

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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

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

No. 76.

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1915.

PRICE 1d.

## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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### THE "REVIEW."

It is necessary to remind members of the League that in the absence of propaganda work the circulation of the REVIEW is bound to show some falling off. The only way to counteract this tendency is by increasing the number of regular subscribers. We have to thank several branches for the help already given in this direction; but we feel confident that when the need for more subscribers is pointed out, many other branches will do their share. It would be a valuable contribution to the League if every reader would in the course of the next month or two secure one or more permanent subscribers to the REVIEW.

Members are invited to send to the Central Office the names of friends to whom copies of the REVIEW might be forwarded with a view to their becoming subscribers.

### A MESSAGE TO MEMBERS.

The following New Year's message sent to the members of the North Berks Branch by the Honorary Secretary, Miss Gladys Pott, deserves the wider circulation which we now gladly give it:—

"The great war in which the end of the old and the opening of the new year finds our Empire engaged, with the attendant individual and universal anxiety and sorrow, renders our ordinary Annual Report out of place. But in its stead we would take the opportunity of reminding our members of the position maintained by our League throughout this grave crisis. At the commencement of hostilities the Executive Committee in London decided that all political controversy ought to cease and advised Branches to drop Anti-Suffrage propaganda. A letter to this effect was circularised throughout the North Berks Branch, coupled with the suggestion that members should devote themselves to non-controversial patriotic work. We have reason to believe that all our friends have thrown themselves whole-heartedly into such work, as is testified by accounts of local efforts in the County Press. In London the clerical staff of our Head Office is devoting all its spare time to the Soldiers'

and Sailors' Families Association, and every official of our League is busy with that or similar labours, such as the Red Cross or National Relief organisation. From leaders of the great political parties downwards all right-minded persons have felt that during the war internal controversy is wholly improper, and in spite of the fact that the actions of some people run counter to their professions the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage intends to observe the political truce not only in letter, but in spirit and principle. Though it is necessary for subscriptions to continue to the Head Office in order that dismissal of staff and organisers may be avoided, and that liabilities of rent, etc., may be met, it does not appear advisable that our North Berks members should be asked for their Branch subscriptions at present. At a moment when each one's purse is depleted in the ratio of its owner's patriotic sympathies, we do not desire to put forward the local Anti-Suffragist claim to financial support, but we do ask our members one and all to cling together in support of the great principle for which we stand, and to be prepared to renew their aid to the League when international strife ceases.

"The great strength of the Anti-Suffrage position has always been found in the fact that the bulk of its adherents are drawn from amongst those women whose experience of life is the fullest, and who just because they realise the importance of their special duties have never been willing to neglect them for the sake of other more public or more notorious undertakings. Hence, when the sudden national emergency arose, Anti-Suffragists were already at their posts, quietly and unostentatiously, but efficiently fulfilling the tasks which the nation most needs of women. To label such work as that of a political association is to break the essential principles of the pledge of political truce. To announce hospital nursing or like work as 'Suffrage' or 'Anti-Suffrage' would mark a clear attempt to utilise the national peril in partizan interests; and the fact that members of other societies are undoubtedly pursuing this course does not appear sufficient reason for our League to follow so evil an example. One of our leading politicians has recently told us that 'a fighting policy is as the breath of his nostrils to a party politician,' but that in face of the present national stress all reputable politicians are determined to lay aside their arms. Anti-Suffragists have done the same, and intend to observe the truce with honour. When the right time comes we shall renew the fight, but during the present struggle for existence we place patriotism before party. To quote again from the speech just referred to, we each and all are playing our parts on a great stage, and the greatest honour which can come to us as a League will be that when the war is over we can truthfully say we 'nothing common did or mean.'"

### MONO-IDEISM AND THE WAR.

In analysing the subject of mono-ideism in a letter to the *Morning Post*, Professor T. Claye Shaw pointed out that the whole trend of the mono-ideist's ideas is "to go in one particular direction, to channel a groove which ramifies in many ways, monopolizing the paths which contribute to its fulness and pushing aside uncongential channels to their obliteration and destruction. The single line of idea thus created becomes in turn an all-compelling one; it allows no rest; it commandeers and fosters anything which tends to nourish it. . . . In the overwhelming intensity of his leading idea all old considerations of fairness, of propriety, of regard for the feelings of others, are ignored, and toleration is a forgotten word." Professor Claye Shaw was inquiring into the psychology of the German Emperor, but he reminded us that there are mono-ideists in humbler walks of life. They are not necessarily vicious, for in a mild form they become merely enthusiasts, and the world when it has eliminated enthusiasm will sink to the abysmal monotony of Socialism. There are a number of mono-ideists in our midst at the present moment; their "single line of idea" is that in the scheme of creation women were not meant to be complementary to men, but are in fact their superiors, to whom "power" must be given by their inferiors in order that they may correct the mistakes made by the latter. How compelling this line of idea can become we have had ample opportunity to note in the past. As Professor Claye Shaw puts it, "This state of mono-ideism is ruthless in the pursuit of its ends; all things must give way because the subject of this merciless impost comes to believe in it; it is for the time his very existence, and the greater the opposition the more urgent are his efforts to overcome it, and the more unscrupulous his methods of accomplishing his purpose." At the present time among the incoming ideas which have to be made to conform to the particular dominant one is the question of the war. In reality the war is, as it were, a backwater to the main channel of our mono-ideists' single line of idea, but a backwater of such unexplored proportions that it has been an easy matter to look upon it as a tributary stream, and to represent it as contributing to the fulness of the actual channel. The way in which the war can be made to fit this particular obsession is exemplified by a writer in the *Free Church Suffrage Times*.

"Women," we read, "are planted in a civilisation which has been arranged for them by men. And what a civilisation it is! One is tempted to say, with one's eyes on the war, that, while women might conceivably do better, they could not possibly do worse. . . . The present state of Europe simply represents the view-point of the uncorrected, unbalanced, undiluted male."

In order to realize how the single line of idea has become an object of exclusive devotion it is only necessary to notice how the war has been commandeered for the mono-ideist's service. "The present state of Europe" in none other than the Great War, which is spoken of editorially in the same magazine as entailing an "idiotic and nauseous method of settling international disputes." Thus to our mono-ideists the present gigantic struggle in Europe is on the one hand merely a method of settling international disputes, while on the other hand all nations taking part in it are tarred with the same brush. The vast majority of the British nation will dissent from both these propositions. It will hold with Mr. A. J. Balfour whom our mono-ideists are sometimes ready to quote

approvingly, that the war was not only necessary, and therefore a sound and proper course, but also justifiable. "The tragedy of Serbia and the tragedy of Belgium," Mr. Balfour told a Bristol audience, "were but episodes in a still greater tragedy, and the crimes that had been committed in Flanders and in the north of France were but episodes in a greater crime than these against civilization. What was that crime? It was the crime of a nation which was resolved not merely to be powerful, to be prosperous, but which said, 'All these things are valueless to me unless I can also dominate and coerce the whole civilized world.'" If that was Germany's attitude, and if her claim is being challenged on the battlefield, the antagonism between Germany and the rest of the world is a fit and proper antagonism, and "the present state of Europe," in which the mono-ideist sees nothing but an argument for partisan propaganda, is a testimony to the championship of right and justice, for which our so-called man-made civilization stands. But our mono-ideist goes farther in the pursuit of his or her goal. All war is wrong, it is argued, therefore a state of things where war is impossible must be right. All women hate war; therefore women are required to introduce a right state of things. Our familiarity with this line of reasoning does not make it any the more accurate. We have lived to see that war, however regrettable, can become a bounden duty imposed upon a nation, and no scheme of settlement of the world's affairs after this war that has been put forward by any reasonable being rejects the possibility of war. Mr. Roosevelt and Mrs. Fawcett, Suffragists both, desire to see "a really effective and powerful international concert pledged in the future to wage collective war upon the first nation or group of nations to break the peace" (*The Independent and Jus Suffragii*, January, 1915). That is precisely what we have in being at the present moment in the international concert which is bringing Germany and Austria-Hungary to book for breaking the world's peace. Mr. Roosevelt does not recognize the present "concert" because he is angry that the United States Government is not taking part in it. Mrs. Fawcett overlooks what is before her eyes because with her a nation is not a nation, if the women in it have not the political vote, and her international concert of the future must in some way be bound up with Woman Suffrage.

We have reason, however, to be grateful for the occasion that compels our particular mono-ideists to reveal their attitude towards a question which concerns the very existence of the nation to which they belong. When a war is regarded as merely anathema, "an idiotic and nauseous method of settling international disputes," it is natural that the terrific struggle in which the British Empire is engaged should be made, as any other passing incident is made, to harmonize with the single line of idea. To the writer in the *Free Church Suffrage Times*, "the war suggests . . . the collapse of a European civilization which has thought it just and politic to exclude from direct political representation the peace-loving half of the human race." The sentiment has been running through Suffrage literature and thought ever since the outbreak of the war. At first it took the form that war in all circumstances and under all conditions is wrong, and that this particular war ought, therefore, to have been avoided, and must be stopped at once. If women had had votes, or had been consulted, it was asserted, there would have been no war. What Mr. Balfour calls the tragedy of Serbia, the tragedy of Bel-

gium, and the greater crime against civilization would, we must infer, have been tolerated, probably because these two countries had not enfranchised their women, while civilization itself belonged to the "undiluted male" order. But the attempt to decry the war was not popular, and met with no support outside the circles where it originated. The work of making the nation's life and death struggle harmonize with the Suffrage obsession was, accordingly, revised, and the necessity for providing for representation of the "women's point of view" in the settlement after the war is being preached. It is an ill recommendation for the proposal that those who make it should have steadily refused to recognize any of the causes underlying the war. To such an extent is the detached attitude towards this "man's" war practised in Suffragist circles that the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has called upon the President of the International Alliance to summon a congress during the war at which Suffragists from the belligerent countries and others are "to discuss the question of peace and war." Mrs. Fawcett, it must be stated, is against her committee on this point, as she anticipates trouble at such a meeting, and a pretty quarrel is being ventilated in the Suffrage Press. But if Professor Claye Shaw's analysis of mono-ideism is sound, there can be no doubt on whose side the Suffrage battalions will be, although difficulties of communication may prevent the delegates from reaching Cloudecockooland, or, as Mrs. Fawcett would have it, Ballyhooley.

### NOTES AND NEWS.

#### Unemployment.

One of the most interesting attempts made to solve the question of unemployment arising out of the war is the Toynbee Hall experiment of teaching plain leather-stitching to grown-up men. Its chief interest, apart from the elderly appearance of the pupils, lies in the fact that it locates a definite problem and deals with it scientifically. The outstanding features that presented themselves to the Toynbee Hall authorities were stagnation in the furnishing trade and a shortage of labour in the leather industry. Accordingly they approached the trade unions of the former, who supplied them with 139 men up to January 15th, and these men have been given a month's training in leather work. Of the total number thus taught 64 have found employment in leather stitching, 15 returned to work at their old trade, while 58 were still at the school on January 15th. Only two failures, owing to "their inability to learn a new trade" are reported, while the average wages earned by those who have found work are between 30s. and 35s.

#### In Search of Solutions.

The Board of Trade returns show a diminution in the unemployment of women from 6 per cent. to a little over 3 per cent. since the war began—a satisfactory tribute to the many efforts now being made to cope with the problem. To what extent the improvement rests on a sound basis or is merely temporary we cannot tell for the present. The chief difficulty is to decide what trades, if any, will be permanently affected by the war to such an

extent, that is to say, as to leave a considerable number of skilled workwomen out of employment. For instance, will the circumstances which have caused distress among the higher grades of dressmakers be perpetuated after the war? If so, who will enable those affected to do what Toynbee Hall has done for furniture workers? The problem is mainly one for local solution. Toynbee Hall has carried out with a master hand and with satisfactory material a scheme which others have approached on more amateur lines. Its success will, perhaps, show others where they have failed. Goodwill is not always a successful substitute for the professional touch. There ought to be a great opening for cottage industries after the war, and it would be well if the possibilities in this direction were thoroughly examined betimes.

#### Physical Force.

We are grateful to the Lord Chancellor for enunciating *ex cathedra* a well-known and obvious fact, but one which long years of freedom for this country from external and internal danger have caused a certain small section of the population to dispute. Lord Haldane speaking in the House of Lords on January 8th said:—

"By the common law of this country it is the duty of every subject of the realm to assist the Sovereign in repelling the invasion of its shores, and in defence of the realm. . . . Compulsory service is not foreign to the Constitution of the country, and in a great national emergency it might be necessary to resort to it."

In passing, it may be mentioned that the context showed that the word "subject" was intended to mean "male subject." Here we have from the highest constitutional authority in the land for the time being a complete refutation of the argument used against the physical force basis of Government that nowadays we pay professional soldiers and police to look after the country, and that consequently no obligation to fight devolves on the ordinary male citizen. Moreover, the duty referred to by Lord Haldane devolves on men, because they are men, and women are exempt, because they are women. A national emergency tends to send us back to fundamentals, and, it is to be hoped, will help some of those amongst us to realize that there cannot be equality where the things concerned are not equal.

#### Liquor Interests in America.

Anti-Suffragists in the United States are well able to look after themselves, and they are beginning to overtake the slander that there existed an alliance between themselves and the so-called liquor interests. The time has accordingly come for this particular slander to find refuge in the Suffragist Press of Great Britain. Thus we read in *The Englishwoman* for January, "The Anti-Suffragists are affording the first instance on record of the liquor interests and women working together for a common cause," and the only shred of evidence adduced by the writer is contained in a sentence of this sort, "The gambling places and houses of ill-repute, recognized auxiliaries of the saloons, joined in the work, and all used the literature issued by the Eastern Anti-Suffrage Associations of Women, as there are none of any consequence in the West." The first thought which will occur to the fair-minded reader is that even if it were true that the liquor

interests used Anti-Suffrage literature, the fact would be no proof that Anti-Suffragists were in league with the liquor interests. One has to have a very bad case or to be smarting under a severe reverse to use arguments of this nature in a political campaign, and we regret to see an English magazine lending itself to propaganda of this nature.

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#### A More Honourable Adversary.

To anyone with a knowledge of American politics the reason for the simultaneous activity of Anti-Suffragists and the liquor interests is well known. The same electorate in each State is being asked to decide on the questions of woman suffrage and prohibition. Liquor interests are in arms against prohibition, and will use any cry that may suit their purpose. That Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists are not respectively prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists is shown by the fact that until last November no Suffrage State "went dry," while some Suffrage States on this occasion elected to remain "wet." But on this subject we may let the President of one of the chief Suffrage societies in America speak. In the January number of *Jus Suffragii* Mrs. Catt says:—

"It would be difficult to explain to one unfamiliar with American conditions the causes which prevented victory in other States. In most of them there was a hand-to-hand combat between the so-called wets and drys. The wets are the saloon forces; the drys are the prohibition people. The wets are invariably opposed to Woman Suffrage, taking it for granted that women as a whole will be more easily won over to prohibition than men. Up to this year no State in which women vote has had a prohibition campaign, and this has been somewhat of a strength to the Suffrage movement. It had been possible to demonstrate that prohibition had been established in States where men only voted, and that in no State where women vote had prohibition been established, with the exception of Kansas, and that law was enacted long before the women had the vote. Although the liquor forces have always opposed Woman Suffrage, these facts somewhat placated those least antagonistic. At the recent election, however, the question of prohibition was submitted in several of the Suffrage States, and it was carried in Arizona, Oregon and Colorado.

"The Suffrage movement is now placed between the Scylla of prohibition on the one side, and the Charybdis of high licence on the other. That these Suffrage States have gone prohibition means that the saloon interests will fight Woman Suffrage harder than ever. On the other hand, had they gone against prohibition, the drys would have fought it upon the ground that the women do not help when this contest arises. It is difficult for those not present to realise the intensity of these wet and dry campaigns."

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#### Glass Houses.

When a Suffragist can bring herself to write dispassionately on the subject, the hollowness of the charge of an Anti-Suffragist alliance with the liquor interests is at once realized. On the other hand, Mrs. Catt's words can only mean that the Suffragists themselves are in negotiation with the liquor interests, with a view to arriving at a *modus vivendi*. American Anti-Suffragists, however, have not yet charged them with forming an alliance with, as *The Englishwoman* pleasantly expresses it, "the gambling places and houses of ill-repute." How ill it becomes the writer of *The Englishwoman* to indulge her wrath at the scanty success of the Suffragists at the last elections is shown by the following quotation from the October issue of the *Woman's Voice*, the official organ of the Montana Woman's Christian Temperance Union:—

"Our W.C.T.U. had no division in the Suffrage parade during fair week. Our committee was arranging for float, banners, etc.,

according to invitation given, when our chairman was informed that some Suffragists thought it better not to have the W.C.T.U. in the parade as a body. It is laughable to have the Suffragists so considerate of the views of the liquor men that they fear to antagonise them by allowing a temperance banner in their parade. But such is their policy. So the oldest Suffrage organisation in the States was not represented in the parade."

All of which, as the non-grammarian says, goes to prove that for a nostrum which is to uplift politics, the shadows Woman Suffrage contrives to cast before it, whether in Montana or *The Englishwoman*, are of a peculiarly unedifying nature.

#### A WORD OF WARNING.

Miss Edith Milner, of Heworth Moor House, York, who is well-known for a long record of devoted public service, writes:—

I should like to send a few words of warning to my Anti-Suffrage brothers and sisters. How often has England been nearly caught napping? How often she has just muddled through. I see mischief ahead in Girl Guides, in Leagues of Honour, in this very Woman's Emergency Corps. It seems to me that the work women can and must do is under their hand. Plenty of wise organizations already exist. Auxiliary service is no reproach. Where should we be without our auxiliary forces? In the case of woman's work, I think the issue is somewhat confused. Though the majority of women are content to do what their hand finds to do quietly, the aggressive ego has gained too much prominence since the twentieth century began.

While the civilized world is shuddering at the ruined buildings, the monuments of ages irrevocably destroyed in Belgium and France, have the women and the men of England who deserve the title forgotten the wanton and organized destruction of sacred buildings in England and Scotland by women who call themselves educated? Truly hideously suggestive of Kultur. I lived through those terrible months when York Minster had to be guarded night and day with only one entrance and outlet carefully and doubly guarded, our venerable Dean constantly receiving threatening letters; and there was more than one attempt at blasphemous interruption in our grand services. The presence of mind of the officiating priest and the dignified calm of the congregation only averted the usual unseemly brawl. I have no faith in any of them, nor respect for any woman who takes a leading part in this outrageous system. No scheme initiated by them appeals to me. I can hardly contain my indignation when I think that Mrs. Fawcett actually boasts of her workers of the N.U.W.S.S. managing "to get in a word on the Suffrage question," to her patient sufferers who have done so much for the women of England and for the British Empire. When women get a craze they lose all sense of proportion. The last two letters of their propaganda (N.U.W.S.S.) might well read "Stirrers Up of Strife."

I should like in conclusion to protest against girls, or boys for the matter of that, being authorized to beg in the streets, either with money boxes or by selling flowers. It is a hateful system, and should be made illegal by the authorities. House-to-house collections are odious enough, but this street begging is unbearable and degrading.

#### UNWISE WISDOM.

By MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON.

Unwise wisdom! The phrase originated, we believe, in the Carlyle household, but whether it was from the pen of the sage of Chelsea or his spouse we cannot tell. It certainly describes many activities that may be seen about us to-day. The country may feel a legitimate pride in the temper and spirit of her sons and daughters who have borne many sorrows and prolonged strain without weakening resolution or fanatical hate against the enemy. Many of those living on a small income, many women dependent on the savings of years of toil, find themselves reduced by one-half of their budget; yet the first charge remains the same, when the week's food is provided, to see what can remain for public needs. The generosity of the public and of individuals has been extraordinary, and there has as yet been no stint of gifts or complaining at the burden. The great heart of the people is profoundly stirred. It is all the more deplorable that certain things have been done, and certain movements initiated which are so far from being helpful that they may well prove to be harmful at this crisis.

Here in this beautiful western country which has done so well in recruiting there has been much indignation at the women who permitted themselves to hand white feathers to young men of whom they knew nothing. It was in itself a gross insult, an impertinence which assuredly must have prevented many a young fellow from enlisting. It would have been well if these ladies could have been commandeered for the front, where hard and useful work could have been found them in washing for the troops. There has been altogether too much scolding and hectoring on the part of women. "Incentives," the poet tells us, "come from the soul's self, the rest avail not." "I wished my sons, or some of them to go," said one mother, "but I would not say a word to them; it would have taken from the merit of the dear lads' choice." She was right. The minds of young men work more deliberately than the imaginations of girls, and many have been kept back by a sense of diffidence, and have been slow to show their feeling in the matter.

There has been much talk of the wives whose husbands are on service, Reservists and others, and charges have been brought against them which we are persuaded are exaggerated. That some have broken down and taken to drink is sad indeed, but on the whole they have done nobly. Many of them are quite young wives and mothers who feel acutely the strain, the loneliness, the loss of the daily companionship, the responsibility of the sole charge of the home. They need friends, the chat with some other wife or mother who knows the same anxiety, whose intercourse with the larger world is superior to theirs. How can a weekly concert help them? How can even a club help them, however friendly and pleasant the evenings spent there may be? For the young mother cannot leave her babes locked up alone at night, she cannot take them with her to the club, nor can she easily find another trustworthy person to look after them. One such mother told the writer that she had tried to hinder her husband from re-enlisting, he had a good civilian position and there were two young children, but he said to her, "Wife, if you hinder me in this I don't think I shall ever be able to forgive it you." So adjured, the poor woman choked down her tears, and did her best loyally to help him to do his duty. When last seen she was rocking the cradle of a little child ill with bronchitis and helping the schoolboy

with his lessons. What is wanted is the friendly hand and voice of sympathy. Cannot English women in this matter help one another?

Among other strange but well-meaning movements has been one for forming patrols of young ladies to walk the streets and prevent working girls from addressing soldiers, while other movements have been set on foot to encourage girls to bring soldiers to their clubs for dancing and other amusements. These contradictory activities would be droll if they were not deplorable. The first proposal would inevitably provoke unseemly scenes in the streets; to the second many obvious objections might be urged. We are reminded of Dickens' "moral pocket-handkerchiefs" and the disappointments of "Borriboola Gha"!

In the gigantic clash of forces which has overwhelmed us, we need all our self control and sanity of outlook. The importance of women in the world would seem to have sadly diminished, though a little reflection may reassure us on that head; in the strife we seem to be thrown back upon primitive elemental things in which the vote appears the merest triviality. In very truth the values in the whole world of men and women are changed, nothing can ever be quite the same again for any of us. It may be that the overcharged sex-egoism of a certain section of political women will expand into a larger, broader outlook. The interests of women should never be treated apart from the interests of the race, for men and women together make up the whole, and one sex cannot be safely considered without the other, while both are the guardians of the future.

#### PERSONAL.

LORD WIMBORNE, the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is well known to members of the N.L.O.W.S. in connection with the active part which, as the Hon. Ivor Guest, he played in the formation in 1908 of the Men's League for the prevention of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women.

A MARRIAGE has been arranged between Major James Carruthers, M.V.O., and Miss Violet Markham. Major Carruthers was A.D.C. to Lord Gladstone when the latter was Governor-General of South Africa.

THE HON. MRS. EUSTACE FIENNES has had a hospital at Dunkirk for some months now. The *Oxford Chronicle* writes:—"Mrs. Fiennes has three doctors—Dr. Henry and Dr. Brunwin, from Manchester, and one from London, Mr. Hamilton (surgeon). She has twelve nurses and a staff of hospital orderlies, cooks, etc. The hospital holds 46 patients, and upwards of 150 patients have been treated since it was started, mostly very bad cases. Amongst them were many French officers and several English soldiers. During the last few weeks several members of the Oxfordshire Yeomanry suffering from bronchitis, pneumonia, and other illnesses have been treated, and some are in the hospital at the present time. The hospital is beautifully equipped. There is an X-rays apparatus, given by a friend, Mrs. H. M. Thompson. The hospital was started and is kept entirely by personal friends of the Fiennes."

MRS. ANDERSON-MORSHEAD, a prominent supporter of our cause in East Devon, was recently invited by the Divisional Recruiting Committee to speak at a recruiting campaign in Sidmouth. Not the least interesting part of her stirring speech was a quotation from a letter written by one of her sons in the 2nd Devons just after a successful encounter with the enemy.

WE regret to have to record the death of Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, which took place when our last issue was going to press. Mr. Colquhoun was a strong supporter of our cause, and took a keen interest in the League, of which Mrs. Colquhoun is such a prominent and valued member. The sympathy of her many friends will go out in her sad loss to Mrs. Colquhoun, who participated to the full in all the work that won for her husband his distinction in the Imperial field.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA.

It is natural that the fortunes of the Suffrage campaign in the United States should be followed with close interest in the United Kingdom, for while Suffragists on this side of the Atlantic would be considerably heartened by the adoption of woman franchise as a Federal policy in America, many Anti-Suffragists would regard the surrender of the American people as though it were the loss of an important outpost in the flank of our own position. But the United States have not yet capitulated to the Suffragists, nor is there any reason why the United Kingdom should "go to Canossa," even if they do.

The composition of the United States lends itself to constitutional experiments. The country is much in the position of the man who when travelling in strange countries makes a point of trying the effect of novel articles of diet on his dog before touching them himself. At the present moment America is coquetting with two experiments, prohibition and Woman Suffrage: she is shy of both, but does not quite like to say so, and meanwhile the dog is being handsomely fed. In the case of Woman Suffrage the *corpus vile* is represented by the Western States, in regard to prohibition at first by Southern States, from race motives, but now also by Western States, which are jealous of being behind in anything in the nature of freak legislation. Here, too, is the home of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, all no doubt to be justified in theory and harmless as far as the world is concerned when confined to Wyoming or Arizona, and not part of the Constitution of a Great Power.

The progress of prohibition in the United States is slightly steadier than that of Woman Suffrage, for there are fourteen prohibition States compared with twelve equal-suffrage States. Prohibition, as we have seen, originated in the South; it now looks for its successes to States where the rural population outnumbers the urban. In the same way Woman Suffrage requires special conditions for its extension. The chief of these conditions, it would appear, is a marked preponderance of male over female inhabitants in the given State. In the case of both prohibition and Woman Suffrage there is no reason why they should not continue to extend where the requisite conditions are to be found. But the fact that they have so far been able to capture a quarter of the States does not necessarily imply that they are bound to capture the remaining three-quarters.

American Suffragists are by no means satisfied with the progress they are making, nor are they pleased with the prospect of having to continue the efforts they have put forward hitherto for the meagre results attained. Hence the resolve to imitate British Suffragists in going over the head of the electorates and trying to deal merely with the legislatures of each State. As things are at present, each State has to be "worked" according to its special circumstances. Some States will not submit the question to a referendum, and initiative petitions have to be secured, entailing signatures from a certain proportion of counties and of a certain percentage of voters. Where the law forbids paid canvassers, the work, as Suffragists naively admit, is particularly onerous, and when the Suffrage amendment has been defeated the whole process has to be gone through again.

A short cut to Woman Suffrage, or at least to having its fate decided, offers, if both Houses of Congress could be persuaded to accept by a two-thirds majority a Woman

Suffrage amendment to the Constitution. That amendment would then be submitted to the legislatures of the various States, and would become the law of the land if three-fourths of the States ratified it. It will be seen that even the short cut leaves Woman Suffrage a long way off, but the Suffragists have experienced a set-back on taking the very first step in that short cut. Last year the Senate discussed a Woman Suffrage resolution and gave a majority of one in its favour.

The Senate, it will be remembered, consists of two delegates from each State, while the number of Representatives of each State in the Lower House is proportionate to the population of the State. Consequently in the Senate the State of Nevada has as much voice as New York or Pennsylvania; whereas in the House of Representatives its three deputies would be opposed to forty-five and thirty-eight from the other States respectively.

As a two-thirds majority is required, the Senate's majority was of no more practical advantage to the Woman Suffrage cause than a defeat. In the House of Representatives the suggestion that the subject should even be discussed has been continually overruled; but at last, by a vote of four to three, the Rules Committee reported favourably on the motion, and for the first time in twenty years the Lower House debated a Woman Suffrage amendment. The motion was rejected by 204 votes to 174. In a House of 378 members a two-thirds majority would have required 252 votes in favour of the motion, while for a full House of 531 members the 174 votes polled represented only half the number required.

From this analysis it will be seen that the short cut process to Woman Suffrage is not likely to be successful in the near future, while the experiments in legislation dear to the Western States have so far not found in the more populous Eastern States enthusiastic imitators.

In conclusion, it is of interest to note that prohibition also tried its fortune with the same House of Representatives, and in accordance with its tradition fared just slightly better than Woman Suffrage. It secured a majority of 197 to 189 in its favour, but again a two-thirds majority was required for practical purposes.

## WAR NEWS.

THE following intelligence has been received from the rear:—

"Women have to bear the hardest part of war."—Miss Margaret Ashton, *Manchester Guardian*, January 21, 1915.

"This war has proved once and for all that the women are as useful to the State as the men."—Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Lady's Pictorial*, November 14, 1914.

## EXCURSIONS TO THE FIRING LINE.

"The backbone of the difficulty would be broken if the authorities could be forced to recognise that, at least at times of grave national peril, women, if they deliberately choose to do so, have as much right to risk their lives in the service of their country as men."—Miss E. F. Rathbone, *Common Cause*, January 1, 1915.

THE *Savannah Morning News* publishes the following letter from Mrs. Gordon, a well-known Savannah lady:—

"DEAR SIR.—In your Sunday issue of December 6th, under the description 'Equal Suffrage Party Growing,' my name is twice mentioned in the list given as a sympathiser with this movement. Unauthorised statements of the interest of anybody or everybody may mean 'growth' for Suffragists. I desire to put myself on record as entirely out of accord with their activities.

"I am not anxious to hear a hen attempt to crow."

## BOOK REVIEW.

MRS. PANKHURST'S "STORY."\*

Readers of Mrs. Pankhurst's recent volume, "My Own Story," will be forced to the conclusion that she has contributed very little to the sum of public knowledge on Suffrage history, present movements, objective, and intricacies. Her book will be very acceptable to her own devotees, for not only does it record many interesting facts about their chieftain's childhood and upbringing, but the emotional element which runs through it will give much satisfaction to those whose self-imposed misery provides them with the fellow-feeling to make them wondrous kind. It will not surprise our readers, however, if we put on record that we are quite unconvinced by her presentation of the history of the past few years; nor will they expect us to accept what in many cases is a grotesque interpretation of the facts which have gone to make that history.

Anti-Suffragists have often held that the struggle for the vote has been developing along the lines of a war between the sexes; this contention has just as often been repudiated. Now, however, Mrs. Pankhurst bears testimony to the correctness of the Anti-Suffrage position by saying in her "Foreword"—"So ends, for the present, the war of women against men." The italics are ours. And she alludes to the "sex bitterness stirred up by a series of articles written by Christabel Pankhurst and published in *The Suffragette*." On the other hand, let it not be assumed that we admit Mrs. Pankhurst's claim to speak for all women. We repudiate entirely, as we have ever done, that Mrs. Pankhurst has the right to speak for more than an insignificant proportion of her fellows; and her arrogant assumption, running through the whole of her book, of the right to decide the fate of the women of the Kingdom must be indignantly repelled. A very apt quotation in this connection is from Mr. Justice Phillimore's remarks at the conspiracy trial in June, 1913: "It is not a case," he said, "of women against men, but of some women against all other women and children."

Mrs. Pankhurst sees no shame in her autocracy. Her wilful, dogmatic, domineering forcefulness in dealing with her own associates seems to be her glory. There is no place for them in her organisation unless they subserve everything to the sole purpose of making society and government impossible so long as women have no votes. And unless they accept her Kaiser-dom, out they go, and that quickly. This is what we may expect in serious party politics if Mrs. Pankhurst and her disciples ever become a force in the government of the country. To have respectively tyranny and absolutism of this character in our national politics would be to introduce a "Boss" ridden women's party of the worst description. Mrs. Pankhurst's book indicates very clearly that it is this she is heading for.

The swing of the pendulum is a feature recognised by all political and election authorities. Not so Mrs. Pankhurst. The abnormal Liberal election of 1906 was as certain as the four seasons to be followed by a more normal contest. But as one reads "My Own Story," one is forced to the conclusion that Mrs. Pankhurst actually believes that she and her folk turned most of the elections where the Unionists regained ground. The by-election policy dealt with is alike grotesque in its portrayal.

Incidentally, Mrs. Pankhurst bears testimony to the truth of Anti-Suffragists' contention that votes do not necessarily raise wages nor improve the conditions of the workers. Many Suffragists have admitted this in a spirit of candour, though generally at election times in manufacturing districts wages are put forward as the main reason for agitating for the vote. In 1885 Mrs. Pankhurst took part in the great strike movement at Bryant and May's match factories, and the girls won "substantial improvements in their working conditions"—without the vote.

Owing to the exigencies of space this review has had to be curtailed, but it would not be fitting to conclude it without mentioning the war. Mrs. Pankhurst claims, in effect, that as women have been working in war-help movements, and in filling the vacancies in business and agriculture caused by the military demands of the time, so their reward, after the war is over, must be the vote. It is our conviction that most women and most men, faithfully, unobtusively, and sympathetically doing their portion of the work in the nation's crisis, would scorn the idea of using that work as a lever to gain concessions; to say nothing of the many thousands of women who do not want the vote, whether as a gift or as reward. It is by no means the fact that the great majority of women war-workers desire to get in a word on the Suffrage question, as do the Suffrage workers in the Continental hospitals, according to Mrs. Fawcett.—A. H.

\* MY OWN STORY. By Emmeline Pankhurst. Eveleigh Nash.

## A RECREATION HUT.

On the evening of January 11th, 1915, in the presence of Brigadier-General R. H. Twigg, C.B., Lt.-Colonel G. R. Harland Bowden, M.P., the officers and N.C. officers of the Empire Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, and as many of the rank and file as could crowd into the building, the Recreation Hut presented by the members of the Marylebone Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. and other friends, was formally handed over to the officials of the Young Men's Christian Association for the use of the men encamped at Upper Warlingham. The hut, which is under the able supervision of Mr. Stuart Donnithorne, of the Y.M.C.A., had, however, been in use since Christmas.

The proceedings began with a few graceful words from Mrs. Jeyes, Hon. Secretary of the League, and of the Marylebone Branch, who, in presenting the hut in the name of herself and her friends, wished all the men "Good luck." The ovation she received must have been recompense enough for such trouble as she had taken in the matter; it certainly stirred the hearts of others present.

In accepting the gift, Mr. A. K. Yapp, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., touched upon the far-reaching work done by the Association, not only in Great Britain, but in all parts of the Empire. He mentioned that permission had recently been received to undertake work for the Expeditionary Force, and that fifteen buildings were already being put up in France alone, as well as others in Egypt. Mr. Yapp then placed the hut at the disposal of Colonel Harland Bowden for the present use of his battalion.

In a most vigorous speech Colonel Harland Bowden expressed the warm thanks of the Battalion to the ladies who had been instrumental in providing the Recreation Hut. Until it was erected the men in camp at Upper Warlingham, high above the Caterham Valley, had absolutely no refuge when off duty, no place where they could gather together and pass an hour or more in comfort, and the hut had already been of very great benefit. Colonel Harland Bowden also said that it seemed most fitting that an Empire work like that of the Y.M.C.A. should include the Empire Battalion, and cheers broke from the men when he remarked with emphasis that they all hoped very soon to enjoy the hospitality of the Y.M.C.A. in France. At the conclusion of the Colonel's speech General Twigg rose and very simply and cordially added his thanks to those already given.

The rest of the evening was devoted to a most enjoyable concert, which appeared to be thoroughly appreciated by the men, and in which some of the officers assisted, as well as a party of friends who had very kindly volunteered their services for the occasion. A selection by the excellent band of the Battalion opened the concert, after which Miss Armored Harris sang with peculiar sweetness "The Pipes of Pan," the well-known song from "The Arcadians." This was followed by violin soli from Monsieur Barthelemy, a Belgian artiste of distinction, who was accompanied by Madam Barthelemy with true musicianship. Miss Annabel Macdonald then sang "Annie Laurie," and gave as an encore the effective piece of vocal declamation called "The Blessing," with the refrain, "May God be very good to you," which made a deep impression on her audience. Captain A. E. Winnington Barnes was then called upon to recite, and gave Kipling's "Young British Soldier," with admirable force and insight. It was also with evident pleasure the audience received the announcement that Mr. Roper, another officer, would now sing. There were cries from the back of the hall of "Isabelle! Isabelle!" but Mr. Roper preferred to begin with "Off to Philadelphia." He was presently induced, however, to sing "Farewell, Isabelle," which proved to be a fine marching song—or so it seemed when sung by Mr. Roper, accompanied by Mr. Flint, a brother officer of great talent, and chorused by lusty voices; it certainly went with a swing which justified the enthusiasm of the Empire Battalion. The end of the second part of the concert was brought to a close by Miss Amored Harris singing "Tipperary," to which she added a special verse, declaring "It's a long, long way to boastful Berlin, but we'll get there, all right." Here again Mr. Flint and the chorus shared the singer's triumph.

To watch the eager faces of the men as they were singing, to see their keen eyes, and to note their strong build, and above all to feel in their young voices their fierce determination indeed to "get there," was to bring away with one many thoughts not easily forgotten.

Beside those already mentioned among the guests who were present, were Lady Lawrence, wife of Sir Joseph Lawrence, who, unfortunately, was prevented from coming, Mr. Hector Morison, M.P., and Mrs. Morison, Mrs. Fenerheerd, Mrs. Herbert Bennett, Miss Emily Luck, Mr. Edwin Bale, R.I., Mr. Pape, and Mr. F. J. Chamberlain, of the Y.M.C.A., whose courteous help has always been at the disposal of the Committee.

## THE INFORMATION BUREAU.

THE Committee of the N.L.O.W.S. Information Bureau and Reading Room, 415, Oxford Street, report that gifts of comforts for the Army and Navy and of clothing have been received from Miss King, Miss Hart, Misses Martin, the Hanwell Branch, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Whitelocke Lloyd, Mrs. Gale, the Misses Brewer, Mrs. Shadbolt, Mrs. C. Smith, the Misses Stables, Mrs. Mould. The large parcels of children's and women's clothes sent through Mrs. Gale from the R.E. working party at Weymouth were specially useful and welcome. These latter, and other gifts of the kind, have been distributed by Mrs. Macdonald at Bow, and Miss Winthrop at Bow and Bromley, Miss Rigg at North Islington, and Miss L. Frere at Paddington, and Miss Phillott at West Islington. A maternity bag has also been given to Miss Frere for the Paddington Branch, and to Miss Rigg for N. Islington, and two others are also completed. The comforts for the troops have been sent in answer to special appeals for the Ghurkas, the Newfoundland Contingent, H.M.S. "Falcon," for wounded soldiers at Leicester, for sailors in the Portland Hospital, and the patrol boats at Portland, for a French Red Cross Hospital at Rouen, for wounded Belgian soldiers, for Reservists, and to Lady French.

Mrs. Greenfield, through Miss Wentworth Stanley, and Mrs. W. Taylor have kindly given orders for socks and mufflers, and thus enabled the Committee to give work to those who have appealed for it. Further orders would be received with gratitude, also gifts of comforts and clothes of all kinds. An urgent appeal has just come from a member for the Belgian soldiers at Hanwell, and for mine sweepers and patrol boats.

The first of the Recreation Rooms for Recruits provided by the fund which is being collected by the Bureau will be opened in about a fortnight's time at Seaford Camp, when the huts now in course of erection will be completed. Seaford Camp is on the bleak and wind-swept Sussex Downs between Newhaven and Eastbourne, and nowhere are Recreation Rooms more needed, for 27,000 men will be encamped there. Funds for the second of these rooms promised are still urgently needed, and will be gratefully received by the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Blenkinsop, at Hotel Windsor, Westminster, S.W., or may be sent to the Manager, L.C. and Westminster Bank, Caxton House Branch, crossed "Bureau Recreation Room Fund." Collecting cards have been found very useful for small sums, and will be sent from the Bureau to any Branch Secretary or member who will be good enough to help by getting them filled. Assistance would willingly be given in arranging meetings to make the objects of this fund known. The following sums have been given up to the present:—

Paddington, £72 6s. 6d.; Binfield, Bracknell, and District, £40 15s.; Hastings and District, £25 1s.; Crouch End, £11 1s. 6d.; Bradford, £10; Kensington, £7 1s.; Ealing and Ealing South, £5 10s.; Salisbury, £5; Newbury, £5; Leicester, £4 4s. 6d.; Purley and Sanderstead, £3 18s.; Fulham, £3 17s.; Oxford, £3 14s. 6d.; Weston-super-Mare, £3 12s. 2d.; Chelsea, £3 2s. 6d.; Bromley, £3 0s. 6d.; Southwold, £3; Leeds, £2 11s.; Dormansland, £2; Finchley, £1 15s.; Highbury, £1 12s. 6d.; Rugby, £1 11s. 6d.; Ealing Dean, £1 6s. 6d.; Beaconsfield, £1 5s.; Sandown, £1 5s.; Wimbledon, 11s.; Hook Norton, 7s.; Reading, 4s.; Norwood, 2s.

The following sums have also been received:—£10, Miss G. Lowthian Bell (per Miss Pott); £5 5s., Mrs. Scott; £5, Mrs. Max Muller, Miss Pott, Mrs. E. Esson, Mrs. E. Cole, Mrs. S. T. Hill (per Miss Pott), Mrs. Logan Wright; £3 3s., Lady Aitchison; £2 2s., Lady Robson; £2, Lady Dawkins, Mrs. Main; £1 5s., Mrs. Turner (collecting card); £1 1s., Mrs. Fenn; £1, the Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Marshall Allen, Mrs. Jenkins; 15s., Mr. and Mrs. Baynes, the Misses Andrews and Bellis; 10s., Mrs. Harrison, Miss Paine, Miss Manisty, Miss M. Hutton, Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Griffith, Miss E. H. Terrill, Hon. Mrs. Rogers, Hon. K. Mostyn (card), Mr. C. Apar, Miss R. Browne (per Mrs. C. Smith), Mrs. Perreau, Miss Hudson (card), Mrs. Carson Roberts; 5s., Miss Luck, Miss Festing, Miss Turnbull, the Misses Yeld, Mrs. Reader, Mrs. Rendall, Mrs. S. C. Gray, Miss Clifton, Mrs. Godwin, Mrs. Blackford, Mrs. Toynbee, the Misses Garland, Mrs. Quick; 3s., Miss Otterson; 2s. 6d., Miss Hill, Miss N. Hill, Miss Horsford, the Misses Bournes, Miss Leal, Miss Herschel, Mrs. M. H. Lacy; 1s. 6d. Miss Bill; 1s., Miss Wheatcroft, Miss Cater, Mrs. Howard, Miss Marshall. Additional sums received since the above was written complete the first £300, and subscriptions for the second list are now asked.

Mrs. Hartley Russell having left London and resigned her membership of the Information Bureau Committee, a cordial vote of thanks has been sent to her for valuable help, especially in card-indexing the books of the library. Miss G. F. Martin has been elected a member in her place.

## BRANCH NEWS.

**Hampstead.**—The annual meeting of members of the Hampstead Branch will be held in the All Saints' Church Hall on February 24th, when Miss Pott has kindly consented to give an address on "Anti-Suffragism and the War." The chair will be taken by Mrs. Metzler, the President of the Branch, at 3.30, and tea will be served at 4.30.

Miss Lindo Henry has kindly undertaken the duties of Hon. Secretary of the Branch.

**Hastings.**—The Hastings and District Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. held its annual meeting at 6, Warrior Square Terrace, by kind permission of Madame Wolfen, on January 18th, when the report was read. Miss Beth Finlay, in moving its adoption, gave a most interesting address.

The present Committee was unanimously re-elected, and the proceedings terminated with the usual hearty votes of thanks.

The annual report shows an increase in the membership, in spite of no propaganda work having been done since the outbreak of war. A special appeal to the members was made on behalf of the Information Bureau Recreation Room Fund, which met with a most liberal response, £25 being handed over for that purpose.

**Richmond.**—Mrs. Dumergue, President of the Richmond Branch, writes:—"Early in August, at the wish of the Central Office, I inaugurated working parties in aid of our 'Sailors' and Soldiers' Families Association.' With true pleasure I am now able to report the continued and increasing success of these re-unions, held week by week at different members' houses, without a single break from the outset until Yule-tide, thus making in all seventeen meetings. Throughout we have had the kind, helpful co-operation of Miss Amy Stevenson, head of the Kew Branch. The meeting at her house was one of our brightest. I gratefully thank her, as well as the other ladies of our Richmond Branch who have generously contributed money and material, especially those who have so zealously given their time, presence and personal work. The result has been a goodly number of garments, distributed locally or at a distance amongst our sailors' and soldiers' wives and children, also amongst the needy ones of our Belgian Allies. Besides our contribution to the Patriotic Bureau, a good-sized box from our Branch was despatched to the Front in time for Christmas. Encouraged by all this I look forward to re-opening our weekly work meetings before the first month of the New Year has passed away. I hope we may keep up steadily so long as they can be of use, as a tribute of womanly sympathy. There has been one change in our Committee which I regret to record, that is the resignation of our Hon. Treasurer, Mr. J. Herbert Gittens, after several years of unflinching support of our cause, in really strenuous days. Besides being very busy officially he no longer lives at Richmond. Still we hope he will continue to help us by remaining on our Committee. Happily his successor, Mr. Jesty, is one whom we all welcome, and to whom we can look to do his part in maintaining the prestige of our Branch.

**High Wycombe.**—The annual report of the High Wycombe Branch shows that there are 248 members, and that the financial position of the Branch is good, although, owing to the war, no propaganda work has been done. Grateful thanks are due to Miss Schmidt, who has so kindly undertaken the duties of Hon. Secretary until some local lady is appointed.

**"The Beehive."**—The "Beehive" held a meeting and entertainment in the Christian Institute on December 24th. The meeting was opened by Lady Griselda Cheape with prayer, followed by an excellent musical programme kindly arranged by Mrs. Rodger, the performers giving a splendid display.

On January 6th the "Beehive" gave another tree in the Forester Hall, Dundee. Over a hundred of the very poorest children were gathered, by the kind assistance of the District Nurses. The tree itself was given by Mrs. McKenzie, of the N.F. Church, and the "Bees" had worked well to make it bright and cheery, and to prepare gifts for the boys and girls present. Lady Griselda Cheape opened with prayer, and then music and recitations followed in swift succession. Tea was served, which the little ones thoroughly enjoyed. The tree was lit and after singing of the hymn "Once in Royal David's City" and "God Save the King," gifts were distributed, which brought the meeting to a close.

During the month of December over £7 of lace was sold for the benefit of the Irish Cripple Children. In January the "Bees" have been working for the Queen's Guild and for the Home of Rest for Horses.

Any information about the Society may be obtained from Lady Griselda Cheape, Strathtyrum, St. Andrew's.