of the Oxford Liberal Association, the prospective candidate for parliamentary honours, Mr. Hubert du Parc, was asked by a member his views on Woman Suffrage. He replied that he was opposed to the grant of votes to women, and his reply was received with general applause. When Mr. du Parc's name was submitted to the meeting, his candidature was adopted practically unanimously, only one vote being registered against him.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Unionists and Woman Suffrage.

As was to be expected, the attempt to commit the annual conference of the National Unionist Association, held this year at Norwich, to Woman Suffrage, was defeated by an overwhelming vote. Mr. Arnold Ward's amendment to Lord Robert Cecil's motion, was: "That it is not expedient to grant the Parliamentary franchise to women on any terms, until this great constitutional change has received the express sanction of the electors." No Unionist true to his principles and honest with himself could oppose that resolution. All chief Unionist Suffragists in their non-Suffrage moments have insisted upon the principle that the electorate must be consulted on grave national questions. Speaking at Chesterfield on August 15th, Lord Robert Cecil said, "I wish the people to have the final word in matters of great importance." But having committed themselves to Woman Suffrage, they have to swallow their convictions, and pretend that it is the most natural thing in the world, and entirely upright, that they should try to force Woman Suffrage on an antagonistic electorate, while denouncing any attempt to do the same with a measure that they happen to dislike.

The Anti-Suffrage Position.

OUR competition for the best brief statement of the Anti-Suffrage position has revealed the fact that most people find it easier to state their case in a book or a number of speeches, than in 250 words. The reason lies with the Suffragists' method of advocating their cause. A few well-defined principles cover the whole matter, and when these are disposed of the cause collapses, or ought, by the rules of sane statesmanship, to collapse. But though Suffragists, basing their belief as they think, on a hundred so-called arguments, may be forced to admit that the 99 they advance so glibly will not hold water, they will cling to the unrevealed hundredth, and still believe that a radical change in the Constitution is justified by the existence of an exceptional grievance. For this reason the Anti-Suffrage position, to be effective, cannot be restricted to the few general principles that count, and anyone trying to state it in a few words is conscious that the numerous side-issues dear to Suffragists are left untouched. Under the above heading, however, we shall from time to time touch upon a variety of points which form the A B C of the Anti-Suffrage position.

A Few Points.

ONE of the fundamental errors of Suffragists is to suppose that the Suffrage movement, as it exists to-day, is on all fours with the movement of fifty years ago.

The earlier agitation was for "Women's rights"—women being then unequal before the law—and it was felt that only by the parliamentary vote could the necessary reforms be obtained.

Practically all that the early reformers wanted has been won. The agitation for the vote has remained, but with the ground cut away from under it. Hence the spectacle of Suffragists taking refuge in easy divorce and pure milk, to say nothing of a multiplicity of mis-statements, to justify their agitation.

At the root of the Woman Suffrage movement is a pathetic belief in the virtue of short cuts. The simple act of voting is to put ideal laws on the Statute Book. Yet if voters could make a millennium we should have had half-a-dozen by now.

Anti-Suffragists hold that women's and men's interests are identical. This means that no woman or body of women can have any interests that are not identical with those of some men or body of men. It is conceivable that the agricultural labourer should consider that he has interests not shared by the miner or the lawyer; it is inconceivable that, with the ultimate good of the home and the State in view, that the interests of the agricultural labourer's wife or daughter should differ from his.

The Woman Suffrage agitation seeks to dissociate interests hitherto identical.

Law-Making.

SUFFRAGIST speakers generally leave their subject just at the point where further remarks would be interesting and instructive. It is frequently urged that absence of provision for equal guardianship for parents over their children is a crying evil, and an argument for Woman Suffrage. How the principle of equal guardianship works in practice is never explained. Miss Geraldine Cooke, a Suffragist speaker, did recently skirt round the subject when she instanced vaccination as a case in point. She said: "Objections were allowed to be made by the father, but if the mother objected and the father did not, her voice was not heard." Miss Cooke would have made a valuable contribution to the Suffrage controversy, if she had outlined the legislation desired by Suffragists on this point. The data are simple: The father is for vaccination, we will say; the mother against. Enter the Law. Be it enacted—what? The ordinary person could only suggest that the casting vote should rest with the child, or with the spin of a coin. But Miss Geraldine Cooke and her fellow-Suffragists must have some more brilliant idea than this in their mind; for, after all, this is what happens—more or less—at the present moment, without equal guardianship. Let it be hoped, therefore, that some Suffragist speaker will take an expectant public into her confidence, and explain how equal guardianship works when the father and the mother disagree regarding the vaccination, the religion, or the education of the child; also how the child will benefit by the aggravation of the parents' disagreements through the intervention of the law.

The Trend of Modern Legislation.

It is so often necessary to direct attention in these pages to Suffragist mis-statements that we sometimes dread lending colour to a belief which is rapidly spreading in foreign countries as a result of the suffrage movement, that a large number of Englishwomen fall short of the standard of womanhood associated with modern civilization. To many people it comes as a surprise and a shock to find how glibly and confidently assertions which are entirely devoid of foundation are made from suffrage platforms. Clearly the reason in a great many cases is the sheer ignorance of the speaker. The suffrage agitation has drawn so many women into the vortex of public life without any previous training; speaking comes easily to them; and after hearing a few Suffragist

speeches they consider themselves equipped for the fray and boldly sally forth to make converts of other unthinking folk. The truth is that the question of woman suffrage, as soon as it leaves its inner defences, represented by the cry, "We want the vote; it is our right," trespasses upon the domains of constitutional and economic problems, which merit at least some cursory study on the part of those who undertake to teach others. But Suffragist speakers and others are too impatient to give any serious thought to their subject. Suffragist organs and the provincial Press have recently given prominence to statements of what has been achieved in suffrage States in America and elsewhere since women have had the vote. It may be doubted whether in a single instance the writers have stopped to find out whether identically the same legislation is not to be found in non-suffrage States. If, as is the fact, it is to be found there, what is the value of their argument? Nor do we need to go outside this country. Many Suffragist speakers believe and have often persuaded a section of their audiences that little or nothing has been done for women and children in Great Britain, because women have not been given the vote. If they have some vague idea that there are such things as Factory Acts and Trade Board Acts, they accept the false conception circulated by Mrs. Fawcett's society and Miss Maude Royden's pamphlet on "Votes and Wages" that these Acts are valueless because the factory girl has not "been consulted" by having a vote given to her. If this were so, it would seem strange that members of the Industrial Law Committee can address meetings on the single subject "How Our Industrial Laws Help Women and Children." But we note that such lectures are being given, and it may not be out of place to reproduce the brief summary of one address delivered by Miss Kathleen Brown. Miss Brown, says this report, drew a vivid picture of the conditions which obtained in this country a hundred years ago before the Factory Acts were passed, and showed how to-day the lives of working women were made much easier. Under the new Factory Acts and Trade Board Acts women were protected from overcrowding and insanitary conditions, from excess of fines, against accidents, from faulty machinery or from fire, against illegal overtime. The working hours of children were regulated, and they were not allowed to carry heavy weights. A minimum of payment in certain trades such as chain and box-making had been fixed, and conditions generally were much better. What was necessary now was to make these beneficial regulations impossible of violation.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE CONFERS WITH ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

We can only deal very briefly this month with the important Anti-Suffrage deputation which was received by Mr. Lloyd George at Oxford, on the introduction of Mrs. Massie, on November 22nd.

Mrs. Massie reminded the Chancellor of the Exchequer how in 1907 he said he "could not conceive of a revolution of this character (i.e. Woman Suffrage) being introduced in our Constitution without the opinion of the country being asked upon it definitely." She maintained that the definite and direct opinion of the country had never been asked, and quoted canvass results in various constituencies to show the strong tendency against Woman Suffrage. She appealed to the Chancellor to support the referendum, owing to the impracticability of otherwise getting a clear decision.

Mr. Lloyd George said he did not see how a mandate could be obtained save through the medium of Parliamentary candidates' election pledges. He made the important admission that he saw no prospect of the reversal of the decision of the House of Commons on Woman Suffrage.

We hope to allude to this deputation again in the January REVIEW.

CONSERVATIVE SUFFRAGISTS SUPPORT FOR THE LABOUR PARTY.

BY GLADYS POTT.

THE October number of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW contains a letter from a correspondent drawing attention to the working alliance between the Suffrage Society presided over by Mrs. Fawcett and well-known Conservative women, such as Lady Selborne and Lady Willoughby de Broke, who, by appearing on platforms of the N.U.W.S.S., identify themselves with the aims and work of that Union. Had the writer of the letter been more deeply informed of the facts of that alliance he might have placed an even stronger case before his readers. A study of the annual reports and other official documents of the N.U.W.S.S. (President, Mrs. Fawcett), and the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association (President, Lady Selborne), reveals a truth hardly to be apprehended by Conservatives, namely, that ladies who openly profess to be ruled by Conservative principles are actively working for the Labour Party. The following facts are set forth in proof of this contention.

The printed "objects" of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association contain the articles of association subscribed to by members of that Society. One of such articles is as follows: "To maintain the principles of the Conservative and Unionist Party with regard to the basis on which the franchise should rest, and to oppose Manhood Suffrage in any form." This profession of faith is clear and definite; Conservative principles are not to be violated and Manhood Suffrage is not to be supported. Membership of the Association pledges each person to these two undertakings. Equally clear and definite is the policy pursued by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. In the Union's annual report (current number) such policy is described as being, "To strengthen that party in the House of Commons which has made Woman Suffrage one of its first objects on its programme." The Labour Party having officially, as a party, supported Woman Suffrage, the report goes on to say that the N.U.W.S.S. supports Labour candidates. The action taken by this Society was even more explicitly stated by Lord Lytton, a Vice-President of the Union, at a meeting of the Association expressly convened last March to explain its policy. "Where there were two Suffrage candidates, one Liberal and the other Labour," said Lord Lytton, "they would support the Labour man and oppose the Liberal. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative Suffragist, because they supported the Labour Party as a party" (see *Common Cause* for 14th March, 1913). The Labour Party's programme embraces Adult Suffrage (see Report of Annual Conference of L.P., 1912), which necessarily includes Manhood Suffrage. Any narrower franchise proposal is accepted by the party merely as a means to the larger end. When Mr. Shackleton, M.P., moved the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, he admitted that he regarded it as the thin end of the wedge, but said that he could not understand how anyone who believed in Adult Suffrage could oppose the Bill. We are, therefore, confronted with one Suffrage body, the C. and U.W.F. Association, pledging itself to oppose Manhood Suffrage, and another Suffrage body, the N.U.W.S.S., openly supporting Manhood Suffrage. Now let us examine the names of the leaders

and supporters of these two opposing associations. Each society owns an executive committee and a number of vice-presidents, members of council, etc. The annual report of the N.U.W.S.S., published February, 1913, prints a list of the names of its officials, subscribers and donors. The *C. and U.W.F.A. Review* for April, 1913, contains a similar list of officials, though it does not publish subscriptions. The following names appear in both societies' lists: Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Mrs. J. P. Boyd Carpenter, Lady Betty Balfour, Lady Chance, Miss B. Cartwright, Viscountess Dillon, Mrs. Gilliatt, Lord Lytton, Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton. Each of these individuals, therefore, at one and the same moment is supporting and opposing Manhood Suffrage; is proclaiming the maintenance of Conservative principles, while furthering the interests of the party which is pledged to Payment of Members, a Universal Minimum Wage, Nationalization of Railways, Uncontributory National Insurance, Adult Suffrage, etc.

The London Society for Woman Suffrage is the largest and most influential society amongst those of which the N.U.W.S.S. is formed. Its members subscribe to the aims and policy of the Union, and its current annual report mentions the fact that the N.U.W.S.S. has decided to support Labour candidates. Clearly, therefore, all members of the London Society are championing the Labour Party and thereby supporting Manhood Suffrage in exactly the same way as is the N.U.W.S.S.

The following names appear amongst the leaders of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association; and also amongst the members and subscribers to the London Society for Woman Suffrage: The Countess of Selborne (President of one Society and Vice-President of the other), the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, Lord Lytton, Sir Edward and Lady Busk, Mrs. Rowland Prothero, Mrs. Fabian Ware, Dr. Jane Walker, Mrs. W. D. McSwiney, Miss Murrell Marris, Mrs. Sidgwick, LL.D., Lady Strachey. Each of these persons, then, is pledged to oppose any form of Manhood Suffrage, and is at the same time actively supporting it.

Another of the printed "Objects" accepted by members of the Conservative and Unionist W. F. Association reads: "To work for women's enfranchisement by educative and constitutional methods consistent with Unionist principles." The deduction to be drawn from the conduct of those of its members already mentioned would seem to be that Unionist principles embrace that of furthering contradictory claims and of the end justifying the means. Is it consistent with Conservative principles that the Socialist opponent of a Conservative candidate—a Socialist whose voice had been raised in explicit encouragement of the riotous excesses of women whose actions the C. and U. W. F. Association profess to condemn—should receive the direct support of individuals laying claim to the guidance of Unionist principles? The N.U.W.S.S. and the London Society for Women's Suffrage used all their force and influence towards securing the return of Mr. Lansbury for Bow and Bromley in November, 1912. A joint committee-room was opened, meetings organised and leaflets written by representatives of both societies advocating Mr. Lansbury's opposition to Mr. Blair, the Unionist candidate. Mrs. Fawcett recommended the former to the electorate in preference to the Conservative as "a purifying influence in the House of Commons." Miss Helen Ward, who is described in the *Common Cause* as organiser for the

London Society during the Bow and Bromley election, issued a leaflet on behalf of Mr. Lansbury's candidature urging the electors to "know a good man when they have got him." In addition to this electioneering campaign, we learn from the annual report of the N.U.W.S.S. that five other candidates at bye-elections during 1912 were assisted by the Union against Conservative representatives. Lady Betty Balfour, Lady Chance, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, etc., were supporters of the N.U.W.S.S. Lady Selborne, Mrs. Rowland Prothero, Mrs. Fabian Ware, etc., were members of the London Society, and as such each and all of these ladies have interpreted the phrase "methods consistent with Union principles" as meaning "methods of opposition to Conservative candidates and of support of a candidate who encourages Socialism and militant suffragism." Lord Lytton informed the public at Birmingham on Oct. 22nd last that "non-party" did not imply support of no party, but support of one party. His contention is certainly consistent with the action taken by the N.U.W.S.S., of which he is a member. But can any reasonable man or woman fail to find inconsistency in the actions or attitude of mind that allows Lord Lytton or Lady Selborne to pledge themselves at one and the same moment to "oppose Manhood Suffrage in any form" and to support it as an integral and necessary part of Adult Suffrage? Those who desire to purify politics would do well to note the behaviour of individuals whose deeds in the cause of Woman Suffrage confute their verbal professions. Suffragists would have us believe that by their possession of the Parliamentary vote women would clarify the turgid stream of party politics. How are these ladies proving the truth of such prophecies? By supporting and opposing a main principle at the same moment. By professing to the Conservative Party that they aim at nothing more than the enfranchisement of a handful of women while all the time they are acting in concert with those who labour for the enfranchisement of all women. By pledging themselves to Conservative principles, while actively assisting to increase the strength of that party in the House of Commons which is most violently antagonistic to such principles. Truly the grimy waters of party politics are likely to deepen rather than lighten in colour through the more direct influence of such politicians as these!

A CHASTENING INFLUENCE.

A meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, held on November 13th, at the School of Music, Norwich, was remarkable for the speech from the chair. Mrs. Bignold, who presided, said that she had never been, and was not at present, in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. She would rather not see the suffrage extended. She thought women would gain a certain amount of power from the vote, but she also thought they would lose another kind of power.

A similar surprise was in store for a meeting held early in November, for the purpose of forming the Rustington Church and Conservative Women's Franchise League. Miss Urlliss, who presided, not only denounced militancy without making excuses for it, as most Constitutional Suffragists do, but she went on to say: "There had been a great deal of foolish nonsense talked about rights, but *prima facie* there were no rights. Voting was a responsibility and not a right. Unless women were prepared to introduce into modern politics a higher sense of responsibility to the generations yet unborn that had hitherto been shown by the existing electorate, what advantage would their vote be to the country?"

Miss Urlliss was in favour of Woman Suffrage, but much in the same way as one would speak in favour of the millennium. The ideal application of women's votes held out by Miss Urlliss was entirely distinct from what could be attained in practice.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

THE VIEWS OF A CLERGYMAN AND SUFFRAGIST.

We are indebted to "The Reply," an Anti-Suffrage magazine published at New Canada, Connecticut, for the following report of a sermon delivered at the first Presbyterian Church in Colorado Springs on Sunday morning, August 17th, 1913. The preacher was Dr. Samuel Garvin, a leader of thought in a Woman Suffrage State, himself a Suffragist. His opinions cannot fail to give pause to those who, on the strength of vague generalities by people who have given no study to the subject, imagine that all must be well with any State that has introduced Woman Suffrage.

Dr. Garvin said:—
I realise it is a serious matter to step aside from the preaching of the gospel to discuss a second time, within a month, Woman's Suffrage.

When I mentioned it three weeks ago, it was only a mention. All I said came within five minutes. Striving to draw some lessons from the book of Ruth for both men and women, I bore testimony to the fact that the woman most men admire is the domestic woman, the home-maker. I expressed regret at economic conditions that took woman out of the home and placed her among the wage-earners of the world. The fact that there are 6,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States is a calamity. The majority of them are forced to join these ranks because of unwholesome economic conditions.

I expressed the belief also that Woman's Suffrage was not proving itself the panacea we had hoped for; that our hope for the better day lies not in Suffrage nor legislation of any kind, but in a devout Christian womanhood expressing itself in the lives of her children.

I desire to make clear what I said and didn't say, and then defend my claims. Let me quote from that address:—

"I believe in Woman's Suffrage. Her right to vote cannot be justly challenged. Yet those who thought it a panacea for social and political evils have been doomed to disappointment. It has been discovered that while some masculine votes are purchasable, so are some women. While men can be tricky in politics, so can women. The virtues or vices, the wisdom or ignorance of the world do not belong to either sex.

"The mightiest secular force in the world's uplift to the present hour has been man's love for and admiration of women. Woman's advent into the arena of the ballot box has not increased either of these. . . . Her position of greatest respect is as a home-maker, not a politician. Her title of largest honour is Mother, not Suffragette."

Now to the matter in hand.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

The right of Suffrage is not an inherent right. It is given by the State. The right of the State to protect itself from the vote of the ignorant and vicious is accepted as a matter of course. We do not give the ballot to criminals nor those of unsound mind, nor to foreigners until they have been here long enough to become acquainted with our institutions. There are very many who believe that the fifteenth amendment was a colossal mistake, a measure passed in the heat of victory and not in the calmness of second wisdom. Many suggestions have been made for the restriction of Suffrage, and many laws passed to hedge about this basic institution of government. That a prison sentence should disfranchise a man seems eminently right, for the vote of the immoral would naturally be considered a debit rather than a credit in our political life. The justice of this no one questions.

In some places a literary test is required, not always a just one. There are many people who can neither read nor write who are a great deal more intelligent about our institutions than those who do. Education imparts knowledge, but does not give wisdom. One of the remarkable things is the lack of sound judgment in many people of large knowledge and wide reading.

Another suggested test, long prevailing in England, is the property test, an altogether wrong standard. It is based on the assumption that the great interests of the State are the property interests. It is needless to say that there are other things greater than this. Many a man who does not own the roof over his head is a more capable citizen than the man of large wealth.

The ballot should be given to those who have a certain intelligent appreciation of our institutions and the functions of government, and as well on a certain moral standard. Only a small portion of the really vicious are even disfranchised by a gaol sentence. I do not know how it could be done, but could the

morality test be applied, it would be an immense gain to the soundness and stability and ethical progress of government.

As a matter of simple justice I have for years advocated Woman's Suffrage. I cannot see on what principle of equity it could be denied her—certainly not on either ignorance nor immorality. Moreover, the opposition cannot be based on woman's inability to discharge the duties and obligations of office. We can point with some pride to the achievements of our State superintendent of public instruction and many county superintendents; to Miss Bartelme in Chicago; "Chiet" Chadsey, of Cleveland; and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, of the Industrial Commission of the United States—an appointee of President Wilson.

What comes with force to us is what Woman's Suffrage has not done. I believe still that it has not materially changed the established order of things. In this I am not alone even among the friends of Woman Suffrage. Far be it from me to set myself up as an authority or boast of my encyclopaedic knowledge.

WHAT WOMAN SUFFRAGE HAS DONE.

And now to the matter of what Woman's Suffrage has accomplished in the State of Colorado, a question, of course, which cannot be settled by any court, and after discussion has been completed each side will have as firm faith in the truth and impregnability of its position as before; but there is some ground for a person to believe that it has not accomplished what was hoped for. I submit the following facts:—

First. The question of what has been accomplished by it was submitted to four of the bright legal minds of the city, two of whom are judges of the court. The response was almost in the same words from each one of them: "I do not believe that Woman's Suffrage has put a single law on the statute books of Colorado." I am submitting their opinion rather than my own, men who are familiar with the political conditions in Colorado and have been for a number of years.

Second. Take the case of Denver. Until within the last two or three years it has been accepted as a matter of fact over the nation that no city in the nation was the prey of a more ruthless band of political buccaneers than was our Capitol city. Magazine writers came from all over the country to study the conditions which were considered a travesty on government. Yet for eighteen years the women of the State and the city of Denver had it in their power to correct these conditions, and you must admit that there was no serious vote in that direction until the time when Mayor Arnold was elected, an unfortunate choice, it is true, but only because he was not big enough for his job.

Third. I suppose I should refer with a great deal of hesitancy to the case of Judge Ben. B. Lindsay, who claims his election to the Juvenile Court to have been impossible without the votes of the women, and yet scarcely has he been fairly re-established in his office until we have put in our hands a document from the Women's Protective League, with headquarters at Denver, which calls Ben. B. Lindsay by every name except that of a gentleman and accuses him of about everything in the catalogue except justice and righteousness. If you take their own statements and statements of the officers of the Court which are in that document at anything like the face value, we must believe that no city of the West has ever been afflicted with a more perfect political four-flusher than this same judge of the Juvenile Court, whose reputation has become nation-wide.

WOMEN AND TEMPERANCE.

Fourth. I would like to refer to three matters in the way of temperance in this State. I have read the words of Mrs. Anna Shaw that every opposition to Woman's Suffrage is a defence of the saloon, the brothel, and the gambling hell. I am wondering, if Mrs. Shaw had been in Colorado for the last three years, if she would not have distinctly modified that statement. It was just about the time that I came to Colorado that the Search and Seizure Bill was in the State Legislature and was forced to a vote, and the correspondent of the Gazette at that time made the statement, which I not only remembered perfectly, but took the trouble to copy, that the four women members of the Legislature had power to pass the Bill if they voted right, but that these four women threw their votes against the Bill, thus defeating it, and made local option legislation of the State of Colorado of virtually no effect.

Fifth. Still fresh in our minds are the two temperance campaigns in our own city. The first was to keep out the drug saloon, which was certainly fought to a finish and the storm clouds had not cleared away when I began my ministry in the Springs. You know it was defeated and by what majority, and yet if Woman's Suffrage was doing as much for temperance as Mrs. Shaw would have us believe, it would have been a very easy

matter to have counted the majority on the other side. The results would lead us to believe that the votes of women did not materially change the results.

Sixth. You will also remember that last autumn we had a State-wide prohibition campaign. El Paso county voted against that initiated measure by about 2,500 majority, yet the county came up to Colorado Springs with a very decided majority in favour of it. To the women of Colorado Springs belongs the credit of having defeated that measure in this county and to the women at large for defeating it in the State. It goes without saying that had even a small majority of the women's votes been joined to that of the temperance-loving men in the State results would have been very decidedly different.

Seventh. Again Colorado City has had two campaigns very recently. In the first the majority for cleaning out the saloons was 2, and the second campaign the number was 102. Now the proportion of men and women voters in Colorado City is practically equal, and yet out of the 1,400 votes of that city, the first majority of 2 tells us something of the large number of those women's votes, every one of which, Congressman Taylor tells us, was a patriotic vote cast to keep the worst damnable hell hole in America open for the destruction of their own boys. If this is patriotism, God save us from any more of it.

Eighth. Might I refer again to a Bill that was introduced in the Denver house of aldermen to promote moral decency and social protection by making it a misdemeanour for proprietors of cafés to serve women patrons with intoxicating liquors. It was a woman's organisation of Denver that went before the same Board with a protest couched in this language: "We hereby protest against the passage of any measure which places restrictions upon the freedom of action of women which are not placed upon the freedom of action of men. We respectfully request your honourable body to defeat any measure of this character that may be presented." In the opinion of these women, equal rights for their sex means equal rights to drink what and where they please.

SOME "MAN-MADE" LAWS.

To those who believe that a woman cannot have her rights protected unless she has the right of Suffrage, I would like to submit two or three items from the laws of New York.

(1) A man cannot convey a title to real estate without his wife's signature, but she can convey any property without his consent.

(2) A husband owning real estate cannot disinherit his wife, yet wives can disinherit husbands.

(3) A husband is compelled to support his wife and family, and a gaol sentence awaits him if he fails to do so. A woman is not legally obligated to her husband or family, no matter what her condition.

(4) A wife can purchase anything necessary for her home or herself without her husband's consent and the husband is compelled to pay, regardless of the wealth of the wife.

(5) In a suit for divorce the wife can employ a lawyer and the husband is forced to pay the fee, but the law does not work the other way.

(6) Mothers have equal rights of command over their children, but not equal obligations of support.

I mention these as a few of the atrocities that are put upon women in States that do not have the right of Suffrage. I would like the privilege of quoting here the words of one of the best observers of the effect of Woman's Suffrage in Colorado, which comes from one of the most intelligent women in the State, the daughter of the editor of one of our most important Western newspapers:—

A WOMAN'S VIEW.

"After twenty years, we are forced to admit that human nature as displayed by women is not different from that displayed by men. If the belief had been made on the grounds of the uplift of politics, it would have been disproven by the facts. The political alignment and natures of women do not differ essentially in kind or moral quality from those of men, and while I am a firm believer in Suffrage for women the notion that this will purify political life any faster than human life improves is a mistake."

When I said, as I did say, one reason why Woman's Suffrage was not bringing the millennium was that some women are as purchasable as some men, and that they had shown as much craft in politics at times as anything of which men were capable, I had based my statement on the experience that has been fairly wide in regard to them. When I mentioned the subtlety of the feminine mind I was mentioning that which was so clearly recognised in all ages—shown in the Greek mythology, sung by Horace, and recognised by observers everywhere, and could not be denied now. The French, when any really great coup occurs, say, "Hunt for the

woman." Man has ever known that she is more clever than he, and why not in politics as well as in other things?

WOMEN IN CONFERENCE.

After living in that city for four years and having had much to do with the political conditions in the metropolis of Kansas, not from hearsay, but from first hand acquaintance, may I relate one little incident, and there are many others that are forthcoming, if necessary. I came to the pastorate of the first Presbyterian Church of Kansas City, Kan., just as the Federated Women's Clubs of Kansas were closing their State convention, which was held in the church of which I was chosen pastor. The great contest in that State convention was over a President. The women of Kansas City had a candidate whom they desired to install in that office. During the last few weeks preceding the convention the membership in the city clubs grew like a Sunday School before Christmas. When the hour for the choice of the President came, the rival candidates each had a very vigorous backing. Charge of fraud was openly made against clubs of Kansas City. A regular free-for-all ensued. The late additions to the clubs of Kansas City were disfranchised by a vote of the convention, which then proceeded to elect the up-State candidate, but before she had been elected to the office, the lie was passed, hats smashed and a general mêlée followed which seemed to be not much in keeping with the Temple of Peace dedicated to the Nazarene.

In substantiation of some of my statements, I need only to appeal to your common sense. Congressman Taylor says only one-half of one per cent. of the women of Colorado are immoral. I cannot believe that the Congressman made this statement seriously. He probably meant that there were that many denizens of the red light district of the cities. It would be just as true to say that one-half of one per cent. of the men of Colorado were immoral, because only that number are incarcerated in the gaols and penitentiaries. Where these people vote is of little consequence to them except that it will be for the ones who will protect their interests and their business, and the woman who is corruptible through the body is certainly so through the purse—that goes without arguing.

In conversation with a most respected citizen of this city, for many years a resident of Precinct 3, Ward 2, and who sits before me this evening, ready to be summoned, if necessary, I have this testimony, that the only case of fraud in voting in the Springs that he ever saw was done by a band of women under the lead of three professional women politicians of the city, and I have the personal testimony of one of these same influential politicians of Colorado Springs, who marked the ballots for thirty-five women in one election, who obediently voted according to that one's behest and thus enjoyed the God-given privilege of freedom under the American flag.

I am through with this recital. I have simply given many of these things against my will to establish the point that Woman's Suffrage is not the panacea for all our political and social ills. Let me repeat I have defended it for a decade of years. I am not disbelieving in it now. I think more and more it will become a vital and important feature in settling the issues of our American life. It has not at present reached that dignity. . . .

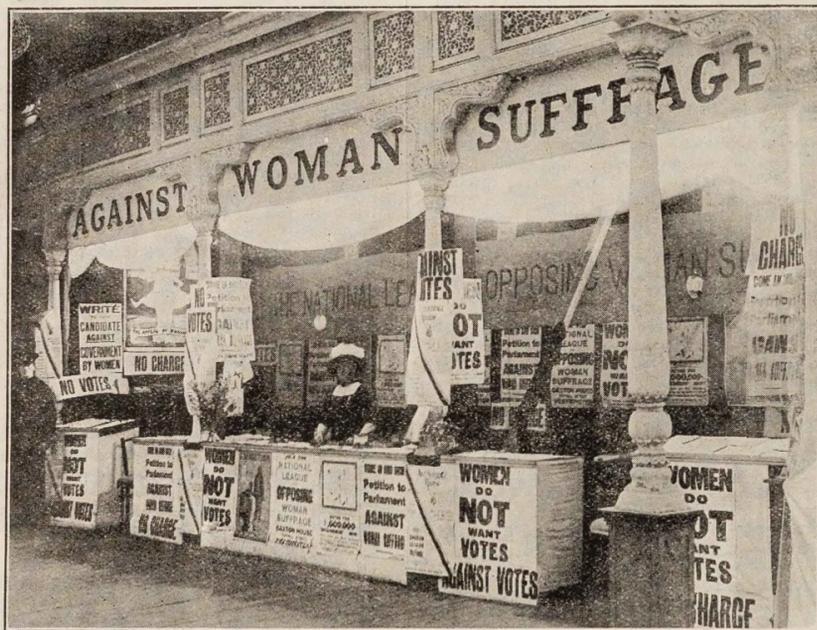
THE ASSET OF MOTHERHOOD.

I want, however, to reaffirm my belief in the fact that the greatest asset in our civilisation is neither the woman with a career nor the Suffragette. It is the motherhood of our nation, consecrated, devout, which is doing more to mould the life of the nation than all the Suffragetism multiplied by ten. I have no interest in the matter outside of its direct effect upon the moral life of the nation. I am not a politician, and have no desire to bring political questions into the pulpit. Things like this we've touched upon only indirectly in relation to the larger issues. In fact, I hardly know my own politics, except that I believe more nearly than anything else in the Progressive principles. I am a minister of the Gospel, striving to preach the religion of Jesus Christ, having no ambition to be mixed up in political matters. The vital thing is the relation of the soul to its God, its neighbour and itself. I would do more to make the mother of a family a follower of Jesus Christ than I would to try to bring the right of Suffrage to a thousand women or a thousand men. Through the influence of womanhood have our reforms come. She is the power behind the throne, moving, propelling, compelling. Whether her votes have added to this is an open question. I believe the issues are greater and the destinies will be affected more by the former than the latter. There is only one serious force at work in the world to make it better, that is the teaching of the Bible and the religion of the Nazarene. I hope I have learned enough of that not to speak contemptuously of any man or woman, or to judge them. . . .

"WOMEN, LOVE, AND THE VOTE."

The name of the Ethological Society is apt to predicate academic staidness and terminological puritanism. It was therefore a stroke of genius that prompted Dr. Bernard Hollander to insert that disconcerting monosyllable between the alpha and the omega of the female enfranchisement. The title of the lecture opened up all manner of possibilities in the development of the subject, and Dr. Hollander was rewarded by a large expectant audience. Lord Charnwood presided. He was happy in his opening remarks, in the course of which he confessed to two regrettable sins of commission in his life, the formation of two Liberal women's organisations. Dr. Hollander was uncompromisingly anti-suffragist, and broke a lance with his opponents in no half-hearted manner. The present suffrage campaign, he said, is only one of

the outward signs of the discontent of women. But he believed that the number of discontented women was still insignificantly small. The vote agitation had only to be conducted with sufficient noise to find adherents, even among sensible and contented married women, some joining from sympathy for the sufferings of those not so fortunately mated as themselves, and some from having too much leisure and no serious object in life, which the suffrage movement now amply supplies. After touching on the dangers of Woman Suffrage, Dr. Hollander concluded with the warning that British men must wake up from their indifference to the question before it is too late, and before either political party, anxious merely to gain or to keep power, has given way to the tactics and pressure exercised by a minority of women who have nothing to lose.



THE N.L.O.W.S. STALL AT THE EARL'S COURT EXHIBITION.

The Stall which the League occupied at the Imperial Services Exhibition, from the opening day on May 31st, was closed on October 18th. During these twenty weeks the Stall proved an unqualified success. The number of signatures obtained in this period of continuous and strenuous work was well over 40,000, while over 1,000 subscribers were added to the League. On Bank Holiday alone over 6,000 people signed the petition against Woman Suffrage, and the names of signatories and subscribers include those of all ranks of society. Visitors from our Overseas Dominions were frequently to be found at the Stall. The majority of signatures are women's,

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

At the autumn meeting of the Edinburgh branch of the National Union of Women Workers, Mrs. Wauchope, of Niddrie, a vice-president, and thirty-two other members of the branch, including Lady Christison and Mrs. George Gillespie, also vice-presidents, handed in their resignations in view of the attitude of the annual conference, held this year at Hull, towards the Woman Suffrage question.

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

Sir Thomas Barlow's letter to *The Times* (November 15th), stating on the authority of the Home Office that there have been only three cases of forcible feeding since April, will have proved quite an unpleasant surprise to Suffragist sensation-mongers. It will be of interest to see whether the National Political League will still carry on its campaign against something which does not seem to exist.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE.

The following meetings have been held under the auspices of the Scottish League:—

- November 4th, *Edinburgh*.—Lady Marjorie Mackenzie presided at an "at home" held in the Oak Hall. Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Many new members were enrolled. An enjoyable programme of music followed the speeches.
- " 11th, *Stirling*.—An afternoon meeting was held in the Lesser Albert Hall, at which Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun spoke. The Hon. Stirling of Keir presided at an evening meeting, at which Mrs. Colquhoun was the chief speaker. In the absence of Lord Mar and Kellie, Captain Stirling moved a vote of thanks to the speaker. Arrangements are being moved to form a Branch of the League in this district.
- " 12th, *Dollar*.—"At home." Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 12th, *Edinburgh*.—Evening meeting, S.G.F.S., Leith Branch. Speaker, Mrs. Grogan.
- " 13th, *Edinburgh*.—Debate, St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Association, St. Vincent Hall, Stockbridge. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon (A.S.) v. Dr. Elsie Inglis (S). Anti-Suffrage resolution defeated by small majority.
- " 13th, *Edinburgh*.—Women's Co-operative Association, Leith. Speaker, Mrs. Grogan, who received an enthusiastic reception.
- " 13th, *Ayr*.—Evening meeting, Town Hall. Chairman, Mr. R. A. Oswald. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun as the speaker was much appreciated. Anti-Suffrage resolution carried by a large majority.
- " 14th, *Leven*.—Evening meeting, Masonic Hall. Provost Balfour in the chair. Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 17th, *Perth*.—Cith Hall. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun addressed a large and enthusiastic audience. Mr. Wm. Young, M.P., in the chair. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.
- " 18th, *Cupar*.—Evening meeting, Masonic Hall. Mr. Anderson took the chair, and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. The resolution was carried by a large majority. Dr. Douglas proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker.
- " 18th, *Largs*.—The Countess of Glasgow presided at a meeting at which Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the chief speaker. A musical and theatrical entertainment followed the speeches.
- Meetings held under the auspices of the Glasgow Branch:—
- October 23rd, *Bridgeton*.—Debate, Bridgeton Women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Crossthwaite (S.) v. Mr. W. Cunningham Hector (A.S.). Miss Patrick in the chair. No vote taken.
- " 24th. —Young Scots' Society, South Suburban Branch. Debate, Mrs. Harold Norris v. Dr. Elsie Inglis. Anti-Suffrage resolution lost.
- " 29th. —Drawing-room meeting, Mrs. Wentworth Stanley (A.S.) v. Lady Betty Balfour (S.).
- " 31st, *Camlachie*.—Junior Imperialist Association. Speaker, Mrs. Wentworth Stanley. Enthusiastic meeting. No vote taken.
- November 3rd, *Coatbridge*.—Junior Imperialist Association. Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, who had a good reception. No vote taken.
- " 7th, *Govan Hill* Liberal Association. Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Mr. Paterson in the chair. An excellent meeting, at which six new members joined the League. Anti-Suffrage resolution passed, with only four dissentients.
- " 11th, *Bridge of Weir*.—Debate. Literary Society. Miss Helen M'Lean (S.) v. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon (A.S.). Mrs. Muirhead in the chair. Vote resulted in 82 for and 82 against Woman Suffrage.
- " 17th. —At home, Charing Cross Hall. The Countess of Glasgow in the chair. Speaker, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon.
- " 17th, *Coatbridge*.—Junior Imperialist Association. Debate. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and members of the Association. Suffrage resolution passed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE N.U.W.S.S. AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

The following correspondence has passed between the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Honorary Secretary of the N.L.O.W.S.

Letter from Miss Crookenden, Secretary N.U.W.S.S., to Miss Pott:—

November 4th, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—I am informed by a member of the National Union that at a meeting at Langport you stated that the National Union supported the Labour Party as a party, and when challenged you replied that it was so stated by Mrs. Fawcett in the "Common Cause." As, of course, it is not the case that the National Union supports the Labour Party as a party, I should be obliged if you would kindly give me the reference.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) MABEL CROOKENDEN.

Miss Gladys Pott,
The National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage,
Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.

Copy of Miss Pott's answer to Miss Crookenden:—

8th November, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—Your letter of November 4th has been forwarded to me while absent from London. Your informant is incorrect in stating that I said in my speech near Langport that Mrs. Fawcett stated the policy of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies to be to support the Labour Party as a party. What I said was that the N.U.W.S.S. supported the Labour Party as a party, and that my authority for this statement was the speech of one of the Vice-Presidents of the Union, who spoke under the chairmanship of Mrs. Fawcett, and the report of the speech I took from the "Common Cause." You ask for my reference. It is to be found in the "Common Cause" for March 14th, 1913. In that paper a report is given of a meeting held by the N.U.W.S.S., at which Mrs. Fawcett took the chair, and Lord Lytton, a Vice-President of the Union, spoke explaining the policy of the Union. The words he used are there reported to be as follows:—"They would support a Labour man against a Conservative Suffragist because they supported the Labour Party as a party." I observe also that the annual report of the N.U.W.S.S. for 1912, page 26, states that in May, 1912, at a special Council meeting of the Union, "the policy of co-operation with the Labour Party" was inaugurated. Also that in a manifesto published by the Union in the "Standard" of October 28th, 1912, it is stated that "owing to the strengthening of its forces—by close contact with this Suffrage organisation—it is held that the Labour Party in the House is in a better political position than it has ever been before."

The annual report above referred to also states that "the policy of the Union is to strengthen that party in the House of Commons which had made Woman Suffrage one of its first objects," and goes on to say that the Labour Party had, as a party, made Woman Suffrage part of its programme. The only possible conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that the N.U.W.S.S. policy is to strengthen the Labour Party, and not to strengthen any other party. This, in my opinion, constitutes support of the Labour Party as a party.

In view of the above facts I hold my statement to be perfectly correct, and reserve to myself the right to send this correspondence to the local Somersetshire Press.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) GLADYS S. POTT.

Miss Crookenden's reply to Miss Pott:—

November 11th, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—In reply to your letter of November 8th, it is incorrect to state that the N.U.W.S.S. supports the Labour Party as a party, in the sense either that it supports the party on its general policy or that it supports all Labour candidates. Your mistake in interpreting the policy has arisen from quoting statements apart from their context. The isolated sentence you quote certainly gives the impression you convey, but by isolating another of Lord Lytton's statements in the same speech, "They would support a Conservative Suffragist against a Liberal Suffragist," you could equally have given the impression that the National Union supports the Conservative Party. Whereas the whole speech explains that the National Union supports Labour candidates (where it does support them) on the grounds of Suffrage only.

The same is true of your quotation from our annual report, from which you have selected one sentence and interpreted it in a sense which the context does not bear. May I call your attention to page 9 of the annual report, where the official definition of the

election policy of the National Union is given as follows:—

- (1) The National Union may support the Labour candidate if he is personally satisfactory on the Women's Suffrage question; or
- (2) It may support the Conservative candidate on the same conditions; or
- (3) It may do propaganda work in the constituency.

The fact that the N.U. does not support the Labour Party as a party, nor indeed all Labour candidates, is proved by our action at the recent by-elections; the Union did not support Mr. Bland, the Labour candidate at Keighley, nor Mr. Butler, the Independent Socialist at Reading, but confined itself to propaganda only, because it believed this course would be in the best interests of Woman's Suffrage.

To quote the words of Mrs. Fawcett:—"We have always in all elections supported the candidate, irrespective of party, whom we believe to be the best friend of Women's Suffrage. This principle still guides us. But we have found from bitter experience that a man who is a Suffragist, but has not the support of his party behind him, is less to be relied upon than the man who has his party behind him. Therefore, we shall in future, when judging between candidates, take into account the attitude of the parties to which they belong, as well as the man's individual declarations."

What we are now doing for the Labour Party we are perfectly ready to do for any other party which makes Women's Suffrage a plank in its platform. We have made no alliance with the Labour Party. We retain our entire independence and they theirs. When we support a Labour candidate, it is simply and solely because he and his party are the best friends of Women's Suffrage."

I shall have much pleasure in sending this correspondence to the local Somersetshire Press.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) MABEL CROOKENDEN.

Miss Gladys S. Pott,
N.L.O.W.S.,
Caxton House, Westminster.

Miss Pott's second reply to Miss Crookenden:—
13th November, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—Your letter of November 11th has been laid before me. In it you say—

(1) That the N.U.W.S.S. does not support the Labour Party on its general policy, nor does it support all Labour candidates.

With regard to the first part of this statement I do not admit that it is possible to support a party without supporting its general policy; assistance given to official candidates of a party pledged to a certain definite programme is assistance given to the whole programme. The second part of the statement is beside the point at issue. I have never suggested that your Union supported all Labour candidates.

(2) You say that I have mistaken the policy of your Society, and that such mistake is due to my failure to quote the context of the extract I gave from Lord Lytton's speech.

In the first place, I cannot admit, in view of the words used by Lord Lytton, and in view, also, of the actions taken by your Society at by-elections, that I have mistaken your policy. Your current annual report informs me that during the six months ending October 31st, 1912, you gave £500 towards expenses of Labour candidates, in addition to the expenditure of over £750 incurred by your Society in connection with the by-elections at which these candidates stood. No grants to candidates of other parties were given, yet some of these latter were in favour of Woman Suffrage. This action, in my opinion, constitutes support of the Labour Party as a party. In the next place, I would point out that though I quoted one sentence only from Lord Lytton's speech, because you challenged me to prove what I said at Langport, and that sentence did prove it, you yourself now quote a phrase from another sentence of his speech, but omit an integral part of that sentence; which portion prevents the possibility of such construction as you suggest being placed upon the sentence. I now quote the whole sentence and its context, as given in the "Common Cause."

"Where there were two Suffrage candidates, one Liberal and the other Labour, they (*i.e.*, the N.U.W.S.S.) would support the Labour man and oppose the Liberal. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative Suffragist because they supported the Labour Party as a party. They would support a Conservative Suffragist against a Liberal Suffragist because they definitely opposed the Liberal Party as a party." The whole sentence confirms my contention that Lord Lytton stated that the policy of the N.U.W.S.S. is to support the Labour Party as a party.

(3) You state that the words I quoted from your annual report do not bear the interpretation I placed upon them owing to my omission of their context. The interpretation I placed upon them

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was that they furnished additional evidence of the truth of my statement that the N.U.W.S.S. supports the Labour Party. The first sentence from which I quoted states that at the Council meeting in May, 1912, was "inaugurated the policy of co-operation with the Labour Party which has been carried out with so much success by the election fighting fund committee." Nothing in the remainder of the paragraph destroys or alters the sense of the word "co-operation" as meaning working together for mutual help. My second quotation from your annual report is taken from the paragraph that runs as follows:—"The objects of the new policy are: (a) To make the Government realise that they stood in danger of losing their seats if no measure of Woman Suffrage was passed that session; (b) to strengthen that party in the House of Commons which had made Women's Suffrage one of the first objects on its programme, and to secure the return of members pledged to oppose the third reading of the Franchise Bill if no women were included in it." The conclusion I drew and continue to draw as the only legitimate meaning of the phrase which refers to a political party, and taking into consideration the remainder of the report, is that, inasmuch as the only party in the House of Commons which has made Women's Suffrage one of the objects of its programme is the Labour Party, the N.U.W.S.S. policy is to strengthen the Labour Party. Not only is this the reasonable deduction to draw from the report, but its truth is supported by the quotation you now give from a letter by Mrs. Fawcett. She says that the Union will, "when judging between candidates, take into account the attitude of the parties to which they belong as well as the man's individual declaration," and goes on to use the words, "What we are doing for the Labour Party." . . . What you are doing for the Labour Party, to repeat the words of your annual report, is "to strengthen it in the House of Commons," and, as I said in my former letter, the strengthening of a party constitutes the support of that party. Mrs. Fawcett's declaration that, were circumstances other than they are, she would be ready to support other parties, in no way alters the fact that circumstances being as they are she and the N.U.W.S.S. are supporting the Labour Party. The reasons that induce such actions are immaterial; the only point at issue is whether that action is taken; and I hold that, having regard to the above facts, my original con-

tion is proved, namely, that the N.U.W.S.S. is supporting the Labour Party as a party, and that Lord Lytton's speech as reported in the "Common Cause" bears out this statement.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) GLADYS S. POTT.

Miss Crookenden.

Miss Crookenden's second reply to Miss Pott:—

November 14th, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—I have to acknowledge your letter of November 13th. It is clear that your interpretation of the National Union policy is not that of the National Union itself.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) MABEL CROOKENDEN.

Miss Gladys Pott,

N.L.O.W.S.,

Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.

Miss Pott's third reply to Miss Crookenden:—

17th November, 1913.

DEAR MADAM,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 14th, in which you say, "It is clear that your interpretation of the National Union policy is not that of the National Union itself."

The points that are most clear in our correspondence, which I am now sending to the Press, are:

(1) That my interpretation of the policy of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies is in strict accordance with its action, and (2) that my interpretation of the policy of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies exactly coincides with the interpretation given to that policy by Lord Lytton, a Vice-President of the N.U.W.S.S., who, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Fawcett, publicly explained that policy.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) GLADYS S. POTT.

Miss Crookenden.

A COUNCILLOR'S CONSCIENCE.

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

DEAR SIR,—A friend has sent me your interesting number for November, which informs me for the first time that Sir William Cobbett, of the Manchester Royal Infirmary, has sent my letter to him to the Press—together with his denial of my statement. It is no use continuing to say "yes" and "no" in the Press, and I have nothing further to say on this point.

But as to your challenge of my statement on infant mortality at Stoke-on-Trent, I must ask you to insert these few lines. My figures are perfectly accurate, taken from the Local Government Board Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality (Cd. 6909), 1913. I was speaking of the heavy mortality in our large towns. There are 20 of these, of which Stoke-on-Trent is one (see chart facing p. VI.) with a mortality of from 189 to 150 per 1,000 as an average, not a maximum. There are many other towns where in the worst wards the rate rises above 200—one in Birmingham in 1911 even to 299. We dare not hope yet that we can maintain the improvement recorded in 1912 due to the unusually wet autumn, which favourably affected the annual scourge of infant diarrhoea.

We who are engaged in this crusade of life-saving are not likely to exaggerate the figures. They constitute a grave scandal; and the apathy and disbelief of the well-to-do, whose children do not die in this proportion, are the chief hindrances to reform.

Women suffragists claim the right to secure legislation to improve the conditions both of home and motherhood, which are the direct cause of this mortality, and which affect women so far more intimately than men.

Yours truly,
MARGARET ASHTON.

Wittington, Manchester,
Nov. 13th, 1913.

[The first paragraph in Miss Ashton's letter refers to the alleged use of cotton blankets at the Infirmary. Miss Ashton, as an instance of man's mismanagement of things, told a Suffrage audience that she had discovered that the Royal Infirmary used cotton blankets. When subsequently challenged, Miss Ashton explained that she was referring to a period prior to 1900. The authorities replied that at no period had cotton blankets been used at the Infirmary.]

With regard to Miss Ashton's remarks on infant mortality, we have re-read her speech at Stoke-on-Trent, which occupies two-thirds of a column of the *Staffordshire Sentinel* of October 16th. There is nothing in the speech as reported to indicate that Miss Ashton "was speaking of the heavy mortality in our large towns"

or referring to "infant mortality at Stoke-on-Trent." The speech was entirely on general lines. Children were "the chief asset of the nation"—not merely of her audience in Stoke-on-Trent. "Had they diminished the infantile mortality appreciably during the last fifty years?" The answer is Yes; but Miss Ashton wished her audience to believe that it was No. "The babies were dying at the same rate as years and years ago." This statement, whether of large towns or the country as a whole, is untrue. "Out of every 1,000 born no fewer than 150 died before they were a year old." This statement applied, as it would be understood by the audience to apply, to the country we live in, is grossly untrue. Miss Ashton now says that she was referring to "the heavy mortality in our large towns," and instances "20 of these, of which Stoke-on-Trent is one, with a mortality of from 189 to 150." Her statement as now amended is still entirely false. The figures she refers to represent, and are stated to represent, the mortality for the years 1907-10. Miss Ashton was speaking in October, 1913; the infant mortality rate for 1912 was within her knowledge; she even quotes from the book containing the 1912 figures. Of the 20 towns with the highest mortality rates to which she refers, only two in the year 1912—Hindley (166) and Bilston (151)—had a infant mortality rate of 150 or over; for only six towns in all was the figure above 130. The average for the country was 95.

With regard to Miss Ashton's closing paragraphs, it is only necessary to point out that if concern for the welfare of children were confined to speakers on Suffragist platforms, the country would, indeed, be in a parlous condition.

That, however, is not the point at issue. We were dealing only with Miss Ashton's mis-statements of fact in the course of arguments advanced in support of her claim that women ought to have the parliamentary vote. In another speech made by Miss Ashton, this time at Kearsley, on September 23rd, appeared the same statement regarding the infant mortality rate, without, as far as the reports are concerned, any explanation that the speaker was referring to the condition of a few picked towns at a period possibly contemporaneous with the era of the cotton blankets.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

November 15th, 1913.

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

DEAR SIR,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the fact that a Bill to extend the qualification for being elected on County and Borough Councils (by providing that a residential qualification shall enable those men and women to serve who have resided within the electoral area for the 12 months prior to the election), is now before Parliament, which, if passed, will greatly increase the number of women eligible to stand for County and Town Councils.

Help is wanted to make known to the public how seriously the Bill is needed, and the L.G.A.C. wish to suggest that at all meetings held by branches of the N.L.O.W.S. which are in sympathy with the extension of women's work on municipal bodies, and at all meetings held in connection with any Women's Society, some such resolution as the following shall be put:—

"This meeting of . . . draws attention to the difficulty of finding suitable women candidates for County and Borough Councils, owing to the fact that women of leisure and experience are for the most part not electors; wherefore this meeting declares its strong sense of the need for establishing a residential qualification for candidates for such Councils, and—in view of the urgency of the case, and of the great difficulties in the way of legislation by private Bill—appeals to the Government to bring in the County and Borough Councils (Qualification) Bill as a Government measure."

It is requested that every resolution adopted in favour of the Council and Borough Council (Qualification) Bill may be sent to the Prime Minister, the President of the Local Government Board, the local Member of Parliament, and to the Secretaries of the Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage), Caxton House, Westminster, and the Women's Local Government Society, 19, Tothill Street, S.W.

Yours faithfully,

DOROTHY WARD.

Hon. (Assistant) Sec., Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage).

Mr. M. G. Liverman spoke against Woman Suffrage at a meeting at the Old Boys' Club, Mile End Road, on November 10th. Mr. A. Naar presided. A discussion took place amongst the audience, and many questions were put. Mr. Liverman replied to all points raised, and was afterwards accorded a hearty vote of thanks.

BOOK REVIEW.

The Vocation of Woman. By Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Macmillan and Co.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun is to be heartily congratulated upon her admirable criticism of the errors and fallacies of the Feminist position. Without hesitation she pierces the superficial crust of words and phrases, and goes directly to the root principles, showing that the majority of Suffrage and Feminist arguments rest upon false assumptions, or upon highly controversial propositions. "Woman was obviously intended by Nature to become a mother," hence the primary question with regard to all female developments, social or physiological, is whether they tend to assist or retard woman's main function. This point of view is not only right and necessary for the well-being of the State, but also for the progress and happiness of woman herself. This is the main thesis of the book, which embraces a careful examination of the writings of Ellen Key, Frau Mayreder, Mrs. Gascoigne Hartley, and other exponents of the Feminist school of thought. Anti-Suffragists, and all others interested in the position of woman, should not fail to study Mrs. Colquhoun's volume. Its pages afford abundant proofs as to the uncertain framework upon which is built such dogma dear to the heart of Suffragists, and evidence of the inaccuracy of many of their statements. Thus the claim to the primitive superiority of woman supposed to be evinced by the custom of "mother kin," is shown to be more than doubtful, and Mrs. Hartley's belief regarding the position of women under the early Egyptian Dynasties to rest upon extremely shadowy foundation. Analogy is not identity, and much fundamental error noticeable in Suffragist reasoning is due to confusion of thought, arising from using the two terms as interchangeable.

Few of us can have failed to encounter the unsteady Suffragist argument that because woman is the child-bearer and home keeper, she is equal to man as a wealth producer. The validity of such a proposition, of course, depends upon the definition of the term wealth. But Mrs. Colquhoun points out that "the value of domestic work to the world is not expressed in terms of wages, nor can the vocation of motherhood be placed on a wage-earning basis." Money is a medium of exchange, but there are many things it cannot represent. The monetary wage-earning capacity of woman is not, and, so long as she is the mother of the race, cannot be comparable with that of men. No true friend of the industrial woman would attempt a comparison so unjust to women.

The inconsistency of Feminists who support the plea of "wages for wives" is plainly exposed by Mrs. Colquhoun's chapter upon "The economic relationship of the sexes." One fears that a number of persons attracted by the plausibility of Feminist claims fail to apprehend the gross selfishness of the main principle involved. "Development of Personality" is all very well as a party cry, but its supporters do not appear to take into consideration the fact that development in certain directions can only be achieved at the expense of other people. "Nature is unjust," wrote Frau Mayreder, and it would seem that Suffragism justifies Mrs. Colquhoun's suggestion that discontent with woman is often merely a cloak for Feminist revolt against Nature.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Fraud of Feminism. By E. Belfort Bax. Grant, Richards, Ltd.
Votes for Men. Duffield and Co., New York.

PAMPHLETS.

Should Women Vote? By Joseph Gilpin Pyle. Issued by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. 37, West 39th Street, New York City.

A Round Letter to the Women of Kent. By Miss Laurence Alma Tadema.

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.

Glaube und Tat. A German evangelical monthly.—Taubenstrasse, 23, Frankfurt-on-Main.

Monatsblatt des Deutschen Bundes zur Bekämpfung der Frauenemanzipation. Rubenstrasse 21, Berlin-Friedenau.

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) on Wednesday, December 10th 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, Hornston 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.

Balham.—Under the auspices of the South-West London Parliament a special debate on Woman Suffrage was held on October 20th. in the Lecture Hall of Balham Assembly Rooms, the mover of the motion in favour of Woman Suffrage being Mrs. Abbott, who was opposed by Miss Mabel Smith. The chair was taken by Mr. Cyril Cox. There was a good attendance, and much interest was taken in the debate. The speaker put the motion, which was carried by 14 votes.

Barnard Castle.—An interesting and instructive evening was spent at the Wesley Guild, Barnard Castle, on October 24th, when the proposition was discussed that the time was ripe for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. An amendment was moved to this motion "that in the opinion of the meeting the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was undesirable and was fraught with results detrimental to the common weal." At the close of the debate a vote of everybody in the room was taken on the amendment, with the following result:—For, 55; against, 38; majority, 17.

Barnet and Hadley.—At the request of the Local Government Advancement Committee the East Barnet Literary and Debating

Society devoted its last meeting, on October 24th, to debating the following resolution, which was moved by Miss Gladys Pott: "That more efficient work can be performed by women through local government than by the possession of the Parliamentary vote." Mrs. Hill, representing the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, opposed the resolution.

Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. W. Stutters, J.P., spoke in support of the resolution, and Dr. and Mrs. Hargreaves and Mrs. Radcliffe against, and after Miss Pott and Mrs. Hill had briefly replied the resolution was put and carried by a two-thirds majority, about a fifth of those present abstaining from voting.

The question of Woman Suffrage was discussed at the weekly meeting of the New Barnet Literary Society on October 27th. Mrs. Humphry Ward moved that: "The extension of the work of women in local government is the true alternative to the suffrage agitation," and after a long debate the motion was lost. The voting was:—For the motion, 45; against, 66. Mrs. Rackham was the chief speaker against the resolution.

Mr. I. H. A. Marchand, J.P., C.C., who presided, proposed the votes of thanks.

Battersea.—On the evening of November 12th Mrs. Wentworth Stanley addressed a gathering of working women. The meeting was well attended considering the state of the weather, which prevented a number from being present. The women were much interested, and everyone in the room, without any exception, joined the new Branch which has just been started.

Belmont.—On October 28th the Belmont Social and Literary Society held a debate on "Woman Suffrage." Mrs. Rackham, of the N.U.W.S.S., moved: "That this meeting considers that the enfranchisement of women is both just and expedient." Mrs. Gladstone Solomon opposed the resolution. Both speakers were applauded for their interesting speeches, and the debate was carried on by Mrs. Prance, Mrs. Arthur Stephens, Mrs. Fielmann, Dr. Thorne, and Messrs. Davis, Reavell, Wotzel, and Alcock. A vote was then taken, with the result that a majority was declared against the resolution.

Burntisland.—A largely-attended meeting was held in the music-hall on November 5th under the auspices of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Provost Kirke presided, and expressed sympathy with the object of the meeting, saying it was a larger question than many believed. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the speaker, and had the wisdom of her great prototypes in combating the arguments of the Suffragettes, stating that women could be more profitably engaged than in political strife, for which they were really unfitted. Dr. King, in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman and speaker, expressed similar views. A branch Society was formed to co-operate with other branches in Fifeshire, Mrs. J. E. Shepherd being the Hon. Secretary.

Chichester.—The Chichester Corn Exchange was crowded on the occasion of a debate on November 6th. The chair was occupied by the Bishop of Chichester, and the case for the extension of the Suffrage was opened by the Countess of Selborne (President of the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association), who moved: "That it is expedient that women householders should now be granted the Parliamentary franchise." Her opponent was Miss Gladys Pott.

Among those present were the Mayor and Mayoress (Councillor and Mrs. Garland), the Countess of March, Mrs. Ridgeway, and Major and Mrs. Jellicorse.

Lady Selborne opened her speech by pointing out the difference of opinion between the Suffragist and the Anti-Suffragist with regard to women carrying out their special functions. She contended that the special functions of women in the State were the same in the home, and that with the power of voting women could more efficiently carry out the education of children, questions which concerned the health of the home, measures of sanitation, and infant life protection. She expressed the opinion that the time had arrived to pass a medium measure enfranchising about one million women, a responsible body of women, as against eight million men voters.

Miss Pott, in opposing, said the giving of a vote to any one woman would mean absolute enfranchisement in a very short time. The Conciliation Bill died because it did not satisfy anyone. She also argued that a person who legislated and the person who selected him ought to have the habit of mind of placing the community before the individual, and the person whose ordinary everyday occupation enabled them to cultivate that habit of mind were the men.

Fifteen minutes were then given to each speaker to reply, followed by questions from the audience.

The resolution on being put to the vote was lost by 186 votes to 119. Alderman Lake then proposed a vote of thanks to the Bishop and speakers.

The Bishop thanked Mrs. Mackeson and the Ladies' Committee for the work they had done in organising such a successful meeting.

Church Stretton.—A Suffrage meeting, under the auspices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, was held at Church Stretton on November 13th, at which Lady Betty Balfour and Miss Violet Martin were the chief speakers. At the close of their address they were closely questioned by Miss Parson-Smith and Miss Sneyd-Kynnersley, with the result that the Suffrage resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Derby.—On November 5th an interesting debate took place at the Albert Hall, Wardwick, Derby, between Mrs. Swanwick (Suffrage) and Miss Gladys Pott (Anti-Suffrage).

Mr. R. Hudson presided, and amongst those present were the Hon. Mrs. Jervis, the Hon. Blanche Curzon, Lady Onslow, Miss Wilmot, Miss Meynell, Mr. G. A. and Mrs. Strutt, Mrs. Henry Boden, Mr. and Mrs. H. Fitzherbert Wright, the Hon. A. N. Curzon, Capt. Buck, Mr. and Mrs. Turnbull, Mrs. Preston Jones, Mr. and Mrs. W. Richardson, Mr. S. G. Taylor, Councillor Potter, Mr. Harold M. Smith, Councillor and Mrs. L. E. Simpson, Mrs. Kilvert, Mrs. Bourne Wheeler, Mrs. Gerard Smith, Mrs. Southern, Mrs. Knight, Dr. Barber, Mr. R. H. Vessey, Mrs. Sitwell, Mrs. G. S. Sowler, Dr. and Mrs. R. M. Wilson, Dr. and Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Arnold Bemrose and Dr. Greaves. The Ashbourne Branch of the League was represented by Miss M. L. Bond (Secretary), Mrs. Withers (Treasurer), Mrs. Sadler (Vice-Chairman), and other members.

Both sides of the Suffrage question were ably laid before the audience, the debate chiefly turning on the subject of the general competence or incompetence of women as voters.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by the Hon. Blanche Curzon, and seconded by Lady Onslow.

The success of the meeting was largely due to the efforts of the Hon. Blanche Curzon, to whom we tender our thanks. It is hoped that a new Branch may soon be formed in the district.

East Finsbury.—A well-attended and interesting debate took place on October 29th at the East Finsbury Conservative Association, 109, Old Street. Mr. Maurice G. Liverman represented the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, but the speaker who was expected to represent the London Society for Woman Suffrage did not attend. Councillor Stanley presided. The speaker dealt exhaustively with the various arguments in favour of the Suffrage, and replied to a large number of questions.

Guildford and District.—In connection with the Guildford and District Branch of the League a well-attended meeting was held at the Village Hall, Albury, on October 24th. Mr. St. Leo Strachey presided and stated that the Suffrage question was unfortunately degenerating into something approaching a war of the sexes.

The speaker, Mrs. Greatbatch, also alluded to this aspect of the question, and dealt with various other arguments, with a view to showing the inadvisability of extending the franchise to women. She also dwelt upon the moral side of the question.

A resolution was proposed by Lady Martindale, seconded by Admiral Tudor, to the effect that the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women is contrary to their own interests and to those of the nation at large, and was carried by a large majority.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, speaker and Mrs. Matthews was proposed by Miss Onslow.

Hackney.—On October 23rd the question of Woman Suffrage was

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debated at the North Hackney Constitutional Club, Stamford Hill, when there was a large attendance. Mr. W. Herbert Bishop presided, and Mrs. L. A. Mustard, of Upper Clapton, opened the debate in favour of votes for women, advocating that women should have rights equal with men in regard to Parliamentary Suffrage. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon took the negative side. She contended *inter alia* that if votes were to be given to one section of women they must be given to all. Several members of the audience took part in the debate, and the leaders on both sides replied.

Islington.—A debate was held on October 22nd at the Junior Constitutional Club, 37, Pemberton Gardens, Upper Holloway, in connection with the Islington Branch of the London Society for Women's Suffrage. The speakers were Miss Mabel Smith (Anti-Suffrage) and Mrs. Abbott (Suffrage). At the close of the meeting the Suffrage resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Kensington.—Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., presided at the annual meeting of the Kensington Branch held at Kensington Town Hall on November 4th. The chairman read a letter from Lady Ichester, the President of the Branch, expressing her regret for her inability to be present. Proceeding, he said he felt they might congratulate themselves on the progress that had been made by their Association since they met a year ago. He deplored the outrages committed by the militant Suffragists, and considered they had been treated with a misguided leniency, both by the Government and by the Press in giving so full accounts of their proceedings, which played upon their weakness and inspired them to further attempts to commit crime.

In moving the adoption of the annual report Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun spoke on suffragism and morality. She contended that Suffragette tactics had weakened womanhood in the eyes of the man in the street, and that they lowered the public morality of the country.

Mrs. Colquhoun was continually interrupted, and the interruptions continued during a portion of the speech of Mr. E. Mitchell Innes, K.C., who seconded the motion for the adoption of the report, which was eventually carried with three dissentients.

Among those present were Lady Beechcroft, Lady Stanford, Sir David Gill, K.C.B., V.C., Mrs. Brice Pearce, Mrs. George Macmillan, Miss Manesty, General and Mrs. Craigie, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Gerard, Mrs. Scholey, Mrs. Percy Thomas, Mrs. Sandham, Miss Yorke Triscott, Col. Stainforth, and Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Cleather.

We regret, that owing to pressure upon our space, a fuller report of this meeting cannot be given in this issue.

Liverpool and Birkenhead District.

Hoylake.—An interesting debate took place at the Hoylake Presbyterian Church Hall, under the auspices of "The Young People's Guild," on October 28th between Miss McPherson (N.U.W.S.S.) and Miss E. Platt, M.A. (N.L.O.W.S.), Mr. Arthur O. Roberts in the chair. After a spirited discussion, several in the audience taking part, a vote was taken, which the "Antis" won by a large majority, only 14 voting against them. The usual vote of thanks brought the meeting to a close.

It is hoped that a strong Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. will shortly be formed at Hoylake, as several residents are already members of the Society.

Liscard.—On October 30th a debate on Woman Suffrage took place in St. Mary's Church Hall, under the auspices of St. Mary's Literary Society. The Rev. Atkinson took the chair. Miss Eskridge spoke on behalf of the N.U.W.S.S. and Miss E. Platt, M.A., took the "Anti" side of the question. The audience numbered between 60 and 70. After an animated discussion the chairman put the resolution in favour of the Suffrage, which was lost by 2 votes, 18 voting for and 20 against the motion. Nearly half the audience abstained from voting. A vote of thanks to the speakers terminated the proceedings.

Leicester.—Renewed activity in the Leicester Branch has been the outcome of the recent by-election in the town, when a shop was opened and Anti-Suffrage literature distributed. The result was highly successful; a large number of signatures were added to the petition, and forty new members joined the League.

A good meeting was then held, when Mrs. Heygate presided, and many of the new members were present.

Mrs. Norris reviewed the present situation, which she declared was most satisfactory, as two Members of Parliament had said that it would be impossible to pass any measure for Woman Suffrage in this Parliament, and on the confession of the Suffragists themselves the country was not yet ready for it. She referred to the failure of the franchise in Australia to effect any of the reforms which advocates of Woman Suffrage in this country were so sure of achieving.

Mrs. Rudd, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Norris, suggested a scheme for further propaganda work. The vote was seconded by Miss Leeson, who spoke of the extreme sympathy and readiness to help the Anti-Suffrage cause demonstrated at the recent by-election.

Manchester.

Marple.—An interesting and well-contested debate on Woman Suffrage was held on November 10th, in the Trinity Hall, Marple. The affirmative side was taken by Miss Helen Fraser (Suffragist), and the negative side by Mr. Thomas Macpherson (Anti-Suffragist). Mr. Broadlow took the chair. No vote was taken, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

On November 10th, by the kind invitation of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Branch, an "at home" was held in the Offices, 1, Princess Street, Albert Square. Invitations were sent to members and their friends. The "at home" being the first ever held in the offices, was a great success, over forty ladies and gentlemen being present. Short addresses were given by Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., Miss Moir, and Mr. Arthur Herbert. After the addresses, tea was served, and this terminated the proceedings.

Newcastle and Tyneside.—A drawing-room meeting was held on October 29th at Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle, by kind invitation of Lady Noble. Mr. H. S. Mundahl presided over a good attendance.

Mr. Mitchell Innes then addressed the meeting, and at the outset congratulated the Newcastle and Tyneside Branch upon obtaining such a large number of members (over 500) during the fortnight it had been in existence. He contended that the vast majority of the people were against granting the vote to women. He appealed for more funds and more speakers to carry on the work of opposing Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. Harold Norris spoke of the work which Branches could do, and maintained that their reasons for opposing the granting of the Suffrage to women were sound and logical.

Votes of thanks were accorded to Lady Noble and also to the speakers.

Paddington.—By kind permission of the Dowager Lady Dimsdale, Miss Gladys Pott addressed a crowded meeting at 3, Westbourne Terrace, on November 18th. The subject taken was "Sweating and the Trades Boards Act," with which difficult and intricate question Miss Pott dealt with great ability.

Purley and Sanderstead.—A debate on Woman Suffrage was held under the auspices of the Purley Congregational Literary Society on October 21st at the Congregational Church Hall, Purley. The chair was taken by the Rev. A. Pringle.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby, of the N.U.W.S.S., moved: "That the social and political conditions of the present day necessitate the enfranchisement of women." Mr. A. Maconachie opposed the resolution. The Suffrage resolution was carried.

Southampton.—Miss Gladys Pott was the principal speaker at a meeting of the local Branch of the League, held on November 12th, at the Ogle Hall, Southampton. At the close of her most interesting address, Lady Swaythling proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Pott, which was seconded by Mrs. Dering White. A similar vote was accorded the Chairman (Mr. Hugh Montgomery) on the call of Mrs. Sinkins, seconded by Col. Sinkins.

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 country. 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.

Lady Selborne, in her opening address on the motion, said she had pleasure in putting the question from the point of view of the law-abiding and constitutional subjects. This movement had been disfigured by some very ugly excesses, from which they wished to withdraw themselves completely. She dwelt upon what had happened in countries where women have the vote. For one thing compulsory military training had been instituted. She did not say that women were responsible for that, but she put it to show that the granting of the vote to women did not weaken the sense of imperial duty or the sense of the necessity for self-defence.

Miss Gladys Pott, in opposing the resolution, pointed out that with two exceptions—Victoria and Norway—there was a greater

preponderance of men than women in the countries where women had been enfranchised, whereas in England there were more women than men. She argued that the result of giving the franchise to women could not be judged until at least a generation had passed. Lady Selborne had mentioned that in Australia widows were nicely treated, but in Denmark where they had the same law, they had no women's votes. Where was the proof that the law in Australia was due to women's votes? Miss Pott said that if votes were given to women, women, in order to use those votes effectively, must train themselves to a different habit of mind to that which they had hitherto trained themselves, and if they persuaded women to do that they would lose the inestimable motherly instinct which nature had placed in every woman in the world.

Lady Selborne, in her reply, said it was a mistake to suppose that a woman was made less of a woman by being given the vote. The New Zealand mothers were the most efficient mothers in the world, and lost only half as many babies by death as the German mothers, who, until a few years ago, were not even allowed to attend a political meeting.

Miss Pott said she was not saying that the vote would spoil the home, but she did say that the home would spoil the vote. Lady Selborne had said that in New Zealand the infant mortality rate was higher than in Germany, but she had not proved that that had anything to do with the women having the vote. If she (Miss Pott) used the same kind of argument she might say that in Australia the rate of illegitimate births had gone up very much, and that was a result of the women's vote.

Questions followed; Lady Selborne and Miss Pott then added a few words, and a vote was taken on the resolution, which was lost by a considerable majority, 36 votes being given in favour of the Suffrage and 150 against. The proceedings concluded with a comprehensive vote of thanks.

Tadworth.—An interesting meeting was held at the Tadworth Hall on November 4th, under the auspices of the Tadworth Branch of the N.L.O.W.S., at which there was a large attendance.

Mrs. Moberly Bell, who occupied the chair, read a letter from Mr. Keswick, M.P. for the Epsom Division, expressing his regret at being unable to be present, and also his sympathy with the movement. After briefly referring to the dangers of a Woman Suffrage Bill being passed by Parliament, and to work done by the League to prevent such a mishap, the Chairman introduced the speaker.

Mrs. Greatbatch, in a most excellent speech, showed how the vote, if given to women, would change the whole aspect of life. She spoke on the question of wages, and contended that to raise the salaries of women to that of men would do the greatest injury to women. So convincing were Mrs. Greatbatch's statements that when questions were invited only about three were forthcoming.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the speaker and to Mrs. Moberly Bell for presiding. It is hoped that as a result of this meeting many new members will join the Tadworth Branch.

Taunton.—Under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage two meetings were held at the Parade Assembly Rooms, Taunton, on October 28th, at which addresses were given by Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. J. L. Maxse.

Mr. H. J. Badcock presided over the afternoon meeting, and remarked that the demand by women for votes was nothing new, for women had been desiring political power for a great many years.

Miss Pott, during the course of her speech, pointed out that women's interests were not divergent from men's, and that consequently it was not necessary to give them the vote. Legislation that had benefited the working man had benefited also the working woman, and the same principle applied to other classes of the community. She did not desire to see a large form of false humanitarianism brought into their legislation; they had too much of it already.

Mr. J. L. Maxse referred to the treatment received by the Suffragettes at the hands of the present Government. He went on to say that votes for women to-day meant seats in Parliament for women to-morrow, and he believed that the great majority of women were as dead against such a transformation of the country as men were.

Votes of thanks to the speakers and the chairman were accorded on the motion of the Hon. Mrs. Corfield and Mrs. Crossley, of Barton Pynsent.

West Riding of Yorkshire.—A Committee has been formed to federate the Branches of the N.L.O.W.S. in the West Riding. The following have kindly offered to act as officers:—President: Lady Gunter; Vice-Presidents: Mrs. C-stave Hoffman, Bradford;

Mrs. Francis Steinthal, Ilkley; Miss J. B. Kitson, Leeds; Treasurer: Miss Mossop, Bradford; Organizing Secretary: Miss L. M. Hunter, 50, Victor Road, Manningham, Bradford.

The Committee hope that all sympathizers with the movement in the West Riding will do their utmost to help them with their winter campaign. They will be most grateful to anyone who will give a drawing-room meeting.

Winter meetings have already been held in Bradford, and several drawing-room meetings have been arranged in Leeds. A series of large meetings will also be held in the West Riding during December at which Mrs. Gladstone Solomon will speak.

A Branch is being formed in Ilkley, and it is hoped that one will be formed in Keighley very shortly.

Worthing.—Under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage a largely-attended meeting took place at St. James's Hall on November 4th. There were numerous interruptions indicating the presence of Suffragists, but there was no actual disturbance. Mr. Maconachie, who occupied the chair, and Mrs. Harold Norris were the chief speakers.

The resolution against votes for women was then put to the meeting and declared by the chairman to be carried by a large majority. A large number of questions were afterwards asked and answered both by the chairman and Mrs. Norris.

The following meetings have also been held:—

October 21st, *Chatham.*—Presbyterian Society. Debate. Miss Mabel Smith (A.S.) v. Miss Griffith-Jones (N.U.W.S.S.). Suffrage resolution carried by one vote.

" 23rd, *Mill End.*—Liberal Club. Speaker, Miss Mabel Smith.

" 10th, *Bristol.*—Horfield Baptist Schoolroom. Miss Marie Kerr (S.) v. Miss F. M. Tarr (A.S.). Suffrage resolution carried by a small majority. Several new members joined the Anti-Suffrage League.

November 11th, *Shrewsbury.*—Drawing-room meeting. Miss Mabel Smith gave an interesting address. Several new members enrolled.

" 13th, *Letchworth.*—A debate took place in the Howard Hall between Miss Mabel Smith and Mrs. Rackham (Suffragist). Dr. Gilbert-Smith took the chair. The Suffrage resolution was carried.

" 14th, *Norbury.*—Debating Society. The President (Mr. Joseph Clark) presided. The Suffrage resolution, proposed by Mr. T. H. Sare, and opposed by Mr. A. Geeson, was lost.

" 18th, *Birkenhead.*—A debate took place at "The Shaftesbury Boy's Club," at which Mr. J. M. Wallace presided. The speakers were Miss Chubb (S.) and Miss M. W. Hughes (A.S.). The Suffrage resolution was defeated by a large majority.

Owing to great pressure upon our space, it is only possible to insert brief notices of the meetings this month.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The following critique appears in *The Treasury*:—
"Miss Royden and Mrs. Luke Paget were brilliant, but so was Miss Soulsby, who frankly fought the battle of the Victorian women, and who, to be absolutely candid, did more damage to the cause of the vote than all the sullenness of male opponents for years."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FRANCE.

By 311 votes to 133 the French Chamber has rejected the proposal to give the right to vote to French people of both sexes. It is only natural that any country with a sense of its responsibilities as a Great Power should refuse to adopt Woman Suffrage.

We regret to announce the death of Miss M. Briggs, who was for some time the Hon. Treasurer of the St. Pancras Branch. Her loss will be greatly felt by the Branch, for which she has done such excellent work.

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A SUFFRAGIST ON DIVORCE.

In a lecture on her impressions of America, delivered to a Leeds audience on November 5th, Mrs. Philip Snowden, a vice-president of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, said: "The comparative easiness of securing divorce was often pointed out, but that often denoted a higher moral standard and demand on the part of women."

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and give information.

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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Geoffrey Humphrey, Well-
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kate Evans, Liverpool
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Hon. Secretary:

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Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rees, Trinallt.

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