ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW:

也1912.

No. 56.



JUNE, 1913.

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There are just as many ways of losing the complexion, as many risks to run, as there are minutes to the day. Late hours, stress, and strain and worry of life, all tend towards the natural exhaustion of recuperative effort, which acts and reacts upon the body, and, alas! leaves its traces in the face and complexion, at once the most delicate and exposed part of the body, and which consequently grows slowly more sallow and dull day by

day.

Then, again, apart from this and the ravages upon the complexion of exterior sources—the rain, sun, biting winds, cold, heat, &c.—there is the natural deterioration arising from the heat, &c.—there is the natural deterioration arising from the fact that none of us stand still for one moment, but day by day are growing older. And growing older means that the body has less natural recuperative power.

Therefore, it would appear that, with these enemies to fight, one must intelligently and conscientiously acquire the habit of the care of that part of the body which Nature intended should be very pleasant and sweet to look whom. It is essential too

be very pleasant and sweet to look upon. It is essential too, that the very best advice be sought on the subject, just as one would seek the best advice on medical matters.

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LONDON, JUNE 1ST, 1913.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The Annual Council Meeting

will be held on

Wednesday, June 25th at 3.30 p.m. in the

Central Hall, Westminster (Corner of Prince's Street).

LORD WEARDALE in the Chair.

The Speakers will include-The Rt. Hon. F. E. SMITH, K.C., M.P., and Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD.

RECEPTION AT GRAFTON GALLERIES.

The Presidents and Committees of the Kensington and the Mayfair and St. George's Branches are giving an At Home, at the Grafton Galleries, on the evening of June 25th, from 8.30 to 11.30, to the members of Council and delegates to the Council meeting. Subscribers of five shillings and over to the two Branches can also obtain invitations for themselves on application to their Hon. Secretary, and those invited can get extra cards on payment of Secretary, and those invited can get extra cards on payment of five shillings, which includes refreshments. As only a limited number of extra cards can be issued, application should be made early. The Countess of Jersey will preside, and there will be speeches from Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C., and others. Music will be provided by the Frau Musika vocal quartette, Miss Edith Hanson (violoncello) and Miss Evelyn Longman (soprano).

AT EARL'S COURT

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage will again have a Stall at the Earl's Court Exhibition (Imperial Services). The Stall, which is in the Arcade, leading to the Western Gardens, is in the charge of Mrs. Bray. The Assistant Secretary will be glad of offers of help from Members of the League in looking after the

THE BRANCH SECRETARIES AND WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next Meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George MacMillan) on Wednesday, June 11th, at 27 Oueen's Gate Gardens. S.W., at 11.30 a.m. These Meetings at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. These Meetings are open to all Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, and Workers of the League, and this notice constitutes the invitation to the Meeting. It is hoped that all who are able to do so will attend them.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty,

33, Hornton Street,

Kensington, W.

Chairman: Miss Gladys Pott.

As Miss Pott will not be in London during the next few months, all communications to the League should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary, Miss Helen Page.

Owing to the number of applications for the Shilling Col-LECTING CARD, it has been found necessary to extend the date for their return to June 30th. It is hoped that every member of the League will by that date be able to send in one or more cards duly

The First Annual General Meeting of the Mayfair and St. George's Branch will be held at 9, Grosvenor Square, W., on Tuesday, June 10th, at 3.45 p.m., by kind invitation of Lady Haversham.

THE DICKINSON BILL.

By a majority of 48 in a House of 486 members the House of Commons, on May 6th, rejected the second reading of the Representation of the People (Women) Bill, commonly known as the Dickinson Bill from the name of the member who proposed it in direct opposition to the wishes of his constituents. This was the measure for which the Government had promised facilities by way of compensation for the withdrawal of the Franchise and Registration Bill. As the three sections of the Suffragists in the House—those favouring severally adult suffrage, the Norwegian (or householders and wives of householders) franchise, and the Conciliation Bill (the present municipal suffrage for women householders)could not agree among themselves regarding the form of Woman Suffrage to which they could give whole-hearted support, it was left to the Liberal Suffragists, as the numerically strongest party, to bring in a Bill on the lines that they themselves favoured. The Labour Party and other Adult Suffragists agreed to support this Bill, but the Conservative Suffragists were divided on the point, and ultimately only 41 voted or paired for the measure, compared with 77 who favoured the Conciliation Bill of March 28th, 1912. Of the 29 Conservatives who actually went into the division lobby some were prepared to vote against the third reading, if the Bill should not be whittled down to "Conciliation" terms in Committee. In view of all the circumstances the defeat of the Dickinson Bill by such a substantial majority was a signal success for Anti-Suffragists. A large number of members are still hampered by promises given at a time when Woman Suffrage was not a live issue, or when they had not given the subject a moment's consideration, and thought it safe to promise a band of women anything they might ask. Others again have been able to evade any reference to the wishes of their constituents, and are prepared to support Woman Suffrage until forcibly reminded of their duty to their electorate. In spite of these drawbacks the second real trial of strength in the House of Commons on Woman Suffrage produced a majority against the proposal more than three times as great as that which defeated the Conciliation Bill. The subject has received its quietus as far as the present Parliament is concerned, and Suffragists are driven back to the only constitutional tribunal—the electorate—of which they have always manifested such a wholesome dread.

Satisfactory as was the result of the voting on the Dickinson Bill, it did not in any way reflect the preponderance of the opposition to Woman Suffrage that exists in the electorate and the country at large. Until conclusive evidence to the contrary has been adduced it may be taken for granted that in no single constituency could a vote in favour of Woman Suffrage be obtained at the present moment. In these circumstances the outrageous nature of the attempt to force or wheedle a Suffrage Bill

through Parliament is apparent. It corresponds, unfortunately, with the conspicuous absence of political morality that characterises the whole movement. No subterfuge, no suppression of facts, no misrepresentation has been too immoral for the use of Suffragists in order to gain their ends. The madness of the militants is only a question of degree in the general lack of ballast displayed by all Suffragists. What is to be said of the alliance between Mrs. Fawcett's society and the Socialists? The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies handles so-and-so many thousands of pounds annually, contributed presumably for the most part by Liberal and Conservative women. The bulk of this money is spent on trying to persuade the women of Great Britain that they are miserable and down-trodden; the remainder is devoted to the only constructive piece of work for which the Union is responsible—the attempt to send Socialists to Parliament. Such is the record of an association that claims to be working for the moral uplifting of the nation, for the purification of political life. In order to gain their ends, to force through Parliament a measure to which the country is manifestly opposed, Suffragists are sparing no effort to return to the House of Commons members whose policy on every other question but Woman Suffrage they, as Liberals or Unionists, in the main disapprove of or consider as wholly prejudicial to the interests of the Empire. Fortunately the good sense of the country has frustrated these ill-advised efforts. Suffragist support of a candidate for Parliamentary honours is almost sufficient to ensure his defeat, and at the last four by-elections all the candidates have been Anti-Suffragists.

The struggle, however, will continue for some time to come. The real meaning of their defeats has not yet been learned by Suffragists, who try to find in the conditions of the moment or the exigencies of party politics a full explanation of their failure to change the Constitution of the country, despite the wishes of the electorate. But in the long-run the fallacy underlying the Suffrage agitation will become as apparent to its advocates as it is to the people at large. No one denies the existence of what is loosely termed the woman's movement, a phrase used to express the fact that the sphere of women's activities has widened considerably. There can be no question that a number of women, by means of the work that they perform, or owing to their individual qualifications, are capable of promoting the interests of the country. Suffragists would deny to these women their true opportunity by insisting that woman's development should take the form of duplicating the male element in the State. They fail to realise that in forcing both women and men into two or three stereotyped political moulds, they set out at once to destroy the originality and individuality that alone can make women's co-operation in the State valuable. In the place of all that women as women have to offer their country they would substitute a mere addition of a hundred or more per cent. to Unionist,

Liberal and Labour votes. For that development of women which the interests of the State demand, civil rights were needed and have been won. To graft on to these electoral responsibilities in Imperial affairs is to misread the lesson of Nature, and an agitation for this purpose must eventually fail. In the meantime, however, Anti-Suffragists must not under-estimate the capabilities of their opponents or the need for continued effort to checkmate a plausible and insidious campaign. Defeat will stir Suffragists to further activities. The public memory is short, and the advantage now gained must continually be driven home. It is at this moment of success that the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage requires renewed support in every quarter in order that the defeat of the Suffragists may be rendered permanent.

NOTES AND NEWS.

After the Bill.

JUNE, 1913.

THE Dickinson Bill represents the final effort, as far as the present Parliament is concerned, in the direction of committing the country to Woman Suffrage over the heads of the electorate. Before another Suffrage measure can be introduced into the House of Commons a General Election will have taken place. Whatever the result of that appeal, it does not appear probable at this stage that any Government will allow itself to be entangled with the question of Votes for Women. Suffragists will, doubtless, continue to cry for the moon in the shape of a Government measure, but any Bill that their supporters in the House of Commons introduce will have to stand its chance as any other private Member's Bill. For the time being, therefore, the controversy is transferred from Parliament to the proper arena of first instance—the electorate. Woman Suffrage has been forced too much into the forefront of political questions to allow the country to be rid of it all at once. Anti-Suffragists must be prepared for a vigorous campaign on the part of its advocates between now and the date of the General Election, and this League has to see to it that the fullest advantage is taken of the tide that has set in against the movement. Something more is required than the voicing of the widespread opposition to Woman Suffrage. Candidates for Parliamentary honours must be persuaded that, if they are to pose as representatives of their constituencies, they must be Anti-Suffragists, whether in their Party politics they are Liberal or Unionist. Our Branches can do valuable work, if they set about it, at once, to leave no candidate under any misapprehension regarding the trend of opinion on the Suffrage question in the various constituencies.

8 8 8

Parties and the Suffrage.

Elsewhere in this issue we give a full analysis of the Division List for Mr. W. H. Dickinson's Bill. A study of these tables will indicate to Branches of the N.L.O.W.S. the direction in which their efforts can be most profitably turned. A comparison with the Division List for the Conciliation Bill shows that apart from the four Members who could not obtain pairs, only 200 Unionists voted or

paired this year, or 15 less than in 1912. Of these 159 were against the Bill and 41 in favour. There is thus a large Unionist vote unaccounted for; but the Party as a whole is opposed to Woman Suffrage, and a point should be made by all Conservative and Unionist Political Organisations of aiming at unanimity by requiring future candidates of the Party to subscribe to the Anti-Suffrage view. The Liberal vote on the Dickinson Bill increased from 217 (voted or paired) in 1912 to 234, with a slightly higher percentage of votes in favour of Woman Suffrage. Much has been made by Suffragists of the Nationalist vote; but the fact remains that, without this vote, there would still have been a majority against the Bill. At the next General Election much of the air will have been cleared. The pledges rashly given in an unguarded moment for the Parliament will have lapsed and Members, if honest with themselves and their constituents, will have to be guided by the opinion of the electorate on this subject.

8 8 8

The Labour-Suffrage Alliance.

WHILE Mrs. Fawcett still issues her disclaimers of any alliance between her Society and Socialists, it is interesting to note that many of her followers find it more difficult to deny facts. At the meeting held on March 7th for the purpose of publicly declaring the new policy of the National Jnion of Women's Suffrage Societies, Lord Lytton said: "Where there were two Suffrage candidates—one Liberal and the other Labour-they would support the Labour man and oppose the Liberal. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative Suffragist, because they supported the Labour Party as a party. They would support a Conservative Suffragist against a Liberal Suffragist, because they were definitely opposing the Liberal party as a party." Mr. Philip Snowden at the same meeting spoke of the "alliance" of the National Union with the Labour Party, and the alliance was celebrated by a joint demonstration in Manchester on Easter Sunday. Owing to her long association with the Suffrage movement allowance has to be made for Mrs. Fawcett's inability to admit that things are what they are. To appreciate the point of view that she takes up, and the statements that she makes, it is only necessary to imagine what would be said of a man at the head of the National Union, who, adopting a similar method of supporting the Liberal party, tried to explain to Labour followers that the Society was "Non-Party."

8 8 8

The "Great Trek."

The "success" of the last Suffrage march, when five women walked from Edinburgh to London, has prompted the Suffragists to repeat the exhibition. This year the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies is to make itself responsible for four separate "pilgrimages" along the four chief trunk roads that converge on London. As far as is known the routes to be taken will be the North Road, Watling Street, Bath Road and the Portsmouth Road. If the question "For whose good?" be asked, the answer must be, that of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. There will be more expenditure of money, more waste of time and talent, and not a single woman, unless she be in the pay of the Union, will benefit. On the other hand it will be a matter of considerable doubt to

JUNE, 1913.

everybody but Suffragists whether even the National Union stands to gain by its perambulating circus. If in the eyes of its promoters it proves a success, the country will be confirmed in its opinions that the Suffrage movement is in the hands of a few leisured women who, with the help of others whom they have taken away from useful work into their own pay, can well find time for a few weeks' caravanning. If the trek shares the fate of the Edinburgh march, it will be a further proof that the country is not behind the movement. On one or other of these two horns of their self-inflicted dilemma Suffragists may safely be left to impale themselves.

8 8 8 Infant Mortality.

THE infant mortality rate in England and Wales for 1912 was 95 per mille, showing a reduction of 27 per cent. compared with the previous abnormal year and of 28 per cent. over the figure for 1906. During recent years the mortality rate has been as follows :-

per mille. 1908 121 1909 109 1910 106 1911 130 1901 ... 151 1904 ... 146 1905 ... 128 1906 ... 133 1907 ... 118

1907 118 1912 95
It will thus be seen that while Suffragists are asking for the vote in order to reduce infant mortality, the rate is being rapidly and systematically reduced without their help. There will always be set-backs, and doubtless the high mortality in 1911 was due to the abnormal summer heat. From the useless generalities of Suffragist platforms it is of interest to turn to serious discussions on infant mortality. The subject was recently raised at Glasgow and at the annual meeting of the Halifax Public Health Association. Halifax, although a manufacturing town, has an infant mortality rate of 81 per thousand, and it is to be inferred from the discussion that women in that town, whatever their views on the Suffrage question, are up and doing, and have shown that the necessary machinery for reducing the mortality rate can be set in motion without the parliamentary vote. Halifax, with a population of over 101,000, in regard to its infant mortality rate compares favourably with Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and with Wellington (New Zealand) in 1910, with its population, including suburbs, of only 70,000. Speaking at Glasgow on April 23rd Professor Glaister said that "as a general expression of the truth, he thought it was true to say that the factors of life and death were more in the hands of the people than in the houses."

Women and Legislation.

"Women's organisations already do their share towards moulding legislation that directly affects them. When the Insurance Act was under consideration various organisations of women put their views and recommendations forward, and their advice and criticism were gladly accepted by a number of M.P.'s who espoused their cause in the House.'

The words are Mrs. Fawcett's, reported in the Daily Mail of May 12th. Similar statements have often been made by Anti-Suffragists in support of the contention that Woman Suffrage is unnecessary as well as harmful. Women, as Mrs. Fawcett points out, do influence legislation, and they influence it in the only way in which it is susceptible of influence. In the case of the great political questions of the day-Home Rule or not Home Rule, Tariff Reform or

Free Trade, the votes of the electorate decide. In regard to the details of legislation—with which the advocates of Woman Suffrage are exclusively concerned, such as housing, infant mortality, &c .- the electorate as a vote-registering body is a negligible quantity. In order to influence legislation on these matters it is necessary that there should be a definite expression of public opinion voiced by memorial or deputation, as in the case of the Insurance Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Such questions, which are not party questions, cannot be dealt with by the votes of the electorate cast for "A" or for "B." They have to be brought to the notice of the Government by direct agency, and votes are of no real assistance. If Suffragists could be brought to realise this fact, there must be less support given to a movement which has only led to the degradation of a large section of its adherents, and has made not a single contribution to the well-being of the country.

8 8 8

A Timely Canvass.

SHORTLY before the second reading of the Dickinson Bill, a postcard canvass on the question of Woman Suffrage was carried out in the two constituencies of North St Pancras and Worcester. These constituencies were chosen as those of two prominent Suffragists—one the actual mover of the Bill about to be introduced into Parliament, the other the seconder of the Conciliation Bill. The results of the canvasses which covered the Parliamentary and Municipal electors in each case were as follow:--

NORTH ST. PANCRAS. Total Electorate, Men and Women (omitting 301 untraced Removals)

Woman Suffrage. *120 of these declared in favour of Woman Suffrage on the present Municipal basis only.

WOMEN ONLY. Of the total Electorate at North St. Pancras (omitting 10 untraced removals) 1,172 were Women.
Replies received from these were:—

Against Woman Suffrage ... 378 For Woman Suffrage 200
Therefore of the total replies received from Women Electors 65 per cent. were Against Woman Suffrage.

WORCESTER. Total Electorate, Men and Women (omitting 363

Woman Suffrage. *241 of these declared in favour of Woman Suffrage on the present Municipal basis only.

WOMEN ONLY. Of the total electorate at Worcester (omitting 43 untraced removals) 1,622 were Women. Replies received from these were :-

Against Woman Suffrage For Woman Suffrage

Therefore of the total replies received from Women Electors over

65 per cent. were Against Woman Suffrage. The canvass was carried out by post. A card, upon which was printed the registered number, was sent to each elector who was invited to reply "Yes" or "No," to the question, "Do you wish the Parliamentary Vote to be given to Women?" and to sign his or her name. No name of a League or Association was used, the covering letter asking the elector to express an opinion upon Woman Suffrage being signed by a private resident in the constituency to whom all

These results speak for themselves. They are doubly significant, however, when it is remembered that in each case the constituency is represented in Parliament by a Suffragist. There is not the least doubt that the canvass, although covering a little over fifty per cent. of the parliamentary and municipal voters represents the actual opinion of the whole of each constituency. Here is a subject of grave constitutional import to the country, and yet a Member is prepared deliberately to stultify the very principle of representative government by voting in a sense contrary to the wishes of his constituents. Mr. Dickinson has given us his excuse for this conduct. It is that he has always put support of Woman Suffrage in his election address and that his constituents know his views on the subject. No clearer proof could be given of the fact that the electorate at the last General Election did not give a thought to the subject of votes for women. The stronger the reason for Members now to be guided solely by the wishes of their constituents.

8 8 8

Suffragist Forgeries.

TUNE, 1913.

Ar meetings of the Church League for Women's Suffrage the claim that Suffragists are "out" to purify politics may still be heard. It is also advanced from the platforms of other Suffrage Societies when a worthy local dignitary, who has never studied the subject, has been secured for the chair. In no case, however, is any reason ever advanced for the assertion, nor can a single aspect of the Woman Suffrage movement be quoted in proof of it. So far the Suffragists' entry into politics has tended to lower both. The worst features of men's politics have been slavishly imitated by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and to these it has added cynical support of the doctrine that the means justify the end. It is prepared to help Socialists into Parliament in order to obtain Votes for Women, and would urge the women to use their votes, if they once obtained them, to turn those Socialists out of Parliament. Other societies frankly reject even the moral code that binds present-day politicians.

At the time of the Bow and Bromley by-election we had occasion to call attention to a scurrilous leaflet issued in the name of one Suffrage Society. Another leaflet is now in circulation, of which both the Suffrage Society issuing it and the printer are ashamed as their names are suppressed. It is headed "Nine Convincing Reasons against the Enfranchisement of Women," and purports to be an Anti-Suffragist publication. Literary forgeries have always had an attraction for Suffragists. This particular one is calculated to deceive only the more unenlightened section of the population, and the fact that the Suffragists find it necessary to adopt these tactics to gain recruits from this class indicates the straits to which they are reduced. One of the "Nine Reasons" reads :- "As physical force is the ultimate basis of government, the vote is only given to those who possess the bodily strength to enforce the laws which they help to make. This is the reason why the vote is the monopoly of the male sex. The more physical strength a man has, the better laws he will make. To thinking minds the prize-fighters Johnson and Jefferies would make far better legislators than either Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., or Mrs. Humphry Ward." This leaflet is being circulated by Suffragists at Anti-Suffrage meetings, and the public should be notified of this latest Suffragist proceeding.

WOMEN VOTERS AND SUFFRAGIST LOGIC.

WHILE glancing over some stray numbers of the Common Cause recently, my eye fell upon an editorial comment concerning the small numbers of women's votes cast during the late L.C.C. elections. "A large number of the women qualified to vote," said the writer, "are selfsupporting—and often child-supporting—widows in poor circumstances. Such women are often at work all day, and in the evening they cannot well leave their children. The purchase of a newspaper or the leisure to read one are luxuries beyond their means . . . Such women . . . are not, and cannot be, until their burdens are lightened for them by some communal effort, either fit or able to take part in the government of the great city in which they lead lives often harder than any which a slave-owner would dare to impose. To reproach such women because they fail to vote is both unjust and ignorant."

Yet these are the women to whom the supporters of the "Conciliation Bill Ratepayer" principle desire to give the parliamentary vote. They have not time, they are not fit or able to take part in the administrative affairs of a city; therefore let us give them the duty of taking part in the legislative affairs of an Empire. They cannot leave their work during the day or their children in the evening in order to vote for municipal elections, therefore we will ask them to vote for parliamentary elections. Truly

wonderful is Suffragist logic!

Suffragists of all shades have repeatedly assured the public (though without giving any proof) that by the Bills of 1910, 1911 and 1912 at least 82 per cent. of the women enfranchised would be "working women." The Common Cause now tells us that we must hot blame these women even if only one-third take the trouble to vote at municipal elections, because so large a proportion of them are of the class "unfit and unable" to vote. Yet Suffragists have constantly assured us that the enfranchisement of the woman-householder is all that they desire. As recently as May 6th, 1913, a Mrs. Sewell wrote in the Morning Post that such enfranchisement would, she was sure, satisfy the majority of Suffragists. That her statement is contradicted by the printed "object" of every Suffragist Society does not seem to have occurred to Mrs. Sewell's mind; but if she were correct in her assumption we should then be faced with the curious demand from the N.U.W.S.S. that the vote should be given to the women who, they tell us, are unfit and unable to take part in the government of a city, in order that the women of Britain may be adequately represented in the Imperial Parliament.

'But we mean through the vote to alter the circumstances surrounding the lives of the poor women," say our Suffragist friends. How, may we ask, if the majority of women possessing the vote are too ignorant and unfit to use it?

And what, after all, is the chief difference between the miserable man working for starvation wage during a twelve-hours day and our unhappy sisters as described by the editor of the Common Cause? The answer is given by the latter. "In the evening they—the women cannot leave their children." And do women Suffragists propose to enable women to leave their children in order to take a share in Imperial politics? If so, who is to undertake the neglected duty? Public authority? The State, or the man? In any of these alternatives will the child gain or lose? As a woman I assert that the child will lose and the mother be exchanging the substance for A MAIDEN AUNT. the shadow.

THE VOTE IN PRACTICE.

ALTHOUGH none of the conditions which make the enfranchisement of women a dangerous experiment for the United Kingdom is reproduced in Australia and New Zealand, Suffragists never weary of quoting the overseas Dominions as justification for the step in this country, on the ground that it has been a potent factor in the moral regeneration of the countries concerned. No evidence is forthcoming to support the statement. No doubt, in Australia and New Zealand, as elsewhere, the conditions of life show steady amelioration due to the general spread of knowledge and the progress of science; but there is nothing to connect this improvement with the votes of the minority of the electorate as distinct from those of the majority, or from the normal trend of events in other countries. On the other hand, a concrete instance of the failure of the female section of the electorate in an Australian State to espouse a cause which it was expected to make particularly its own shows that the results expected from Woman Suffrage, which in the opinion of its advocates outweigh its admitted disadvantages, are liable to remain unrealised. The story may be told in the words of a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council, who was closely concerned with the social work in question.

New South Wales has made a special study of the problem of drunkenness, and its Inebriate Act was placed on the Statute Book before Woman Suffrage was introduced. Effective administration of the Act, however, has been wanting, and shortly before a recent general election it was decided that a special effort should be made to rally the women's political associations in support of this important question. It was felt that the matter was one closely affecting the well-being of women and children, and when the women leaders were approached all acknowledged its importance.

The women's associations were asked to pass a resolution calling on the Government to make use of the powers of the Inebriate Act and to provide the accommodation required by it. In support of the cause it was pointed out that the aims served would be:—

To clear the streets of chronic drunkards and so remove what is now an unavoidable demoralising influence to the young, and thus render the police better able to deal with more serious crime.

To lessen the work of the minor courts.

To improve the character of the State, as judged by the statistics, in the opinion of the outside world.

To promote economy in expenditure as a consequence of the reduced cost which will result from the maintenance even of the most helpless in asylums instead of as criminals.

To lessen the outrages on children by men who now so frequently plead drunkenness as a mitigation of their crimes.

To do what is possible to reform a fair proportion of the drunkards, and so restore them as to be the support of, in place of being a drag on, their families.

To lessen the work of the hospitals, the inmates in which are in a large proportion the victims of accidents and diseases consequent on the effects of drunkenness either in themselves or in others.

No action followed this appeal, and Dr. J. M. Creed, in recounting his experiences, quotes the reply of one woman

voter when it was mentioned in support of the suggestion that one of their leaders was favourable. "What," came the retort, "follow that old cat!"—and the scheme fell flat.

SUFFRAGIST FIGURES AND FALLACIES.

By Miss G. S. Pott.

It is necessary to draw attention to a fallacy contained in various manifestoes issued by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and constantly repeated on Suffragist platforms. The statement is made that, because certain associations, committees or public bodies have passed Suffrage resolutions, the members of those societies or bodies must be taken as supporting Woman Suffrage. This method of arriving at statistics is, in itself, inaccurate, but the falsity of the results is doubled when, as is the case with the list of societies quoted by the N.U.W.S.S., many of the associations are formed from the same individuals. Also in some instances the committees of the societies quoted have abrogated to themselves powers to speak for their members on a subject entirely foreign to their articles of association. To show that these points are not merely academic, I would give the following instances directly affecting the present issues.

Amongst my own acquaintance are two women, "A" and "B." "A" is a member of the National British Women's Temperance Association, the N.U.W.W. and the Incorporated Society of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools, and an Anti-Suffragist. But by the process of reasoning used by the Suffragists she is counted as three Suffragists. "B" is also an Anti-Suffragist, and belongs to the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Temperance Association and the N.U.W.W., yet in the Suffragist list she figures as three Suffragists instead of one "Anti." Hence my two friends are counted as six Suffragists, whereas in point of fact they are two Anti-Suffragists. The error is as deep as regards actual Suffrage Societies themselves. Another of my acquaintance, "C," is an ardent Suffragist, and subscribes to an affiliated society of the N.U.W.S.S., to the Actresses' Franchise League, to the Women's Liberal Federation and to the N.U.W.W. But by the methods used by Suffragist correspondents she is counted as four Suffragists instead of one.

If we examine the net result of this fallacious use of statistics with regard to the three women in question, we find that—

"A" figures as 3 Suffragists,

"B" figures as 3 Suffragists, "C" figures as 4 Suffragists,

whereas-

"A" should count as I Anti-Suffragist,

"B" should count as I Anti-Suffragist, and "C" should count as I Suffragist.

Therefore in comparative statistics the Suffragists show ten supporters and no opponents, whereas in point of fact they ought to show one supporter and two opponents.

When reduced by analysis to the above bald truth, the error is so ludicrous as to be difficult for the public to credit its existence; yet the majority of lists published and statements made by the Suffrage Societies are based upon this method of tabulation.

THE DICKINSON BILL.

AFTER two days' debate—May'5th and 6th—the Representation of the People (Women) Bill was defeated on the second reading by 48 votes in a House of 486 members. The Bill was introduced by Mr. W. H. Dickinson and seconded by Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck; its rejection was moved by Mr. Arnold Ward and seconded by Mr. A. C. T. Beck. The following took part in the debate:—

Viscount Wolmer. J. A. Grant. Sir Charles Henry. J. M. Henderson. H. D. M'Laren. James Parker. Sir J. D. Rees. Earl of Kerry. E. A. Goulding C. B. Stuart-Wortley. W. Clough. Walter Rea. Sir C. R. Hunter. R. Hunt. Sir A. Mond. G. P. Collins. Sir J. Compton-Rickett. A. A. Lynch. Leif Jones. Philip Snowden. Lord Robert Cecil. H. H. Asquith. Walter Long. Sir E. Grey.
L. A. Atherley-Jones.
H. T. Cawley. Cator. F. E. Smith A. Rendall. Sir W. Lawson.

Ramsay Macdonald.
Lord Hugh Cecil.
One of the most telling speeches against the Bill was that of the Prime Minister. Among the points made by Mr. Asquith were:
That the Bill had never been either in principle or in detail approved by the existing electorate of the country.

G. A. Touche.

That members could not honestly say that this particular issue had determined or even substantially helped to determine the question whether they should or should not be elected to the House.

That there could be no such thing as a right conferred by nature or even by universal expediency to a purely artificial function to be exercised by individuals or by a class of Parliamentary voters.

That it was not a question of the inferiority of one sex or the superiority of another. It was a question of appropriateness or otherwise for the particular function, which was a totally different thing.

That democracy aims at the obliteration of arbitrary and artificial distinctions, but has no quarrel whatever with distinctions which nature has created and which experience has sanctioned.

That there was no evidence worthy of the name that the mass of women in England, Scotland and Ireland demand the franchise.

That Parliament is not unduly negligent of or oblivious to the interests of women.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION LIST.

The following analysis deals with those Members who have varied their votes on the subject of Woman Suffrage during the last three years:—

Division on Dickinson's Bill, 1913.

Against.

| | | | Swere | | | | |
|---|------|------|-------|------|------|------|--|
| LIBERALS- | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| Voted | | | | | | 77.4 | |
| | | | | | | 74 | |
| Paired | | | | | | 5 | |
| 0 | | | | | |) | |
| CONSERVATIV | VES- | | | | | | |
| Voted | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 140 | |
| Paired | | | | | | 1000 | |
| | | | | | | 19 | |
| NATIONALIST | -2 | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| Voted | | | | | | 55 | |
| | | | | | | 23 | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 293 | |
| | | | Ear | | | 293 | |
| | | | For. | | | 293 | |
| LIBERALS- | | | For. | | | 293 | |
| LIBERALS— | | | For. | | | 293 | |
| LIBERALS— | | | For. | | | | |
| Voted | | | For. | | | 293 | |
| | | | | | | 146 | |
| Voted Paired | | | For | | | | |
| Voted Paired Conservativ | | | | | | 146 | |
| Voted Paired Conservativ | | | | | | 146 | |
| Voted Paired Conservativ Voted | | | | | | 146 | |
| Voted Paired Conservativ | | | | | | 146 | |

| LABOUR- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|------|--------|
| Voted | | | | | | | 34 |
| Paired | | | | | | | 3 |
| NATIONALIST | rs- | | | | | | |
| VOTED | | | | | | | 12 |
| | | | | | | | - |
| | | | | | | | 245 |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | Maj | ority | aga | inst | | 48 |

Note.—Four Unionists were unable to obtain Pairs against the Bill.

Members who Voted or Paired For Dickinson's Bill, 1913,

And Against Conciliation Bill, 1912.

| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|---|---|--|
| Liberals (10)— Dr. Chris Addison Rt. Hon. S. C. Buxton H. W. Carr Gomm E. Crawshay Williams F. G. Kellaway R. Lambert J. Martin C. F. G. Masterman Robert Pearce Henry Webb | (Total II.) Hoxton Poplar Rotherhithe Leicester Bedford Cricklade St. Pancras, E Bethnal Green, S.W. Leek Forest of Dean Nil. | Anti. in 1911. Suff. in 1910, 1911. Suff. in 1910, 1911. Suff. in 1910, 1911. Anti. in 1911. Anti. in 1911. Anti. in 1911. Suff. in 1911. First voted in 1912. |
| Nationalists (I)—P. White | Nil. Meath, N | Voted Suff. in 1910. |

MEMBERS WHO VOTED OR PAIRED Against DICKINSON'S BILL, 1913, AND For CONCILIATION BILL, 1912.

| | | The second secon |
|---|--|--|
| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
| | (Total 12.) | |
| LIBERALS (1)— Sir Ed. Beauchamp | Lowestoft | Suff. in 1911. |
| Conservatives (10) A. F. Bird Viscount Castlereagh - Lord Crichton Stewart Ernest Gardner Raymond Greene . S. Hill Wood S. J. G. Hoare Sir C. R. Hunter F. A. N. Newdigate | Wolverhampton, West Maidstone Cardiff Wokingham Hackney, N High Peak Chelsea Bath Tamworth | Suff. in 1910, 1911. First voted in 1912. Suff. in 1911. Anti. in 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. in 1911. Suff. in 1911. Suff. in 1910, 1911. Suff in 1910, 1911. |
| B. E. Peto NATIONALISTS (1)— M. J. Flavin LABOUR | Devizes Kerry, N Nil. | Suff in 1910, 1911. First voted in 1912. |

JUNE, 1913.

| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|---|--|--|
| | (Total 22.) | |
| LIBERALS (6)— | OF THE PARTY OF TH | |
| R. Armitage | Leeds, Central | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| A. Clement Edwards Major Sir Ivor | Glamorgan, E Monmouthshire | Suff. in 1911. Anti. in 1910, 1911. |
| Herbert | Moninouthshire | Anti. in 1910, 1911. |
| Sir Walter Menzies | Lanark, S | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Sir R. J. Price & | Norfolk, E | Anti. in 1911. |
| R. Winfrey | Norfolk, S.W | Anti. in 1910. Ab- |
| CONSERVATIVES (12)— | | stained in 1911. |
| W. W. Ashley | Blackpool, N | Suff. in 1910. Ab- |
| 77. 17. Homoy | Didenpoor, 11 | stained in 1911. |
| S. Baldwin | Bewdley | Anti. in 1910, 1911. |
| Rt. Hon. J. H. M. | Dublin University | First voted in 1912. |
| Campbell Campbell | Dimmin aham W | First voted in 1912. |
| Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain | Birmingham, W | Flist voted in 1912. |
| G. D. Faber | Clapham | Anti. in 1910. Ab- |
| | | stained in 1911. |
| A. D. Steel-Maitland | Birmingham, E | Anti. 1910, 1911. |
| J. T. Middlemore | Birmingham, N | Anti. in 1910, 1911. |
| Capt. Hon. A. O'Neill Earl of Ronaldshay | Antrim, Mid Hornsey | First voted in 1912. Anti. 1910, 1911. |
| Mark Sykes | Hornsey Hull, Central | First voted in 1912. |
| Marquess of Tulli- | Perthshire, W | Anti. in 1910. Ab- |
| bardine | | stained in 1911. |
| Col. R. Williams | Dorset, W | Anti. in 1910, 1911. |
| LABOUR | Nil. | |
| 37 | | |
| NATIONALISTS (4)— John Dillon | Mayo, E | First voted in 1912. |
| John Dillon J. P. Hayden | Roscommon, S. | Suff. in 1911. |
| P. A. Meehan | Queen's County | First voted in 1912. |
| P. J. O'Shaughnessy | Limerick, W | Suff. 1911. |

MEMBERS WHO Abstained FROM VOTING ON DICKINSON'S BILL,

| 1913, AND VOTED OR PAIRED For CONCILIATION BILL, 1912. | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. | | | |
| LIBERALS (9)— A. Acland Allen Sir Ryland Adkins Sir R. Balfour Rt. Hon. John Burns Sir F. Cawley S. Collins P. H. Illingworth J. M. Robertson Rt. Hon. Sir C. E. Schwann CONSERVATIVES (31)— | (Total 41.) Dumbartonshire Middleton, Lancs. Lanark, Partick Battersea Prestwich, Lancs. Kennington Shipley, Yorks Tyneside Manchester, N | Suff. in 1911. First voted in 1912. Suff. in 1910, 1911. | | | |
| Rt. Hon. A. Lyttelton Rt. Hon. A. J. Bal- | St. George's, Han- over Square City of London | Suff. in 1910. Ab stained in 1911. Suff. in 1910, 1911. | | | |
| four Major G. V. Baring C. M. Barlow A. Shirley Benn LtCol. D. F. Boles Col. Sir. E. H. Carlile J. A. Clyde N. C. Craig E. R. B. Denniss Sir G. Doughty B. G. Falle Rt. Hon. Sir Hayes Fisher | Barnstaple Salford, S Plymouth Wellington, Somst. St. Albans Edinburgh, W Thanet Oldham Great Grimsby Portsmouth Fulham | Suff. in 1910, 1911. Suff. in 1911. Suff. in 1911. First voted in 1912. Suff. 1910, 1911. First voted in 1912. Suff. in 1910, 1911. First voted in 1912. First voted in 1912. Suff. in 1910, 1911. Suff. in 1911. | | | |

Members who Abstained from Voting on Dickinson's Bill, 1913, and Voted or Paired For Conciliation Bill, 1912—contd.

| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| CONSERVATIVES-cont. | | |
| C. S. Goldman | Penryn and Falmouth | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| P. Kerr Smilev | Antrim, N | Suff. in 1911. |
| Col. G. Kyffin Taylor | Kirkdale, Liverpool | Suff. in 1911. |
| Rt. Hon. A. Bonar | Bootle | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Law Claude Lowther | Eskdale, Cumber- | Suff. in 1911. |
| Claude Lowther | land | Oul. III 1911. |
| Capt. E. F. Morrison Bell | Ashburton | First voted in 1912. |
| H. K. Newton | Harwich | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Major R. F. Peel | Woodbridge | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| R. F. Ratcliffe | Burton, Staffs | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| I. F. Remnant | Holborn | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| A. Clavell Salter | Hants., N | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| R. A. Sanders | Bridgwater | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Rt. Hon. C. Scott | Glasgow Central . | Suff. in 1911. |
| Dickson | | |
| Sir J. W. Spear | Tavistock | Suff. in 1911. |
| Rigby Swift | St. Helens | Suff. in 1911. |
| Major Dalrymple White | Southport | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| J. Wood | Stalybridge | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Rt. Hon. Geo. | Dover | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Wyndham | | |
| LABOUR (I)— | | |
| G. J. Wardle | Stockport | Suff. in 1910, 1911. |
| Nationalists | Nil. | |

Members who Abstained from Voting on the Conciliation Bill, 1912, and who Voted or Paired For Dickinson's Bill, 1913.

| BILL, 1913. | | TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY O |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
| | (Total 41.) | |
| LIBERALS (18)— | Dic C | 0.00 |
| E. W. Davies | Eifion, Carnarvon- shire | Suff. 1910. Abstained in 1911. |
| R. V. Harcourt | Montrose Burghs | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| J. M. Hogge | Edinburgh, E | First voted in 1913. |
| R. Durning Holt | Hexham, | Anti. 1910. Abstained |
| | Northumberland | in 1911. |
| E. G. Hemmerde | Norfolk, N.W | Anti. 1910. |
| E. H. Lamb | Rochester | Suff. 1911. |
| J. W. Logan C. T. Needham | Harborough Manchester, S.W. | First voted 1913. Suff. 1911. |
| C. T. Needham Capt. C. W. Norton | Newington, W | First voted in 1913. |
| Rt. Hon. Russell Rea | South Shields | Suff. in 1911. |
| S. Robinson | Brecknock | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| | | in 1911. |
| A. J. Sherwell | Huddersfield | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| J. E. Sutherland | Elgin Burghs | Suff. 1910. Abstained in 1911. |
| John Ward | Stoke-on-Trent | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| John Ward | Stoke on Frent III | in 1911. |
| J. E. Wedgwood | Newcastle-under- | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| | Lyme | in 1911. |
| A. F. Whyte | Perth | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| L. Williams | Carmarthen Dist. Hull, W | First voted in 1913. First voted in 1913. |
| Hon. Guy Wilson | пин, ч | Flist voted in 1913. |
| CONSERVATIVES (4)— | | |
| B. Stanier | Newport, Shrop- | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| | shire | in 1911. |
| R. Thompson | Belfast, N | Suff. 1910. Ab- |
| II. W I C Wal | Timenton Dorson | stained in 1911. |
| Hon. W. L. C. Wal- rond | Tiverton, Devon | Suff. 1910. Abstained in 1911. |
| R. Yerburgh | Chester | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| it. reibuign | | 241. 1910, 1911. |

Members who Abstained from Voting on the Conciliation Bill, 1912, and who Voted or Paired For Dickinson's Bill, 1913—continued.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| LABOUR (10)— | | |
| W. Adamson | Fife, W | Suff. 1911. |
| W. Brace | Glamorgan, S | Suff. 1911. |
| W. Crooks | Woolwich | Suff. 1911. |
| Fred. Hall | Normanton | Suff. 1911. |
| I. G. Hancock | Derbyshire, Mid. | Suff. 1911. |
| W. E. Harvey | Derbyshire, N.E. | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| | | in 1911. |
| J. Haslam | Chesterfield, Der- | Anti. 1910. Abstained |
| 3 | byshire | in 1911. |
| W. Johnson | Nuneaton | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| A. Stanley | Staffordshire, N.W. | Suff. 1911. |
| J. Williams | Glamorgan, W | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | | |
| NATIONALISTS (9)— | | |
| J. P. Boland | Kerry, S | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| I. Gilhooly | Cork Co., W | First voted 1913. |
| L. Ginnell | Westmeath, N | Suff. 1911. |
| R. Hazelton | Galway, N | Suff. 1910. Abstained |
| | | in 1911. |
| M. Healy | Cork | First voted in 1913. |
| A. Lynch | Clare, W | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| J. J. O'Shee | Waterford, W | First voted in 1913. |
| W. H. K. Redmond | Clare, E | First voted in 1913. |
| D. D. Sheehan | Cork Co., Mid | First voted in 1913. |

Members who Abstained from Voting on the Conciliation Bill, 1912, and Voted or Paired Against Dickinson's Bill,

| | Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| T | | (Total 56.) | |
| L | IBERALS (8)— | | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | Sir Harold Elverston | Gateshead | Anti. 1910, 1911. |
| | Sir D. F. Goddard | Ipswich | |
| | R. L. Harmsworth | Caithness | Anti. 1910, 1911. |
| | J. M. Henderson | Aberdeenshire W. | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | S. L. Hughes | Stockport | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | G. Hay Morgan | Cornwall, Truro | Suff. 1910. Abstaine |
| | | The second | in 1911. |
| | Col. Ivor Philipps | Southampton | First voted in 1913. |
| | W. Dudley Ward | Southampton | Anti. 1910. Abstaine |
| | | | in 1911. |
| C | ONSERVATIVES (25)- | | |
| | Major Anstruther | St. Andrews | First voted in 1913. |
| | Grav | Burghs | |
| | I. L. Baird | Rugby | Anti. 1910. Abstaine |
| | J. D. Darid | 2146-3 | 1911. |
| | Lord Chas, Beresford | Portsmouth | Suff. 1911. |
| | W. C. Bridgeman | Oswestry | Suft. 1910, 1911. |
| | ~~ ~ ~ ~ 11 | East Grinstead | Anti. 1910. Abstaine |
| | H. S. Cautley | East Gillistead | in 1911. |
| | C I Counthons | Rye, Sussex | Suff. 1911. |
| | G. L. Courthope | Wycombe, Bucks. | First voted 1913. |
| | Sir C. A. Cripps | | Abstained 1910, 1911 |
| | D. Dalziell | Brixton | |
| | H. W. Forster | Sevenoaks | Suff. 1910. Abstaine |
| | | | 1911. |
| | Major Gastrell | North Lambeth | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | G. B. Haddock | North Lonsdale . | Suft. 1911. |
| | Fred. Hall | Dulwich | Suff. 1911. |
| | A. St.G. Hammersley | Woodstock | Suff. 1910. Abstaine |
| | | | in 1911. |
| | W. E. Horne | Guildford | First voted in 1913. |
| | A. L. Horner | Tyrone, S | First voted in 1913. |
| | R. P. Houston | Toxteth, Liverpool, | First voted in 1913. |
| | | W. | |
| | H. C. Mallaby Deely | Harrow | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | H. Neild | Ealing | Suft. 1910, 1911. |
| | E. Parkes | Birmingham, Cntl. | First voted in 1913. |
| | Sir R. Pole Carew. | Bodmin | First voted in 1913. |
| | E. M. Pollock | Warwick and | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| | D. III. I OHOUR III | Leamington | |

Members who Abstained from Voting on the Conciliation Bill, 1912, and Voted or Paired Against Dickinson's Bill, 1913—continued.

| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| Conservatives—contin | | |
| Col. Rawson | Reigate | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| H. Terrell | Gloucester | Suff. 1910. Anti. 1911 |
| Viscount Valentia . | Oxford | Anti. 1910, 1911. |
| G. C. H. Wheeler | Faversham | First voted in 1913. |
| Labour | Nil. | |
| NATIONALISTS (23)— | | |
| W. Abraham | Dublin Harbour . | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| D. Boyle | Mayo, N | First voted in 1913. |
| T. J. Condon | Tipperary, E | Suff. 1911. |
| W. F. Cotton | Dublin, S | First voted in 1913. |
| W. Delany | Queen's Co., Ossory | Suff. 1911. |
| J. P. Farrell | Longford, N | First voted in 1913. |
| P. Ffrench | Wexford, S | Suff. 1911. |
| W. Field | St. Patrick's, | First voted in 1913. |
| | Dublin | |
| M. Joyce | Limerick | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| E. Kelly | Donegal, E | Suff. 1911. |
| V. P. Kennedy | Cavan, W | Suff. 1911. |
| E. Kilbride | Kildare, S | Anti. 1911. |
| J. G. Swift MacNeill | Donegal, S | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| J. Muldoon | Cork, E | First voted in 1913. |
| Sir W. R. Nugent . | Westmeath, S | Anti. 1910. Abstained |
| m n 010 | G (1 1 T) | Igii. |
| T. P. O'Connor | Scotland, Liverpool | |
| P. O'Doherty | Donegal, N | First voted in 1913. |
| T. O'Donnell | Kerry, W | First voted in 1913. |
| Capt. Hon.A. O'Neill | Antrim, Mid | First voted in 1913. |
| T. O'Sullivan | Kerry, E | Suff. 1911. |
| W. A. Redmond | Tyrone, E | Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| T. Scanlan | Sligo, N | Suff. 1910, 1911. First voted in 1913. |
| D. Sheehy | Meath, S | First voted in 1913. |
| 1942 15,014 | | |

Members who Abstained from Voting on both the Conciliation Bill, 1912, and Dickinson's Bill, 1913.

| 1101. 1101. 19 | is, mis sieminosii e | 2122, -9-3. |
|---|---|---|
| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
| LIBERALS (14)— Sir C. Cory W. H. Cowan G. B. Esslemont S. W. Furness G. G. Greenwood C. B. Harmsworth C. S. Horne J. I. Macpherson F. Ogden A. Richardson W. Waring J. H. Whitley John Wilson Rt. Hon. J. W. Wilson | (Total 54.) St. Ives, Cornwall Aberdeenshire, E. Aberdeen, S Hartlepool Peterborough Luton, Beds Ipswich Ross & Cromarty Pudsey Peckham Banffshire Halifax Durham, Mid Worcestershire, N. | Has never voted. Anti. 1910. Suff. 1910. Suff. 1910, 1911. Has never voted. Has never voted. Suff. 1910, 1911. Has never voted. Suff. 1910. Has never voted. |
| Conservatives (27)—Sir W. Max Aitken W. L. Boyle Sir W. J. Bull J. Boynton A. Burgoyne Col. C. R. Burn Col. D. F. Campbell Felix Cassell, K.C Geo. Cave, K.C Capt. P. A. Clive H. E. Duke, K.C | Ashton-under-Lyne Norfolk, Mid Hammersmith Marylebone, E Kensington, W Torquay Ayrshire, N St. Pancras, W Kingston, Surrey Ross Exeter | Has never voted. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1911. Has never voted. Has never voted. Suff. 1910. Abstained 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910. Abstained |

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| Name. | Constituency. | How Voted on Previous Measures. |
|---|--|--|
| Conservatives—cont. Sir J. F. Flannery J. S. Fletcher J. Norton Griffiths D. B. Hall | Maldon Hampstead Wednesbury Isle of Wight | Has never voted. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910. Abstained 1911. Suff. 1911. |
| H. Ingleby Sir J. Jackson W. Joynson-Hicks Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke Capt. E. A. Knight G. Locker Lampson Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther | Kings Lynn Devonport Brentford Devonport Kidderminster Salisbury Penrith, Cumber- | Has never voted. |
| E. C. Meysey Thompson R. J. Neville Capt. J. R. Newman Hon. W. G. A. Orde- Powlett L. Sanderson | Handsworth Wigan Enfield Richmond, Yorks. Appleby | Has never voted. Has never voted Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1910, 1911. |
| Labour (2)— Rt. Hon. W. Abraham Tom Richards | Rhondda Monmouthshire, W. | Suff. 1910. Abstained 1911. Anti. 1910. Abstained 1911. |
| NATIONALISTS (11)— Dr. J. Esmond Sir T. Grattan Esmonde | N. Tipperary Wexford, N | Suff. 1911. Suff. 1911. |
| P. Guiney S. L. Gwynn J. C. R. Lardner H. A. Law R. McGhee J. McKean J. Roche J. Walsh S. Young | Cork, N Galway Monaghan, N Donegal, W Tyrone, Mid Monaghan, S Galway, E Cork, S Cavan, E | Has never voted. Suff. 1910, 1911. Suff. 1917. Suff. 1910, 1911. Has never voted. Suff. 1910, 1911. Anti. 1910, 1911. Has never voted. Anti. 1911. |

THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ELECTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SINCE THE CONCILIATION BILL, 1912

| Name. | Constituency. | Voted on Dickinson's Bill, 1913. |
|--|---|---|
| S. Arnold D. C. Hogg Towyn Jones H. Morison R. L. Outhwaite T. H. Parry T. Taylor Tom Wing | (Total 21.) Holmfirth Londonderry Carmarthen, E Hackney, S Hanley Flint Boro's Bolton Houghton-le-Sprng | Suff. Abstained. Sufl. Anti. Suff. Suff. Suff. Suff. Suff. Suff. |
| Conservatives (12)— J. L. Baird | Rugby | Abstained. Anti. Suff. Anti. Abstained. Anti. Abstained. Anti. Abstained. Anti. Abstained. Anti. Abstained. Anti. Anti. Anti. |
| M. J. Murphy | Waterford, E | Anti. |

THE ORGANISER'S REPORT.

THE NEWMARKET BY-ELECTION.

NEWMARKET is generally admitted to have been a most important election; certainly it was from the point of view of Woman Suffrage, not so much perhaps in regard to the result as in regard to the way in which both candidates vied with one another in refusing to speak of Woman Suffrage as within the scope of their programmes. The successful Unionist did indeed declare himself during the course of the election as an out-and-out opponent of Woman Suffrage, and the unsuccessful Liberal, who has in the past advocated Adult Suffrage, said, in reply to hecklers, that the question would not be ripe for settlement for another 10 years, and if he were elected he would vote against Woman Suffrage. Suffragists, militant and non-militant, were on the horns of a not unusual dilemma in accordance with their programme they should have worked hard for Mr. Dennison-Pender in order to "keep the Liberal out," but Mr. Dennison-Pender was more against their policy than was

his opponent.

We have been singularly successful in recent by elections in that all the candidates have supported our policy at Shrewsbury, Whitechapel, Newmarket (for 10 years at least!), and at Altrincham (yet to be decided). There is no doubt that many of the present members of the House of Commons who vote for Woman Suffrage pledged themselves to the policy before the opposite view had been pressed upon them. That will be possible no more; and it is not unlikely that many more Paliamentary candidates will follow the lead of those in the last four by-elections and leave

Coming to the details of our propaganda at Newmarket, suffice it to say that the scattered constituency was worked from a Central Committee Room in Newmarket; from Cambridge, and also from Ely. In addition to almost daily meetings by the Clock Tower, Newmarket, indoor and outdoor meetings by the Clock Tower, Newmarket, indoor and outdoor meetings were held at Ely, Soham, Stetchworth, Six-Mile Bottom, Dullingham, Fulbourn, Swaftham Prior, Cherry Hinton, Sawston, Burwell and Fordham. The constituency was covered in a complete manner. The reception accorded to the speakers in all the villages provided still further proof that evidence in the constituencies is generally unanimous receipt the extension of the Franchise to receipt against the extension of the Franchise to women.

Mr. Wrench Lee was in charge of the campaign, and had the assistance of Mrs. Wentworth Stanley, who worked indefatigably and spoke to crowded audiences admirably, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Lofting; whilst, as usual, Mrs. Bray looked after Committee Room work, securing 700 signatures to the petition to the House of Commons against Votes for Women, and booking 60 new members of the League.

The Altrincham election, as to which we will write in our next issue, is being worked largely by our Manchester Branch, under the superintendence of Miss Moir, Miss Cameron and Mr. H. B. Samuels, from Headquarters, being much in evidence.

Mr. Wrench Lee has, since the election, been engaged in matters

of organisation in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Somersetshire and Hampshire. Miss Mabel Smith has gone to Scotland, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon to Bristol and neighbourhood.

THE VALUE OF THE VOTE.

In The Times of May 12th appeared a letter from Professor Karl Pearson in answer to Mr. Asquith's challenge that a concrete case should be cited in which it can be alleged "either that the conscience of Parliament would have been more rapidly quickened or the action of Parliament been more effectually or remedially directed, if women had been represented than it has been during the last 25 years." Mr. Pearson cites the position of women students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in being refused the adequate recognition of graduation.

To this communication the following letter was sent to The

Times :—
"SIR,—I have consistently voted, both at Oxford and Cambridge I was bridge, in favour of degrees for women; and at Cambridge I was myself unable for some time, because I was a Nonconformist, to proceed to my full M.A. degree. I am, therefore, so far, not without title to some opinion on Mr. Karl Pearson's contention that the Parliamentary vote is the indispensable key for opening such doors

"On the threshold, however, he gives away his own case when he says: 'During the years that have rolled by since women were admitted to these Universities, all the [other?] Universities of Great

Britain and the majority of Continental Universities have recognised the claims of women to graduation.' And yet neither in Britain' nor the countries of the 'majority of Continental Universities' have women obtained the suffrage.

JUNE, 1913.

Mr. Pearson is not fair to Mr. Asquith. When Mr. Asquith declared himself unable to see his way to the appointment of a Universities Commission he did not speak as a 'selfish male.' The question of University reform concerns not merely degrees for women, but other important changes for which 'male authorities' in Oxford and in Cambridge have long been agitating without success. And yet the 'males' have votes.

"Mr. Pearson asks: 'Why have women had to wait more than

30 years for the degrees of the old Universities?' Well, Nonconformists had the Parliamentary franchise before the great Reform Bill of 1832, and their numbers on the register were, of course, immensely swelled by that Bill. Yet they were not even admitted to matriculation and the B.A. degree at Oxford and Cambridge till 1854; tests for the M.A. degree were not abolished till 1871, and for Headships and Fellowships not till 1882. It was not the vote so much as the growing sense of justice among the Church of England laity and some of the distinguished clergy and in the Universities themselves, aided by the accumulation of high academical distinctions won by Nonconformists from 1854 onwards, that slowly

brought about the change.

"Quite recently, as Mr. Pearson will have noticed, the effort to open to Nonconformists theological degrees and examinerships at Oxford was signally defeated. Was that because Nonconformists have not votes? At Cambridge the effort succeeded. Was that e Nonconformists have votes?

"Mr. Pearson does not understand the position of the opponents of votes for women if he imagines they deny that women would find the vote useful for some purposes. That is not a conclusive argument for the revolution. If, as history shows, and as Mr. Pearson must be aware, a long catalogue of legislation in the interests of women has been passed during the last half century by a man's Parliament without the stimulant of Women Suffrage them man's Parliament without the stimulant of Woman Suffrage, then the Anti-Suffragist has reason on his side in maintaining that such legislation does not necessitate such a fundamental change in the Constitution as would legislatively enthrone a sex which would combine power with personal irresponsibility. For a sex which, as a sex, cannot enforce law ought not to enact it; and a sex which,

as a sex, cannot be punished like men for breaking the law, ought not to have the power of making the law.

"Mr. Pearson affirms that 'militancy can only be repressed if the great mass of the community feels there is no real grievance behind it.' Was that the view of the 'great mass of the community' after the Phœnix Park assassinations? How does he think that the 'great mass of the community,' both men and women, regard the present militancy? Do they feel that men's neglect of women's interests has justified it or is in the least degree co-ordinate with it? As a matter of fact, they regard it as wholly unjustifiable, wholly unreasonable, and even insane. They go further. They view the perpetration of these outrages, largely by girls under 25 years of age, inspired and supported and sometimes girls under 25 years of age, inspired and supported and sometimes rewarded by mature and educated women, as a sign of the lack of that balance and that sense of proportion which are to be desiderated in those who claim to shape policy and make laws. There is no moral doubt that the 'great mass of the community' are having their eyes opened by the character of the present militancy; that they see to 'grievance behind it' commensurate with its monthey see no 'grievance behind it' commensurate with its monstrosity and its abnormal callousness; and that they unreservedly call for its effective repression.

"I am, Sir, &c.,
"John Massie.

Old Headington, Oxford,

CORRESPONDENCE.

ACTRESSES AND THE FRANCHISE.

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

DEAR SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a paragraph in your paper relating to this League, in which it is stated that "The Actresses' Franchise League is well known in the profession as a useful medium for the young actress who desires opportunities of being seen by London Managers.'

The substance of this assertion is not only inaccurate, but likewise misleading, since it implies that the motive of the younger actresses in joining the League is not disinterested.

I emphatically insist that the membership of the A. F. L. is made up of professional women belonging to every branch of dramatic activity, and each having no ulterior purpose in joining the League than that of helping the cause of women's enfranchisement—in which they firmly believe.

With regard to the *Era* canvass, it has been proved that in at least one instance the papers sent by the *Era* were all filled in by the men of the company, who were no doubt well pleased with having perpetrated so witty a joke. We can only surmise that the figures otained must have been drawn from musical comedy chorus, for we have so far been unable to trace a single instance of the voting paper having been received by any actress known in the legitimate drama.

I am, Sir, Yours faithfully,

INEZ BENSUSAN.

ONE OF MANY CONVERTS.

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

SIR,—I am much amused to read in the current number of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Paper an article by Lady Chance, in which she says that in the replies to her letters in *The Standard* upon the subject of the Anti-Suffrage finances your official dealt in "personalities." Considering that in the first letter of that correspondence written by Lady Chance she called her opponents all "doormats," the "shoe should be placed on the other foot." I should like to inform your League that though I am not a member of it, I have ceased to subscribe, as I did until recently, to the Suffrage Constitutional Societies, owing to what eems to me a gross breach of common honour on the part of Lady Chance, Lady Selborne and Mrs. Fawcett, in publishing a letter marked "Private and Confidential." If Mrs Pankhurst had done it, I should not have been surprised, but should have put it down to hysteria; but when such ladies as those I have mentioned not only act contrary to the ordinary feelings of honourable people but say it is "natural" to them, I think it is proof that the more they are kept out of public life the better. I send you a very small subscription, for I am poor, but am ashamed of having helped these Suffrage tactics in time past.

Yours faithfully,

G. J.

A WOMAN'S WORK FESTIVAL

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

SIR,—May I call the attention of your readers to a scheme which our Felixstowe Branch is trying to carry out the first week in October? In that week will be held a Woman's Work Festival in Ipswich, and as there is no Branch of our League there, and the nearest is Felixstowe, our Committee has decided that the N.L.O.W.S. must be represented. Our League generally is doing such excellent and noble work on behalf of womanhood that we feel that any festival of women's work will be incomplete without a representation of the N.L.O.W.S. Both Southwold and Woodbridge Branches have promised to help us.

There will be a meeting during the week at which the Countess of Stradbroke has promised to preside. Our chief anxiety is in equipping a stall. The exhibition lasts 10 days. We hope to have stall well provided with literature, and headquarters have promised to send an organiser to take charge during the week. But this will not be sufficient. We must make the stall attractive and at the same time profitable for the funds of our League.

We therefore propose to get as many dainty articles as we can of any saleable description, hoping to be able to clear our expenses and hand over a good sum to headquarters.

We had an exhibition of the same kind at Felixstowe last year,

which was most appreciably spoken of in the Anti-Suffrage REVIEW, but the Ipswich Festival bids fair to be on a larger scale

and we feel we must appeal for outside help.

If any of the Branches will bring this letter to the notice of their members and ask them to send articles for the stall not later than the first week in October to me we shall be very grateful.

I am, &c., (Mrs.) Edith A. Howard, Hon. Sec. Felixstowe Branch.

Priory Lodge, Felixstowe. May 23rd, 1913.

THE SPIRITUAL MILITANTS' MANIFESTO.

"THE Spiritual Militants" have issued a protest against the marriage service of the Church of England, which they say "betrays spiritual disparagement brought to bear against women." Amongst other points the protest deals with the word "obey," the giving away of the bride, the use of a ring, the term "worship," and the phrase "the man is the head of the wife." 'the man is the head of the wife.'

The wedding service won't do at all, Was ever such impudence?
It goes so far as to quote St. Paul,
Who mentions obedience! To bring his theories up to date It's needful to cut and trim, For the Suffragettes have agreed to state That they cannot agree with him. It's hard to believe the shameful tale

But the truth can't be denied, That the duty falls to a horrid male Of giving away the bride. We know of a far superior plan And practise it every day So we need no aid from the tyrant Man

In giving ourselves away.

The circlet of gold a bride must wear, Is an insult to all intent, For the only circle for which we care Is the circle in argument. And as to "worship" that men profess, It's all very well—and yet

We notice a certain unreadiness To worship a Suffragette. "The man is head of the wife!" mere cant;

Poor men! you are quite misled If you imagine a militant Has any use for a head. Such ignorance we can scarce excuse, For truly you ought to know That as for the few who had heads to lose They have lost them long ago.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE PUBLIC.

A Suffragist member of Parliament, a Liberal who voted for the Bills of 1910, 1911 and 1912, happened to be addressing a crowded meeting of his constituents shortly before the debate on the In the course of his speech he had not mentioned the subject of Woman Suffrage; but at the end of the meeting he said to the audience: "What about Woman Suffrage? many are in favour of it?" Two hands were held up. many against?" The rest of the audience held up their hands.
That member of Parliament did not vote for the Dickinson Bill.

VOTES AND WAGES.

Mrs. Fawcett was present at a meeting of the Hackney Branch af the London Society for Woman Suffrage, and moved the usual Suffrage resolution. Mr. Liverman, the local Secretary for N.L.O.W.S., questioned Mrs. Fawcett as to her views regarding the connection between Votes and Wages. Mrs. Fawcett replied that she thought wages would improve, but she admitted there are certain economic differences between the sexes which would affect the equalization or raising of wages."

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NEW BRANCHES.

Cambridge. Great Abington (Sub-branch.)

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss M. Cox, Ivy Lodge, Great Abington, Cambridge.

Swaffham Priory (Sub-branch).

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Fisher, The Vicarage, Swaffham Priory, Cambridge.

Wallasey (Sub-branch).

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss E. G. Williams, Ellerslie, Claremont Road, Wallasey.

WE regret to have to record the death of Sir James Bourdillon Miss E. J. Ford Peregrine and Lady Harvey of Langton, N.B. Al three were strong supporters of this League. It was at Lady Harvey's house in London that the meeting was held which led to the formation of the Hampstead Branch, and Lady Harvey was on the committee of that Branch for many years. Miss Peregrine was on the committee of the Woking Branch, and Sir James Bourdillon was closely associated with the Liphook Branch of which Lady Bourdillon is the Hon. Secretary.

BRANCH NEWS.

Bournemouth.—The annual general and business meeting of members and their friends was held on Wednesday afternoon, May 7th, at the Masonic Hall. Mrs. Roberts Thompson (Vice-President) in the chair. Mrs. Dering White gave an encouraging account of the work and steady growth of the local Branch which now numbers nearly 600 members, over 50 of whom have joined during the last few weeks. Mrs. Mary Schofield then spoke upon the attitude and duty of women at the present time, and Miss Medwin read from an American paper a brief report of Anti-Suffrage work in the United States.

After the meeting, a dainty tea was provided by the kindness of Mrs. Roberts Thompson.

Bradford.—Under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage a meeting was held on April 30th at the Church Institute, Bradford. Colonel G. H. Muller presided, and the speaker was Mrs. Greatbatch. A strong body of Suffragists was present and kept up a constant flow of interruption during

Mrs. Greatbatch said she was not there to build up her case out of the mistakes of her opponents, but she would say, in the name of all right-minded women, that "we deplore very much and resent very much the cheapening of women which has been going on during the last few years, and which has altered altogether the esteem in which English women are held." Militancy had proved to the hilt what had all along been the contention of the Anti-Suffragist-that when women took in hand any particular matter in which they were deeply interested they ran that matter for all they were worth, and lost sight of other things. They lost their sense of proportion. In political matters that was a ten-

dency that might lead to great mistakes.

Mrs. Greatbatch then moved the resolution: "That this meeting is against granting votes to women." Mrs. Hoffman seconded and the motion was carried, though there was considerable opposition.

Bristol.—Under the auspices of the Fishponds Branch of the Bristol North Unionist Association a debate was held at the Unionist Club, Fishponds, on April 29th, on the subject of Woman Suffrage, "Is it desirable from a National point of view?" The speakers were Mr. W. Waldron (Suffrage) and Miss Price (Anti-Suffrage). A lengthy discussion followed, and great enthusiasm was shown by the audience, and sincere thanks were given to Miss Price for her excellent speech.

One hundred and fifty-one new members have joined the Branch since the 20th of March.

Grouch End.—The Crouch End Branch has issued its first annual report since the formation of the Branch on the 25th April, 1912. The record includes a successful meeting held at Coleridge Hall in November, which was addressed by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and quiet work done by 120 members for the year ending April 25th, 1913. A statement of accounts is rendered.

Dublin.—A special meeting of the Committee of the Irish Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, at which Lady Holmpatrick presided, was held at the new offices, 4, Merrion Row. Arrangements were made for the annual meeting at the Molesworth Hall on the afternoon of the 27th inst. and also for a public meeting on the same evening. The report of the sub-committee on the subject of offices was read and discussed. A letter was read from the Countess Dowager of Desart, President of the Irish Branch, expressing her intention of taking the chair

Dundee.—Mrs. C. Boyd Anderson presided at a meeting of the Dundee Branch of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage held at Mather's Hotel on May 12th. Miss M. L. S. Craik, Hon. Secretary, submitted the report, showing how the Society from a very small beginning in June, 1911, had now attained a good membership, and was in a healthy condition. The financial statement was approved. The following office-bearers were elected:—President, Mrs. Wedderburn, Kingennie; Vice-presidents, Mrs. Moodie, Balmuirfield, and Miss Alice A. Mackenzie, Craiglee, Broughty Ferry; Treasurer, Mrs. Kinnear, in place of Mrs. Charles Young, resigned; Hon. Secretary, Miss M. L. S. Craik. The Committee remains as before. It was arranged to have a garden fête during the summer months to raise funds for

Finchley.-Mr. S. Cooper presided at the annual meeting of the Finchley Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage held at Granville Hall on May 6th. With him on the platform were Mrs. C. Rabbidge and Miss L. Alexander (hon. Secretary).

In the course of his speech the Chairman said the membership of the local branch now numbered 150, and Miss Alexander had urged him to point out the desirability of every member doing

the utmost to increase the membership.

The following officers for the ensuing year were elected President: The Countess of Ronaldshay. Vice-President: Mrs. C. Rabbidge. Committee: Mrs. Kay, Mrs. Osborne, Madame Edith Henderson, Mrs. Allgood, Mrs. Cooper, and Mr. M. Jenkins. Hon. Treasurer: Mr. M. Jenkins. Hon. Secretary: Miss L.

Fleet .- A meeting was held at Pinewood Hall on Wednesday, May 14th, organised by the North Hants Branch. General Anderson took the chair, and among others on the platform were Mrs. Currie President of the Branch), Mrs. Northcote, Mrs. Wells, Miss Fitzroy, Mrs. Birch, and Colonel Wilson. Mrs. Dering White, Hon. Treasurer of the Bournemouth Branch, in a very bright and well reasoned speech proposed the following resolution: "That this meeting begs to express its gratitude to the House of Commons for throwing out the Woman Suffrage Bill on the 6th inst. by so decisive a majority. Mr. A. Maconachie seconded the resolution in a very weighty address Both speakers were extremely well received and frequent applause proved that their arguments and illustrations appealed ourably to the audience. On the Chairman putting the lution to the meeting it was carried unanimously. Mrs. Currie proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, and a further vote of thanks was accorded to General Anderson for presiding.

Fulham.—A very fair gathering of the Fulham Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage met on April 25th in St. John's Parish Hall, Walham Green, at an "At Home" given by the kind invitation of the President, Mrs. Richard Harrison, and the Committee. Mrs. Harrison gave her report of the second annual meeting of the Branch, mentioning the increase of their members and associates, and other matters of interest. Mr. Herbert Williams then addressed the meeting, followed by a few words from Mrs. Oscar Fox. The next item in the programme was a duologue, "Tu Quoque," given in costume by Miss Constance Robertson and Mr. Bernard MacDonald, after which Mrs. Waterston brought the evening to a finish by a few songs.

Glasgow.—The annual general meeting of the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held on May 6th in the Christian Institute, Glasgow. Lord Glenconner presided over a large attendance. The Chairman pointed out that the new constitution was formed in January last, and he was glad to state that their League had prospered. He referred to the fact that the House of Commons had nearly been counted out the previous evening during the debate on Mr. Dickinson's Bill as indicating how little real interest the subject aroused. That did not mean, however, that those who were opposed to Woman Suffrage should relax their efforts, but rather that they should work as hard as they could to prevent their opponents carrying out the objects they had in view, namely, the adding of an immense number of electors to the rolls in the constituencies, thereby swamping the influence of men

Lady Glasgow moved the adoption of the report. Referring to the remark of a speaker that "giving the vote to women would materially assist women to obtain the same remuneration as men for their work when it was similar work," Lady Glasgow said she disagreed with that. She was convinced that the giving of the vote to women would be a step towards the downfall and degradation of the empire. Mrs. Paterson seconded, and the report was

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

Professor Phillimore afterwards delivered a brief address, remarking that a fundamental weakness of the Suffrage movement that it represented a small part of the higher strata of society.

-The Hon. Secretary of this Branch took part in a Hackney.—The Hon. Secretary of this Branch took part in a debate with Miss Mary Fielden of the London Society for Woman's Suffrage at the Trafalgar Social and Athletic Union at Stepney on April 26th. Mr. J. Singer presided, and the attendance was a

Miss Fielden moved a resolution that "This meeting approves of the principle of votes for women," and Mr. Liverman opposed. The meeting seemed fairly divided until a "division" was claimed. This took place amid much excitement and resulted in the Suffrage resolution being defeated by five votes.

Henley-in-Arden.—A meeting in connection with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held in the Public Hall on May 2nd, Mr. F. Ernest Muntz, J.P., D.L., of Umberslade Hall, presiding. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the principal speaker, and there was a good attendance in spite of the bad weather. The Anti-Suffrage Resolution was easily carried, although there were a number of Suffragists present.

Kew.—A successful and well-attended public meeting of the

National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage arranged by the Kew Branch was held at the Gymnasium, Kew, on Wednesday, May 7th. Miss Trevor (President of the Richmond Branch) presided, and the speakers, Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. Maconachie, gave admirable and convincing speeches. The resolution proposed by Mrs. Greatbatch, congratulating the House of Commons on having the previous night defeated Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill, seconded by Mr. Maconachie and carried unanimously

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers was y Mr. J. G. Rogers and seconded by Mr. Samuel Rowe. Leamington.—Under the auspices of the local Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, a drawing-room meeting was held at the Regent Hotel, Leamington, on April 28th. In the absence of Lord Algernon Percy (President of the Warwickshire Branch), Mr. C. W. L. Makin presided. Mrs. Gladstone

Solomon was the chief speaker.

A meeting was held in the Town Hall on Tuesday, May 20th, under the auspices of the local Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Lord Charnwood was in the chair, and was supported amongst others by Lord Ernest and Lady Seymour and Mrs. Chesshyre Molyneux. The principal speakers the Countess of Jersey and Miss Gladys Pott.

Lady Jersey, in the course of her speech, said that Suffragists appeared to be trying to separate the interests of men and women, these interests are essentially one and identical. Women as a whole were not agreed as to special legislation affecting their own sex, hence their disagreement over legislative proposals. The greater number of subjects for which Suffragists say they are anxious to use the vote, such subjects as housing, care of children, &c., were already in their own hands from the power of local government. The point at issue between Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists was not whether social conditions were perfect, but whether the vote in the hands of women was the right and essential remedy for the many imperfections in existence.

Leeds.—A well-attended meeting, promoted by the Leeds Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was held at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds, on April 29th, when a resolution protesting against the granting of the franchise to women was carried with enthusiasm. Dr. Humphery presided, and was supported by Mrs. Humphery, Mrs. Frank Gott and Miss Lupton. Greatbatch was the chief speaker.

Mrs. Greatbatch, in the course of her speech, asked whether women thought they could do more than the men in preventing sweated labour and what scheme they had to propound for dealing with the question. She then went on to speak of woman's sphere in the world as different from that of men.

A number of questions were asked, followed by a vote of thanks

Liverpool and Birkenhead .- At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Liverpool and Birkenhead Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage held on Monday, April 28th, Alderman M. H. Maxwell, J.P., in the chair, the following resolution

was proposed by Miss C. Gostenhofer, seconded by Miss E. M. Platt, supported by Mr. Edward Lawrence, C.C., Mrs. E. Woodhead, Mr. Frank A. Goodwin, Miss Fairclough, Mr. Noel B. Goldie, and carried unanimously: "The Executive Committee of the Liverpool and Birkenhead District Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, on behalf of its members, earnestly requests all members of Parliament for this district to strenuously oppose Mr. Dickinson's Bill for placing the responsibility of a Parliamentary vote upon women, which is to be debated in the House of Commons this week, on the ground that the decision of national and Imperial questions is alien to the true sphere of the female sex. believe that a vast majority of women are averse to assuming this responsibility, and in any case no such measure should be passed until the country has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it either by referendum or by its being made a direct issue at a general election.'

A copy of the resolution was sent to all the local members of Parliament.

Manchester Branch.

Alderley Edge.—On May 7th, a drawing-room meeting was given by Mrs. Moorhouse, at Greylands, Alderley Edge. An address was given by Miss Moir, who was supported by Nurse Gertrude. Of the Suffragist ladies present, two professed them selves converted after hearing the addresses, and after questions had been answered, these two ladies, with eight others, joined our Alderley Edge Branch.

Another drawing-room meeting was promised and the meeting was altogether a very successful one

Our grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Moorhouse.

Although the office was closed in Manchester for a week owing to the Whitsuntide holiday, work was still being carried on in Altrincham, where hundreds of persons (all of the working classes) signed our petition, and many subscribing members were enrolled.

Stockport.—A public meeting was held in the Council Schools, Wellington Road, Stockport, on May 6th. Mr. I. N. C. Neville was in the chair, supported on the platform by Mrs. Neville, Mrs. Smeech, Mrs. J. R. Clarke, and others. Several well-known of the chair state of the chair state of the chair state of the chair state. Stockport people in sympathy with our views felt unable to support our meeting by being on the platform, having been warned by the police that old churches, and in one case a particularly beautiful old Cheshire house, would be in danger of attack from militant Suffragettes if their custodians took an active part in opposing votes for women. An Anti-Suffragist resolution was proposed by Miss Moir, seconded by Mr. Stanley F. Beales, and supported by Nurse Gertrude

After questions had been sent up and answered, the resolution was put and carried by an overwhelming majority.

A feature of this meeting was the very generous collection which covered all expenses. About 30 new members have joined the Stockport Branch.

Marylebone.—An interesting debate took place at the Portman Rooms on Friday, May 23rd, between the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage and the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. Mr. Rowland Whitehead, K.C. took the chair, supported amongst others by Lord and Lady George

Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, who supported the resolution, "That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be in the best interests of women and of the Empire," said that women laboured under a real injustice through the fact of being disfranchised. The handicap was seen in the laws of divorce, inheritance and parentage, and last in the Cat and Mouse Act. The changed omic conditions which had brought so many women into the labour market emphasised the grievance. It would be for the good of the country if women were enfranchised, because they took the deepest interest in questions of social reform.

Mr. J. W. F. Beaumont opposed the motion. If men, he said, used political power to legislate in their own interests and against the interests of women the time would have come for trying the experiment of extending the franchise to women; but he challenged the statement that women suffered any grievance by reason of the fact that they were deprived of the Parliamentary vote. Women outnumbered men, and to grant them the vote would mean that they would have power over the Empire which they could take no real part in managing. The agitation among women for the vote was purely sentimental.

Some discussion then followed, and the resolution was eventually defeated by 76 votes to 45.

Northwood.—A meeting was held at the Mount Vernon Hospital special request of Miss Donaldson, the Matron, on May 2nd, at which Mrs. Greatbatch gave a most interesting and lucid speech against Woman Suffrage. Although the majority of the nurses present were in favour of Votes for Women, one convert was gained on the spot and gave her reasons for changing her views.

Purley .- A crowded and enthusiastic debate on the question of Woman Suffrage was held at the Lecture Hall, Purley, on Friday, April 25th. Mrs. Greatbatch, on behalf of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage led the debate, and Mr. R. F. Cholmoley, on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

opposed. The Rev. A. Pringle presided.

Mrs. Greatbatch, who opened the debate, moved that "the granting of the vote to women was opposed to the best interes of the country." The first point to which she drew attention was that never before had they found opposition to a section which preferred the vote. In her mind it constituted a danger to grant votes to women, as the women were either indifferent or hostile to She by no means admitted any inferiority in women, but held

that sex was at the root of all the Parliamentary system.

Mr. R. F. Cholmoley, opposing, said he could not understand why women should not help to govern the country. Sex was not the root of the Parliamentary system, nor was it right to say that government was founded on physical force.

Mrs. Greatbatch's resolution was then put, but was unfortunately defeated. Votes of thanks to the speaker and Chairman closed the meeting.

Ryde .- A very interesting debate on the enfranchisement of women was held at the Town Hall, Ryde, on Thursday, May 8th, between Miss Gladys Pott, N.L.O.W.S., and Mrs. Russell Cooke, N.U.W.S.S. The Rev. G. L. Davey (Rector of Binstead) presided over a very large attendance, and referred to the importance of the subject at the present day.

Miss Gladys Pott said it was not true that Anti-Suffragists did not believe in votes for women because they were content with things as they are. The point at issue between them was whether the granting of the franchise to women would remedy things. vote was a privilege, duty, and responsibility, and it lay in the hands of the community to put it upon the shoulders of those individuals who were most likely to use it for the good of the com munity and not in furtherance of their own interests. Because some men misused the vote that was no reason for going back on the principle, if it was a right principle, that the vote should be regarded as a public responsibility. If men did not understand women's point of view, it was perfectly useless to give women the vote. The only way to get over that difficulty was to turn men out of Parliament and put women in. The objection to that was that if the men chose to put them outside they could do so, but women

could not put the men out.

Mrs. Russell Cooke said that there were many things that women could do easily now which they could not do before. were no longer obliged to be shut up in a cage to keep the home safe. Another revolution had taken place. Education had brought women into a different position. They had not so much public or business experience as men, but it was only a question of degree. The more voters they enfranchised, the harder it was upon those left out, and they were leaving out all one side of the community. There were points on which men were ignorant of what women had to do, and she said the time had come when they wanted a certain amount of feminine influence in the Government. Women were continually being baulked in their work because they were not allowed to do it in a legislative way. Think of the importance of the vote to the woman who was sweated. If women had votes, they could do something to enable women to get a proper

After each speaker had spoken again, a very hearty vote of thanks to Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Russell Cooke was proposed

by Mrs. J. H. Oglander, who said that everything had been done on both sides with the greatest ability and courtesy.

Mrs. Banks seconded, and the proposition was carried with applause. A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the

Sevenoaks.—A well-attended meeting of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held on April 25th under the auspices of the Sevenoaks Branch. The Chair was taken, in the absence through illness of the Countess Amherst (President of the Branch), by Mr. C. M. Hilder. The speakers were Mrs. Greatbatch and the Hon. C. T. Mills, M.P. The resolution opposing the granting of the franchise was passed almost unanimously by the audience of between 500 to 600 people.

Southampton.—The "Flower" day organised by the Southampton Branch in aid of the Children's Hospital at Shirley, took place on April 26th. The weather was rather unfavourable and the Committee were disappointed at the small response to their appeal for "sellers" of the pink and white daisies provided. However, grateful thanks are warmly tendered to the courageous 20 ladies who worked so hard for the deserving cause, and they have the satisfaction of knowing that their efforts have helped to mitigate the debt caused by the removal of the hospital to larger premises

Stourbridge.—An afternoon meeting under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held in the Music Rooms, Stourbridge, on Thursday, May 8th. Mr. Murray Phelps, LL.B., Hon. Treasurer of the Birmingham Branch of e National League, presided, and Mrs. Greatbatch gave a most eresting and closely-reasoned address.

Tunbridge Wells .-- A monster meeting was held on May 1st under the auspices of this branch to protest against the outrage committed by Suffragists in burning the Nevill Ground Pavilion. The Great Hall proved all too small to hold those who wished to be present, and an overflow meeting of over a thousand people was addressed outside by Mr. A. Maconachie and others.

The chair was taken by Colonel A. T. Simpson, and the chief

speakers were Miss Gladys Pott and Sir A. Conan Doyle. Messages of regret for unavoidable absence and in sympathy with the objects of the meeting were read from Lord Hardinge, Mr. G. L. Courthope, M.P., Captain Spender Clay, M.P., Mr. John Hope, M.P., and

Miss Gladys Pott proposed the following resolution :- "That this meeting, believing that the vast majority of the women of this country do not desire the vote, is further of opinion that in the light of the abominable outrages committed by militant Suffragettes, any extension of the Franchise to women would be against the best interests of the women themselves and of the Empire as a whole." She said that was hardly an ordinary Anti-Suffrage meeting, but she wished to touch briefly on the reasons that induced her to side with the Anti-Suffrage movement in England to-day. became aware some two or three years ago that there were certain women going about England and saying they represented the views of the women in demanding the vote. So far from representing her views, they expressed precisely the reverse, and therefore she tood up and said so. Miss Pott proceeded to give a most telling denunciation of militancy which elicited continual applause from

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle seconded the resolution, and said on an occasion such as that it was necessary to differentiate between the honest constitutional Suffragette, who had the same right to her opinions as the rest of them, however much they might disagree with her, and those female hooligans, or the even more contemptible class of people who did not do these things, but found the money by which they were done. He inferred that the case of a woman property owner was at least an arguable proposition. came on an entirely different proposition when they discussed the malicious monkey tricks now being played in this country. After enumerating some of the militant outrages Sir Arthur Conan Doyle continued: After such a list of meannesses as that, one felt they had only to blow up a blind man and his dog. (Laughter and applause.) Did they imagine any cause in the world, since the world was made, prospered by such means as that? Did they conceive that such acts, so evidently and morally wrong, could ever be politically right? And consider the stupidity of it all. How little they must know them, to think that although their intelligence rejected a thing their fears would give way to it. There was something much sadder than this political trouble. been brought up to look upon women as something a little higher and a little holier than themselves, but they had lived, unfortunately, to see some of their ideals shattered. They could still claim to have some of the best women in the world-(applause)-but it was a very dishonest man who would not admit that they had something which must be precious near the worst. It had let down the fair fame of their Englishwomen, which had been a byword in

the whole world. Colonel Hunter proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers and presented Miss Pott with a bouquet of pink carnations. A second resolution was proposed by Councillor J. B. Snell, and seconded by Councillor Willmot. The meeting was closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the singing of the National Anthem. Miss Pott subsequently made a short speech to the meeting outside the hall.

Wallasey.—Miss Hughes, Organising Secretary of the Liverpool, Birkenhead and District Association, addressed a drawing-room meeting at Wallasey, on April 30th, the result being the formation

of a Branch there in conjunction with the Liverpool Association.

Watford.—A successful meeting was held under the auspices of the Watford Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. The audience numbered fully 500 and speeches were made by Mrs. Stocks and H. J. Lofting. The resolution was passed with one adult and three small boys

dissenting.

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JUNE, 1913.

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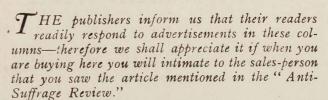
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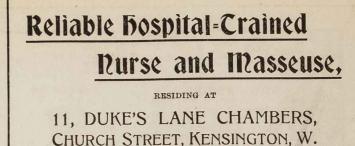
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