

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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AT HEADQUARTERS.

The Assistant Secretary will be very glad to hear of more workers for S.S.F.A. and other visiting in some of the poorer parts of London. Experienced visitors who could give two or more days a week to the work would be very valuable.

If any members have "comforts" for troops still unplaced, the Assistant Secretary will be glad to receive them for airmen. Helmets, scarves, gloves, socks, cigarettes, peppermints, etc., will all be very acceptable.

FOR THE FLEET.

Miss G. S. Pott writes :—

In your issue of last October you were good enough to publish an account of the unpretentious efforts of a country village at the beginning of the war towards assisting national needs. It may interest readers of that article to know that those modest labours continue to bear fruit. The villagers who last August re-planted their gardens and allotments, though disappointed of some of their hopes through the abnormally wet winter, have produced many vegetables from the summer-sown seeds, and a meeting was held this month in the same village hall that witnessed the inauguration of seed purchase and planting last summer for the purpose of organizing regular contributions of vegetables to the Navy through the "Vegetable Products Committee." A local committee of working men was formed to re-stock allotments earlier than usual this spring, and to collect such vegetables as can be spared by their owners at regular intervals for our sailors. A small fund was raised for preliminary expenses of carriage, etc., and the scheme was received and accepted with much enthusiasm, the school children promising to bring daily contributions of garden produce (such as a few potatoes) to the school-

master, who undertook the offices of secretary and collector. The appeal put forward for such extra comforts for our gallant Fleet should find a ready response in all country villages, and if each would do what lies in its power our sailors would reap substantial benefits as the spring advances. As Sydney Smith said, "The greatest of all mistakes is to do nothing because you can only do a little."

THE INFORMATION BUREAU.

The Committee of the Information Bureau, 415, Oxford Street, report that gifts of woollen comforts for the troops, and of clothing for the children of soldiers and sailors have been received from Miss Brewer, Miss King, Miss F. Clayton, the Chiswick Branch, Miss Hart, Miss Martin, Mrs. Knowles, Mrs. Carson Roberts, Miss Cator, The Misses King, Miss W. Whiteway, Miss Cator, Mrs. Gale, Miss Tarver, the Amersham Branch, Mrs. Mould, Miss Luck, Mrs. W. F. Taylor, Miss Phillott, Miss E. Grover, Miss Orpen, Miss Rigg, Miss Gibbons, Miss Oakley, and also a parcel of sheets and pillowcases from Queen Mary's Needlework Guild. The woollen articles for our soldiers and sailors have been sent to H.M.S. Julia, the Officers' Families' Association, the R.F.A. at Blyth, to a member of the Expeditionary Force in France, to Belgian soldiers, and to the Mine-sweepers. Parcels of children's clothes have been given to Mrs. Macdonald for soldiers' and sailors' families at Bow, and a maternity bag has been sent to Bow also. A working-party has been started at the Bureau, and meets on Tuesday mornings; some of our members are interesting themselves in placing the young daughters of soldiers and sailors in domestic service; they are often much in need of outfits, and the working-party meets with the object of helping to supply the need through the M.A.B.Y.S. It is felt that this work will appeal to many members of the N.L.O.W.S. Miss Pott and Mr. Apar have kindly given several periodicals and books for the first Recreation Room for Recruits shortly to be opened at Seaford, and books and a piano have been offered by the Misses Stuart.

Donations for the second room for which the Bureau has appealed have been received from: Miss Hudson (collecting card), Mrs. C. Smith (three cards), Hon. Mrs. Murray Smith, the Bromley Branch, the Misses Rigg, the Beaconsfield Branch (monthly donation), the Hampton and Teddington Branch, Fulham Branch, Miss Turner (card), Mrs. Apar, the Chelsea Branch, Mrs. Blenkinsop, Miss White.

PEACE PROPOSALS.

There is no need to apologize to Suffragists for remembering their existence at this time of national crisis, for they have taken great care that we should not forget them. "While we are engaged in patriotic work," said one of the chief organizers of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at a meeting of the Bristol Branch, "we must not forget that we are Suffragists." To another audience Mrs. Fawcett explained one of the ways in which they acted upon this precept. Suffragist nurses were expected not to lose any opportunity of pushing their cause among patients in the military hospitals. If a sick man is regarded as an eligible victim for Suffrage propaganda we may be quite sure that all the women and girls who in their need are driven to Suffragist organizations to seek work or relief are first asked their views on, or told to signify their adherence to, Suffragist doctrines. Even if we had no direct proof that this propaganda work was being carried on every day, there is the naïve admission of the Conservative Suffragists, that they conscientiously refrained from asking any of those who used their hostels their views on the Suffrage question, as evidence of what is happening in the case of the relief work undertaken by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The only Suffragists whom we are at all inclined to forget to-day are the out-and-out militants, who are hardly recognizable in the patriotic guise of recruiting agents, imploring the people whose houses and churches they have burned and whose laws they have set at defiance to be up and at the Germans for desecrating sacred edifices on the Continent and disregarding all laws, whether human or divine. It is at least to their credit that the nation, on appealing from Philippa drunk to Philippa sober, finds her English at heart. The same can neither be said of the ex-militants and semi-militants who refuse to observe a political truce at a time of grave crisis, nor of the non-militants, who proclaim a truce and glory in breaking it in the spirit and in the letter.

Even though we do not need to apologize to Suffragists for thinking of them at this time, some excuse may be required for appearing to intrude upon the public attention a subject that ought to be taboo while the war lasts. We are not, however, called upon to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of woman suffrage during the war. Suffragist speakers are shrewd enough to avoid that pitfall. They count upon finding the British public so engrossed with a life-and-death struggle that they will be able to persuade it that woman suffrage has already been accepted in principle, and is only waiting for the psychological moment for its application in Great Britain. In order to checkmate this ingenious move it becomes necessary to remind the public continually that woman suffrage is by no means an accepted or acceptable "reform," while, if it had been, the actions of its advocates, even in war time, would suffice to put the nation on its guard against them and it.

We are all familiar with the clown at the circus, who, when the attendants are busy, pretends to be equally hard at work and either gets in their way or does nothing at all, keeping up the while his nonsensical patter. Our Suffragist friends are doing their best to qualify for the post in another sphere. Many meetings are being held, much literature is still published. At every turn the patter comes, "Why should not the close of the war be marked by the enfranchisement of women?" The attendants are

busy, or they would retort, "Because we don't want it, and have said often enough that we will not have it." Suddenly the clown assumes a serious mien. Mrs. Fawcett moves a resolution pledging Suffragists "to use every exertion, as the time approaches for the gathering together of a congress of the Powers after the war, to obtain from that congress a resolution affirming the need in all nations of the recognition of the citizenship of women by the extension to them of political freedom." In other words, a congress of Powers, who after all can only be represented by nominees of their Governments, is to recommend to "all nations" a measure to which those Governments are individually opposed. If our enemies were to be victorious we can imagine them at that congress bracketing woman suffrage and an indemnity the terms they impose on the vanquished. But public opinion in this country, and, we believe, among our Allies, will be opposed to any conditions of peace that savour of vindictiveness being imposed by the Allies.

Our Suffragist friends, however, are taking themselves very seriously. War is a calamity; men are responsible for it; women are better than men; therefore women's aid must be enlisted in eliminating war. This line of argument appears nowadays on every Suffragist platform, in all Suffragist literature. It may be elaborated in various ways. The favourite device is to point the moral of the modern state. "As we have superseded (sic) personal feud by impersonal law, so we must supersede national wars by international arbitration," writes Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. The sentence illustrates the characteristic looseness of thought indulged in by Suffragists. Personal feuds may be settled by means of impersonal law; they have certainly not been superseded or eliminated. Antithesis to the expression "national wars" requires a reference to the duel, and one is led to suppose that this is what the writer had in mind. The elimination of the duel represents an advance in civilization, and it has been possible in certain communities, where the people, having been brought together for mutual protection against aggression from without, voluntarily impose upon themselves certain restrictions, the observance of which is enforced by the physical force of the law. Herein lies the difference, as far as this line of argument is concerned, between the State and a fortuitous league of nations. Personal quarrels or offences against the law still occur, and the State wields sufficient force to deal with the offenders without attracting undue attention, because the offender is only one against millions. Translate this system internationally, and, although it might be possible to have a federation of nations, and even to provide the necessary coercive force for coping with delinquents, the application of that force spells war. The offending nation is not one pitted against millions, as the individual is when he challenges the authority of the State; but the nation may think that it has might as well as right on its side, and is prepared to take the risks. Therefore war in an imperfect world can no more be eliminated than can quarrels and offences within a single State.

We can, however, go a long way towards eliminating war. The modern world has already done so, and most of the belligerents in the present war have made up their minds to go still farther towards this desirable goal. But they do not say that they will make war impossible. Only our unpractical friends, the Suffragists, who love generalities and vague assertions, claim to be able to do that. The world asks how. It has asked the same

people the same question in regard to other matters which they claim to be able to put right. But an answer was never forthcoming. This time, however, the answer has been given, and it is a very interesting one.

The annual meeting of the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was held on February 5th. It was engaged, we are told, almost entirely with public questions arising out of the war, and "by far the greatest interest of the three days' session centred round the resolutions dealing with the principles which should be supported in future peace settlements." The Council (again we quote from the Suffragist organ, the *Manchester Guardian*) "urged the Government to do its utmost to ensure that in the future international disputes should be submitted to arbitration or conciliation before recourse was had to military force, and that the nations should bind themselves to unite against any country which breaks the peace without observing these conditions." We rub our eyes and read again. The words seem familiar. After three days' session following upon six months of consideration our Suffragist friends propound pontifically a system already in vogue and actually operating in this present war. But bathos can go yet further. "The considerations accepted by the Council as fundamental in the settlement after the war were the principles expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in Dublin on September 25th, 1914." The world has been waiting for the words of wisdom from women which are to win it from its ways of wickedness. They come, an echo of the principles previously expressed by—a man—and an Anti-Suffragist.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Suffragists in Council.

If the patriarch who wished that his adversary had written a book were alive these days he would perhaps be content that his adversary should hold a council meeting. We confess to have looked forward with some interest to the annual meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, because there are points in connection with the movement which concerns them and Anti-Suffragists that seemed to call for elucidation. All political organizations in this country were thrown out of gear by the outbreak of war. The majority took the obvious course of abandoning all propaganda work, and, where their machinery permitted it, of devoting themselves to patriotic work. Suffragist societies, however, proved an exception. Only the notorious Women's Social and Political Union appears to have observed a strict truce. A number of minor societies, ex-militant or semi-militant, such as the Women's Freedom League, United Suffragists, etc., boldly announced their intention to "keep the flag flying," and carried on as before the war. The premier society, Mrs. Fawcett's National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, at the outset proclaimed loudly that it had abandoned all propaganda work, but it was soon discovered that its members made no pretence of observing the political truce. The contradiction between the Society's professions and its acts was too glaring to be ignored; but for the honour of its members it was hoped that in due course some explanation of the breach of faith would be forthcoming. The annual meeting held during the first week of February provided a suitable opportunity for such an explanation.

Political Activities v. Propaganda.

This meeting, however, merely elicited a repetition of the quibble which some Suffragists had already advanced to meet objections from members of their own society. The National Union, it had been pointed out, had decided to abandon its political activities, but not its propaganda. No one supposed that Suffragists would cease to be in favour of woman suffrage, but the only meaning that can be attached to a political truce is that propagandists or partisans cease for the time being to push or to draw public attention to their cause. How far the abandonment of political activities has been observed in the spirit we know from the President of the National Union who has boasted that Suffragist workers in hospitals never lose an opportunity of putting in a word for woman suffrage with their wounded and other patients. The attempt to discover a difference between political activities and propaganda work is as immoral as the breaking of the political truce in itself. But the Council of the National Union officially set its seal to the quibble, in so far as the inconsistency in its actions may have troubled it at all. In the leading article in the *Common Cause* of February 12th we read:—

"The Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, meeting on February 4th, 5th, and 6th, unanimously endorsed the action taken last August by its Executive, when the ordinary political activities of the Union were, for the time being, suspended in favour of work in relief of the immediate need created by the outbreak of the war."

A little further on the same article states:—

"There was evidently a strong feeling that Women's Suffrage propaganda must not be allowed to lapse even at the present crisis."

There was not much danger of the propaganda being allowed to lapse, when the Council proceeded to pass various resolutions calling upon the societies in the Union to emphasize the national necessity for the enfranchisement of women, and authorizing the Union to take "political action on the lines of the existing election policy of the Union" in the event of a contested election, and adducing the war as an argument for votes.

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A French Balaam.

The National Union, however, went a long way towards an heroic action when they invited Madame Véronne, a prominent French feminist, to speak at their Council meeting. Madame Véronne's appearance was to be the "star" item of the public meeting. It had been widely advertised, every newspaper received a notice regarding the eloquence and distinction of the French lady barrister. Madame Véronne came; she spoke eloquently, but the official organ of the National Union has not a word to say about its distinguished guest. Her speech is printed in French. Can it have been in the hope that the antagonism between the points of view of the French patriot and British Suffragists would thus be better disguised? The mistakes in the French text compel the uncharitable suggestion. Be that as it may, Madame Véronne's remarks must have sounded strange to an audience fresh from the Annual Council. At that meeting the members had endorsed the action of their executive in calling for an international suffrage congress during war time. Madame Véronne in the report of her speech plunges at once into her reasons for rejecting with scorn the overtures of German women (presumably Suffragists) for French and British help in preparing for peace. The

National Union has lost no opportunity of parading its Suffragist doctrines during the war—even in hospitals. As Mrs. Acland pointed out, though under a truce they still "pressed" their claims. Said Madame Vêrone, "I have no need to explain to this audience our (French Suffragists') rôle during the war. If at this time we do not claim our rights it is because the moment is one which calls us only to perform our duties, and we are minded to fulfil those duties." There was much robust common sense in the French barrister's speech, and it was in striking contrast to the veneer of patriotism which the National Union feels it has to daub over its propaganda work.

Rights and Duties.

Not the least striking part of Madame Vêrone's speech was the introduction of a strong antithesis between rights and duties. A certain section of the community has for years been very eloquent on the subject of women's rights. We know how little women as a whole responded to the cry. Then came the war. An inaudible voice breathed the word duty, and at once the women of the United Kingdom rallied as one woman to the call. French Suffragists have not failed to realize that the claim for rights clashed with the requirements of duty, and, as Madame Vêrone stated, they have dropped their claims. If British Suffragists had been in closer touch with realities, if their hearts had been better attuned to the national patriotism, they too would have abandoned their claim.

Suffragists and the Army.

Under the heading "Special Urgency Resolution," the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies put on record that it expressed "its undying admiration for the heroism of those who are now serving this country in the defence of the Empire." No doubt it was a very wise afterthought, for it is difficult for men who for years have been denounced as tyrants, indifferent to their country's welfare, to look upon themselves as being capable of acting at all except for their own selfish interests. The Army will be glad to have earned the appreciation of the National Union, and will only regret that the latter's undying admiration should have expired before the end of the meeting. For the Council proceeded to call upon the Government "to take steps to ensure" that the British Army should not imitate the German atrocities committed in Belgium. The wording was, of course, circumlocutory. The Government is to see that "in the treatment of women non-combatants (in invaded districts) the military authorities shall uphold the highest standards possible in war." A society which regards not only the British soldier, but also officers of the higher commands, no better than a horde of Huns does well to express a patronizing admiration of the Army's heroism. It will be of interest to see how the National Union will attempt to explain away before a public audience when the war is over this attempt to besmirch by innuendo the honour of the Army.

In the Good Cause.

Reference has already been made in these pages to the hospital work undertaken by Miss Dormer Maunder on the Continent. Miss Maunder is now in charge of the King Albert I Hospital at Rouen. The Municipality of

that town granted to the Belgian authorities the free use of a large public school as a base hospital for sick and wounded Belgian soldiers. It also spent a considerable sum of money in adapting the building to hospital purposes. The hospital is under the control of the Inspector-General of the Belgian Army, and the doctors are selected from the Belgian Army Medical Department. All the hospital work is done by voluntary helpers. Fully trained British nurses are in charge of the wards, while Miss Maunder acts as "Directrice Supérieure." Two hundred beds are now in use, but the hospital authorities want to be able to provide for four hundred patients. Accordingly an appeal is made for funds, under the auspices of the Anglo-Belgian Committee, which represents the Belgian Red Cross Society. Lady Cromer is president of the Committee of the Humanitarian Corps making the appeal, and Mrs. James Cantlie, 3, Vere Street, London, W., is the Hon. Treasurer, to whom subscriptions may be sent. Readers of the REVIEW may be glad of the opportunity of showing their appreciation of the good work done by the Honorary Secretary of our Ewell Branch.

A Sense of Proportion.

"The war," remarked *The Times* one day last month, "offers unprecedented leisure for examining the foundations of their views to many valiant partisans who might be ashamed to doubt or hesitate in the heat of strife. Now is the time, when, without any fear of disloyalty to their particular cause, the most ardent controversialists may examine their tenets more closely and impartially than they often find possible during peace." The advice will be taken to heart by those who are hoping that after the war we shall see for some little time at least a better feeling between political parties. It is too much to ask our opponents on the Suffrage question to inquire whether any of their views will stand readjustment. Something would be accomplished if they would drop their generalizations on "women." Mrs. Fawcett appeals for funds for her suffrage organization because, among other reasons, it "had held a watching brief for women." One Suffragist organ writes: "A deep wrong has been done to women in the making of war without their consent." If a plebiscite of the women of the United Kingdom could be taken to-day how many would be found to state that this war was not being waged with their consent and with their strongest approval?

Women Belligerents.

The watchword "Equality for the Sexes" has hitherto been regarded good humouredly as a folly; it is now likely to reach the proportions of a crime. No sooner does the Women's Volunteer Corps abandon the rifles that it was never likely to see in favour of the cooking pots for which it will have no use, than a Women Signallers' Territorial Corps comes into sight. Signalling Volunteers, we are told, "should be . . . ready to put up with the penalties of belligerents." Why? Who is to impose them? Certainly not the Germans, for they would refuse to recognize women as anything else than non-combatants, and if they were found assisting in military operations the infuriated invaders would consider themselves justified in regarding their enemies as outside the pale of civilized warfare. Is the British Government going to the next Hague Conference to announce that in future it proposes to employ women as soldiers? A commander who in the

war used a Women's Signalling Corps would deserve as short shrift from the enemy as if he had placed them in the front line of his advance. No doubt to the Army it seems preposterous that anyone should take any notice of these freak schemes. They have, however their sinister side in that they tend to render easier the reprehensible practice of camp following.

SOME WOMEN AND THE WAR.

By J. MASSIE.

It is an interesting and instructive study in the psychology of Suffragism to watch the processes by which, while normal people are being brought by this terrible war face to face with the realities of things, the abnormal woman sticks to her one idea and keeps what she calls her "cause" to the front in her own thoughts, in such society as she can influence, and, as far as she is permitted, in the newspapers. She appropriates war-like phraseology, and tells us with much exultation that she and her set are "mobilising," which, when reduced to prose, seems to mean that they are fussily and self-advertisingly giving themselves to some "patriotic" work which is natural to women, and to some which is unnatural. For example, they sew and knit comforts for the soldiers who are in the trenches or in training, but with such a perpetual running accompaniment of Suffragist self-laudation that they might as well embroider the sacred name of Mrs. Pankhurst or Mrs. Fawcett on every sock and every muffler, so as to give due notice to the soldiers as well as to the country at large that Suffragism alone has the trade-mark of thoughtful and benevolent patriotism. Or else as nurses not specially trained or disciplined they go as near to the firing line as the worried and indulgent army authorities will allow them, till these authorities get heartily sick of them and their meddlesome irregularities, and they are sent home again to be out of the way. We have heard something authoritatively of Suffragist women establishing and managing "hospital units" where none but Suffragist doctresses and nurses need apply, and where the ministrations to the sick and wounded are systematically mingled with the whispered "word in season," gently insinuating that the "vote" would be a fitting return for women's kindness and attention. It is true that Suffragists like Mrs. Flora Annie Steel write to the Press admitting that there are "many women who from ignorance, selfishness, or sheer cupidity fail to see their duty to the nation." But even here King Charles's head shows itself once more. Mrs. Steel is quite sure where to lay the blame. It is because these women have not the "vote." "My only wonder is that this apathy is not universal. When people are diligently taught that the home is their only (?) sphere, that they degrade themselves by interest (?) in things imperial, things national, their outlook inevitably becomes personal, narrow. We are only reaping what we have sown." What a travesty of the teaching that women have a wide sphere and which draws the line solely at imperial government by women! And what a libel on the countless multitude of Anti-Suffragists who are devoting themselves morning, noon and night just now to "their duty to the nation"!

The more blatant extravaganza in the service of the "cause" comes out in the offer of a notorious Suffragist lady to raise a battalion of fighting women, and in

the organization for the "drilling" of women by a woman. Such a kicking against the limits imposed by nature and by civilization can only result in one of two alternatives: either these military women will be shot and bayoneted by the enemy, or they will take advantage of their sex so as to put the enemy's soldiers into an unfair and impossible position, at any rate until the unnatural behaviour of such amazons has driven international usage to reconsider and revise its code of chivalry. There is yet another alternative. If the enemy regards such armed women as non-combatants they may bring massacre on the whole civil population of the locality.

This war, the greatest war the world has ever seen, must have come as a shock to those who have sneered at the obvious truth that physical force, the force used by men, is in the last resort the deciding factor in government. Of course, the inherent goodness of a cause supplies the indispensable morale; but what besides physical force will finally determine whether or not the German bully is to have his way? Government must be where the power to enforce it lies.

The danger of government by women is exemplified by certain accompaniments of the war. It has been a matter of common knowledge and statistics that many soldiers' wives are better off with the separation allowances than when their husbands were at home; and an unwontedly full pocket has tempted them to the gin palace. A kindly proposal has been mooted that they should be assisted against the new temptation by some regulation forbidding the serving of women in liquor shops except within limited hours, and the War Office circular provided for a certain cessation of payments to the unworthy. Whereupon up rose the Suffragist organizations and rushed in deputation to the War Office demanding freedom for women to get drunk if they liked. The "proceedings" of the deputation were "private," says the *Times* account, but, characteristically, several of the women succeeded in getting their oratory partially published. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst "argued that the pay was the absolute property of the recipient and no conditional standard of living should be imposed." Mrs. Despard declaimed against "soldiers' wives being made a class apart," and "contended that there was quite law enough to ensure protection for their children" (some of whom apparently have been taken to the public-house by their drinking mothers). This last contention was a rare testimonial to man-made law. It was both welcome and unexpected.

Take another suggestive accompaniment of the war. The French women have been brave, self-sacrificing and resourceful in the absence of their husbands and sons, though the sacrifice of mothers is sometimes extolled in such an extravagant way that the fathers are dismissed as if they sacrificed nothing. But it was stated in the French papers that a large crowd of mothers had assembled somewhere in Paris and had rent the air with the cry, "Give us back our sons." Which seems to have led an observant and reflecting French woman "at the head of one of the most important business houses in Paris," to say to a pressman, "You know our character. We are ready to make supreme sacrifices, but we are impatient for a quick reward, and it is to be sincerely hoped that the war will not last very long." Exactly. An apt illustration of the discriminating prophecy as to the instability of government by women, "They will cry for war to-day and for peace to-morrow."

SUPER. BUT NOT SUPREME.

By GLADYS L. MEDWIN.

Germany has apparently been designed by fate to illustrate the fallibility of the terms "super," and to prove that the devotees of the "super" cult, both male and female, are by-products of the human race, given over to cruel and far-reaching excesses, brought about by an enlarged sense of their own unitary importance and an overweening desire to impress the universe that a thing must be true because they say it. The superman of the Kaiser's armies from a moral and cultural standpoint has already proved himself less than the dust, and his megalomaniac brain has caused him to retrogress to the habits and customs of the Middle Ages, forswearing all the usages of Christianity and civilization.

In minor degree we have been able to note these traits in the pseudo-superwoman fighting for a political status in this country. A good deal of her cheap philosophy has been "made in Germany," and when put to the test, like the Hunnish legions, its quantity is proved to be immense, but its quality has failed to make much mark on the sane and well-weighted actions of the world's physical or spiritual masses.

Do we in this time of European stress and sorrow find the Suffragette of yesterday able to perform other than her allotted tasks as a woman? Has she been able to gird on manhood at a moment's notice and do man's work? No, she belongs biologically to that mixed type of woman which hard work temporarily deprives of its hysteria; so she is doing a woman's job side by side with her sisters in anti—and neutral—camps, and doing it well. Thus occupied, her longing for the unattainable is eased for the time being. The analogy between Teutonic lust of world power and the Suffragette lust for race power can be pursued to the bitter end; for the German military caste wish to conquer the globe, and thereby impose upon all its peoples their standard of morality and despotic misrule. They do not ask for equality with other nations; they demand to be absolute, yet absolutism is the precursor of destruction (*vide* Napoleon the Great). So with the Suffrage-seeking woman. Albeit her parrot cry is equality with man, her object is absolute matriarchy, and in pursuing this object she must retrogress.

A final parallel can be adduced to substantiate my argument in the entire disregard for truth displayed in the two camps, which further proves that the brains of the conquest-bitten Hun and the franchise-bitten woman are both in a state of semi-development, and are, therefore, unduly excited by external forces. So they see visions of dream kingdoms, and cannot appreciate that ere the world can be ruled by Teuton or woman, centuries will have to roll by, and the decay of the existing nations and of man set in. Therefore as the present great European upheaval has revived all that is most manly in man and most womanly in woman, both the Hun and the Suffragette had better take this lesson to heart, that "their time is not yet," and that the Almighty in His omnipotence understands His creation better than they do, and has assigned to them their proper place in the scheme of things entire as now constituted for its ultimate good.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Abbas II. The Earl of Cromer. Macmillan and Co.
The Full Price. Lady Charnwood. Smith, Elder and Co.
Delia Blanchflower. Mrs. Humphry Ward. Ward, Lock and Co. A review of this book is unavoidably held over this month.

WAR AND AN OBSESSION.

[CONTRIBUTED.]

The law of compensation is universal. Its application is often misunderstood. That many misfortunes have an element of advantage does not prove we should seek misfortune. It is a question of proportionate gain or loss. Even the Germans have composed some admirable music and brew an excellent beer. Generations of successive dullards have extolled war on the ground that it affords an admirable field for the exercise of considerable virtues, such as patriotism, courage and self sacrifice. The excellent Dr. Johnson should have pricked the bubble for ever when he said, "Sir, a fire might as well be thought a good thing. There is the bravery and address of the fireman employed in extinguishing it. There is much humanity exerted in saving the lives and properties of the poor sufferers. Yet after all this, who can say a fire is a good thing?"

Yet even the curse of war has its minor alleviations. The cranks are temporarily eclipsed. The crank species may always be divided into two classes, the amateur and the professional. In a whimsical and humorous nation like the English the former abounds, but to his, or her (nowadays often her) everlasting credit in times of stress, he and she realize their respective incongruity, and do their duty like men or women as the case may be. The professional crank is different. This side of the grave nothing will mitigate their inherent absurdity. But for the moment they are sterilized. A crank without an audience is like an organ without a blower when no one is listening. To do them justice they do their best. Frantic vocal efforts are made against the health and well-being of our troops at home and at the front; but they appeal only to each other, and eke out a poor existence in taking in each other's unsavoury washing.

It is a heavy price to pay. The extinction of a few tedious nonentities is a poor recompense for Armageddon; but to a philosophical mind a certain sense of relief cannot be refused admission.

At the outbreak of this war an amnesty was declared in favour of the criminal Suffragettes. They were released from the well-deserved punishment of their various misdeeds. Probably few grudged them their immunity. That responsible beings who burn houses and bite policemen, and generally misconduct themselves, deserve punishment is a self-evident proposition. But those who administer the laws of their country have always refused to regard the wild women as responsible beings, and although the women have traded unscrupulously upon this point of view, it was undoubtedly the wise one. It had all the dignity of the sailor's attitude in one of Marryat's novels who refused to resent his wife's assaults on him upon the ground that it amused her and did not hurt him.

Still it was interesting to see how the militant women would treat an act of remarkable magnanimity. No sane person supposed it would mitigate the rancour of their bitterness.

It is well worth occasionally expending a penny in *Votes for Women*, now described as "the war paper for women," to see their point of view. This publication, be it noted, now belongs to the milder militants, the "little piggers" who could not follow the "whole hogging" Pankhursts all the way. It is a striking object lesson in the incurable and inherent provincialism of the militant Suffragette mind. Nothing could show more clearly how incapable that singular mentality is of a

national point of view, or how unfitted that abnormal type of woman is to take any part in matters of Imperial moment. From first to last not a word of appreciation of the magnificent work being done on sea and land by the sex they affect to despise. Except for some mean and ill-informed criticism of recent legislation, which from its very nature had to be hasty or nothing, one might read the paper through and never realize that this country was passing through its greatest crisis since the battle of Waterloo. On the front page of a recent number a repulsive looking virago is depicted as boasting that "We women mean to have a new England when the war is over."

That is all the grim tragedy of universal war suggests to the militant Suffragette. What a searchlight it throws on their incurable levity of mind. To have lived through the horrors of the last few months and to have found nothing except the hope of a partisan triumph! Such a point of view would seem incredible if it were not to be bought for a penny every week.

CORRESPONDENCE.

POLITICS AND MENTAL DUTIES.

To the Editor of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

SIR,—In a few days the seventh month of devastating war will be complete; seven months of unprecedented grief and effort; yet even so there are consolations and compensations, chiefest of all the pride that is centred in the realization of the solidarity and patriotism of our whole country. In Miss Pott's address in last month's REVIEW this wonderful patriotism glows and burns through every phrase. Such a pronouncement makes one proud, not only of the writer, but of our whole organization. At the same time, I am beginning to ask whether complete inactivity is still either necessary or desirable for the League. When the war began it seemed impossible that any of us would ever take an interest in any subject not directly connected with the Army or the Navy. It was thought that theatres and music-halls would all close for want of patronage, that restaurants would remain empty, that cards would be untouched. This has proved to be a miscalculation. I am not concerned at the moment with the ethics of the present position. I merely wish to point out that it is difficult or impossible to get seats for certain plays, that restaurants are crowded, and that people still play bridge. This means that rightly or wrongly, the people of this country are thinking about many things unconnected with the war. If this is so, if many people are returning to some of their normal mental activities, is it right that Anti-Suffragists should be entirely discouraged from thinking of Anti-Suffrage?

It is important to remember that there is no analogy whatever between the case of Anti-Suffragists and that of the Unionists; therefore the cessation of Unionist activity is no example for us to follow. The Unionist party exists for the purpose of furthering the interests of the nation according to their lights, but that purpose can only be secured (by Unionists) in ordinary times by opposing the Government. To-day the same purpose can only be secured by supporting the Government; therefore the work of the official Opposition as an official Opposition automatically ceases. This does not apply to Anti-Suffragists. They, too, exist for the furtherance of national interests, but not by means of opposition to the Government; therefore the quiet pursuance of their objective cannot even in war time conflict with the interest of the State.

I would not on any account suggest the holding of meetings, or the continuance of the usual methods of propaganda; but I do think there might be small social gatherings locally, at least, little meetings where kindred spirits could discuss and consider the new situation which the war has already created. Thus the spirit of Anti-Suffrage might remain a live and breathing entity. Unless some such course is adopted I fear that when the time comes for a fight, more strenuous than any we have yet waged, it will take over long to galvanize the dead soul of the League into action.

Our opponents are very far from quiescent. The papers show continually covert attempts to advocate Woman Suffrage. They

are, I sincerely believe, animated with a patriotism as real as our own, but they never leave out of count their belief that the interests of the nation are best served by the advocacy of Woman Suffrage. The Pankhursts have held patriotic meetings, in which they have openly pressed the Suffrage, but of course they again are in a different position, because their organisation exists to oppose the Government; they must keep true, for what possible chance could they have in the future if they now entered into competition with Count Zeppelin?

I would like to add one word on the question of branch subscriptions. Miss Pott's generosity to her members is delightful, but I think the precedent is dangerous. There are many branches, some of our most important, which cannot exist without their subscriptions, and I wonder if their members may not feel themselves a little aggrieved when other branches are let off. Each branch much, of course, decide for itself. In Chiswick we felt that it would be difficult to hold our members together without subscriptions; as most pay a subscription of one shilling per annum we thought it would be somewhat absurd to reduce it, so a letter was sent to all the members asking them if they would like to give half their subscriptions to one of the Relief Funds. Every member was notified, and a vote taken at the annual meeting, so that it could not be suggested that money was given to an object other than that for which it had been subscribed. The proposal was carried unanimously, and has had excellent results with regard to the membership. Personally I feel that a subscription once dropped becomes hard to renew, and there is another consideration.

It does not seem likely that we shall find it easier to spend immediately the war is over. General distress is likely to be much greater than now; taxation will not be less, and dividends may not immediately increase. Besides most of our members are women, and at the present moment their expenditure in dress and entertainments is much reduced; when the war is over there may be a rebound in this direction.

I trust these remarks will not be found in any way dogmatic or insistent; they are merely suggestions for the consideration of my fellow workers.

I am, etc.,

HELENA M. NORRIS.

Our correspondent's plea, as we understand it, is that an informal exchange of views should occasionally be held by members of the same Branch, with the object of helping one another to appreciate the bearing, if any, that the war has on the development of the Suffrage question. A gathering for this purpose, which would necessarily be of a private nature, would not clash with the League's resolve to abandon propaganda work, and could easily be arranged among members themselves without using the League's organization in any way. The publication during the war of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, it may be pointed out, is intended to serve, in a different way, the purpose that Mrs. Norris has in view.

It is of interest to note that the subject touched upon by our correspondent formed, in its general aspect, the theme of a leading article in *The Times* of February 18th. A few extracts are appended:—

"Though the discussion of many internal questions is in abeyance, the facts on which the questions are based are not resting. We shall have to resume their discussion after the return of peace; and we shall make a mistake if we think that we can pick them up just where we left them. Because they deal with life, they are very static, but in a continual onward flow; and though they may have been deeply affected by the war, their development has not been suspended by it."

"The truce declared in politics needs to be extended by every citizen into the thoughts of his own heart. It is essential for our present safety that we should abstain from political controversy, and the necessity has been recognised; but if we are not to suffer from a grave reaction when the war is over, every one of us needs to make good use of the present valuable opportunity for unbiased observation and quiet thought."

"If, through complete absorption in the war, or any other excuse for the evasion of our mental duties, we allow this interval to slip by in idleness, and trust to forming new views in the light of the moment after peace is declared, it is safe to say that our views will be crude and shallow, and probable that they will be largely vitiated by the renewed spirit of domestic controversy. To argue about our civil differences would now be excessively undesirable; but it is very desirable that we should think about them, and should examine closely our attitude upon them in the new light of war, and with the new evidence amassed during its term."

BRANCH NEWS.

Hampstead.—A meeting of the Hampstead Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held on 24th February at the "All Saints" Parish Hall. Mrs. Metzler, President of the Branch, took the chair, and most interesting addresses were given by Miss Pott and Mr. Chamberlain.

Mrs. Metzler opened the proceedings and laid great stress on the necessity of the members keeping together at this time, and begged that members would do their utmost to keep up their subscriptions to the Branch and to the REVIEW, that the League might be ready, when called upon once more, to take up active work. She thanked Miss Lindo Henry for coming forward at this juncture and undertaking the duties of Hon. Secretary.

Miss Squire then read the Branch report for the year.

A most interesting and instructive address on "Anti-Suffragism and the War" was given by Miss Pott. In the course of her remarks, she said how greatly it was appreciated that Mrs. Metzler, in spite of her having left Hampstead for a time, had remained President; and cordially thanked Miss Squire for having, with her usual untiring energy and devotion to the League, accepted the post of Deputy-President.

Mr. Chamberlain then spoke. Having signified his keen appreciation of Miss Pott's speech, which was thoroughly endorsed by the audience, he gave a very graphic description of the Recreation Huts erected by the Young Men's Christian Association. These huts, he said, were not only established in England, but some twenty-five had been built in France, some being as near as three miles to the fighting line. He said that there was a constant demand for these centres for the use of our troops.

A collection was made after the meeting in aid of the Anti-Suffrage Bureau Recreation Room Fund, and nearly £2 was handed over for this purpose.

Marylebone.—The annual general meeting will take place at 3 o'clock on Friday, March 12th, at 17, Montagu Street, W., by the kind invitation of the President, Lady George Hamilton. After the usual business of the meeting there will be an address on work by women in connection with the war by a lady who has had some recent experiences abroad.

Mr. Stuart Donnithorne, Y.M.C.A., will also kindly give an account of the working of the Marylebone recreation hut for troops in camp at Upper Warlingham, which has been in use since Christmas. Any members of the League who may wish to be present are invited to write for cards to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End Road, N.W.

Richmond.—The President, Mrs. Dumergue, writes:—Our long-cherished plan of an entertainment to our soldiers—A.S.C. quartered at the "Star and Garter"—came off on February 15th (Monday), I am glad to say with spirit from beginning to end. It was entirely an invitation entertainment. The arranging of the programme was entrusted to me, and I just threw my heart into it. A practice at my house and a rehearsal at Etherington's Hall guaranteed its success. Such wonderful musical talent among the soldier performers! several with splendid voices; one especially so, who took the lead in the solos and choruses—among the latter being new words to the old tune, "Marching through Georgia," every chorus verse ending with "That is our answer to the Germans." There was a clever accompanist among the A.S.C., and a violinist of much skill and feeling; also a flautist who played in a spirited way. A hand organ was a novelty, and the Irish jig and Highland fling were thoroughly enjoyed. Another two-step dance was varied by dancing on the hands, with comical effect. It was my good fortune to secure a professional entertainer, Mr. Val. Wood, resident in Richmond, who was heartily encored by the audience. The hall was filled to overflowing, and it looked so bright, with the electric lighting, the platform bordered by ferns and plants, and the piano—a boudoir grand—was simply perfect in mellow rich tone. Across the large windows at the top of the room was drawn a large Union Jack, and, I may add, our Anti-Suffrage little banner floated by the Chairman's seat—Mr. Jesty, who gave out the items. There was a pause of half an hour in the middle of the programme for refreshments, admirably carried out by Mr. Etherington's management, and the programme went briskly before and after. It began at 7 p.m., and it was 10 o'clock when we came to "God save the King." Colonel K. M. Foss, the commandant, did us the honour of coming early and staying throughout, and was most kind in his congratulations. A lady and a gentleman from town—Miss McCarthy and Mr. Young—voluntarily contributed their beautiful singing; while another lady—Miss Mason—gave us an amusing recitation. We are much indebted to all three artistes. For myself, I had the kind interest shown by Branch members, and the efficient help all through of our committee, particularly of our

Hon. Secretary, Miss Cassan Simpson, who always fills her onerous part with energy and ability; and surely it is an advantage to our Richmond Branch when the President and Hon. Secretary work in sympathy. I shall always have a delightful recollection of our "pleasant evening." As I endeavoured to say when Councillor Rowe, from Kew—who has two sons at the Front—called for three cheers for the President, I think it was the *soldiers* who gave us the "pleasant evening." It makes me feel indeed a proud woman that the first time my setting to the Recessional (verses 1, 4, 5) (Rudyard Kipling) was sung on a public occasion, it was sung by our own soldiers.

CAREERS FOR WOMEN.

Suffragists still like to pretend that in regard to openings for women the country is where it was fifty or a hundred years ago. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel writes of women being diligently taught that home is their only (*sic*) sphere. Miss Maude Royden, whose capacity for accuracy of statement has been exemplified by her pamphlet, "Votes and Wages," urged the Central Branch of the Guild of Helpers (Y.W.C.A.) "to open new callings to women from which they were at present excluded." "The jealousy of men," she continued, "towards allowing women into many professions was due to their fear that when women came in they would undersell them" (*The Times*, February 20th, 1915). Miss Royden proceeded to talk of the medical profession, architects, the law, local government, and other civic work. The only calling from which women are excluded to which she could point is, of course, the law, and there was, therefore, no justification for her earlier generalisation. It is of interest to turn from the loose statements of suffrage propagandists to more critical utterances on the same subject. At the first of a series of lectures arranged by the League of Honour the following list of openings for educated women was cited by Miss Craig:—The higher professions—medicine, surgery, and architecture—were all open to women of exceptional power. Dentistry, pharmacy, teaching, and domestic economy training offered openings. School attendance officers now included a number of women, and superintendents and matrons of training colleges or resident schools under county councils were from time to time required. The development of children's care committees had called for a number of specially qualified women as organisers and assistants; the Labour Exchanges had opened the way to a good many well-paid and responsible posts, and there were also women health insurance officers.

In gardening and horticulture the chief demand was for girls with capital enough to start on their own account after training. Jobbing gardening and town gardening were branches of the work in which there was still plenty of room for girls with some power of organisation and initiative. Forestry, too, seemed in many ways to be suitable for women. Cookery offered an immense opening to educated girls, though, curiously enough, at present, men were the greatest experts in cookery.

HIGH PRICES.

"The real cure for high prices," we are solemnly assured in the leading article of the official organ of the United Suffragists of February 5th, 1915, is to give votes to women. It is evident that no limits can be set to the efficacy of this wonderful remedy, and we are left wondering how it is that the panacea, which is vogue in Norway, has not availed to ward off German torpedo from Norwegian ships.

WE regret to have to record the death of Mrs. Woolcombe, of Sidmouth, which took place on February 12th.

The Information Bureau hopes that friends who have not yet responded to its appeal will help in raising funds to complete the second Recreation Room. There is no doubt as to the great need of these rooms, which add so greatly to the comfort of our recruits, and are so greatly appreciated by them. So far £26 towards the £200 have been promised for a second room.

The Bureau Accounts for 1914 have been audited, and the Cash and detailed Statements can be seen by members at the Bureau.

Two marriages of special interest to the N.L.O.W.S. have taken place during the last month. On February 11th, Miss Violet Markham was married to Major James Carruthers, M.V.O.; and on February 15th, Miss Marie Louise Keirle, who has more than once represented the East Devon Branch at our Council meetings, was married at St. Barnabas Church, Addison Road, to Mr. Herbert Holdsworth Ripley.