THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE

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THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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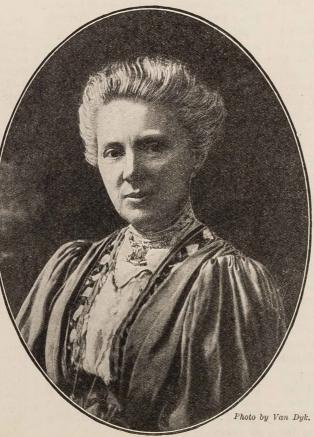
Hon. Treasurers : MR. J. MASSIE, LORD ASHBY ST. LEDGERS. The terms of Membership are :- Members of Council, £1 15.; Members of the League, 55.; Associates, 15.; Membership of Branches, 1s. to 5s. (Branches can arrange for the collection of smaller subscriptions.) Men are admitted as subscribing or affiliated members.

The Men's League for opposing Woman Suffrage (*President* : THE EARL OF CROMER) invites all men who are opposed to Woman Suffrage to enrol themselves as members. For full particulars apply to the Hon. Sec., Palace Chambers, Bridge St., S.W.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE W.N.A.-S.L. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The name of the Countess of Jersey, who has been Chairman of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League since the day of its formation, is intimately associated with many movements, Imperial and philanthropic. As a woman deeply interested in the welfare of her country, with her heart set on reforms which affect the happiness of the people, and above all the happiness of little children, Lady Jersey has accomplished much of that work which it is her faith to declare the especial privilege of her sex.

As President of the Victoria League, she has shown women where their Imperial duties lie, irrespective of party politics. As Vice President of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League, she is identified with a political organisation in which women take a prominent part. As President of the Council of the Children's Happy Evenings Association, a movement which she holds very dear, and which has done so much to brighten the sunless lives of the little ones of the "submerged tenth," Lady Jersey has helped to point out to the women of London the greatest lesson of all, the lesson of true motherhood.



THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY.

The Chairman of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League has been rightly described in a recent article on her public work, social and philanthropic, as "one of the greatest women of the day," and those who know her best as a leader of society also acknowledge her sovereignty in the world of social reform. An energetic traveller, Lady Jersey has traversed France, Italy, Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece, Turkey, Samoa, New Caledonia, Japan, and Canada, and having been with Lord Jersey during his Governorship of New South Wales, she brings the wisdom of experience to bear on Colonial questions.

As Chairman of the Executive Committee of W.N.A.-S. League, the Countess of Jersey has identified herself with an organisation which has for it leading motive the upholding of the dignity of womanhood. She is keenly interested in the work of the League, and the Executive Committee are happy in the possession of so distinguished a head. T. V. M.

[Photographs and Short Personal Sketches of Leaders in the Anti-Suffrage movement will appear from month to month.]

THE GAME AND THE CANDLE.

IF boundless enthusiasm and energy, and the possession of apparently inexhaustible funds, are the hall-marks of success, then the Women's Social and Political Union have had a most triumphant-year. Their fourth annual report, which has just been issued, shows that, during the past twelve months, the sum of £31,686 has been raised on behalf of the objects of the Union. The salaried staff now numbers ninety-eight. Twenty thousand meetings have been held during the year ; and it should be remembered that the Union is only one of half-a-dozen competing organisations. These are brave figures, and it is well that the opponents of Woman's Suffrage should be reminded from time to time of the solid forces which are arrayed against them. The obvious question that presents itself is-what has the Social and Political Union got to show for its money and its activities? We have read the annual report with much curiosity on that point and with small result.

The Union does, indeed, claim to have broken "the great Liberal majority which, since the General Election of 1906, had stood for repression and tyranny." We drew attention in our last two numbers to the utter futility of this claim, and we pointed out that what was most conspicuously broken was the phalanx of 426 members who, in the last Parliament, were favourable to Woman's Suffrage. The Club which is to compliment with a banquet all the M.P.'s who expressed themselves favourable to Woman Suffrage in their addresses can only find 110 recipients for the honour. An independent investigation by Mr. Massie has arrived at exactly the same figure. And we have ourselves accumulated a mass of evidence, which forms a striking commentary on the pretensions put forward by the Social and Political Union. Early last month our League, through its Secretary, sent a short letter to each of the 670 members of the present Parliament asking whether, in his opinion, the question of Woman's Suffrage played any prominent part during the sacrifice.

recent election in determining the votes of electors in the constituency for which he had been returned. At the date of our going to press, some 300 answers had been received; of these 235 were in the negative, 37 were "doubtful," and only 23 were in the affirmative. To save the time of the recipients the letter only asked for a brief answer, saying that Yes or No would be sufficient, but a considerable number of those who responded gave details which make very instructive reading.

"No!" writes the Liberal M.P. for a Leicestershire constituency very emphatically. " The Suffragettes made great efforts without any results." One of the Conservative members for Westmorland is of opinion that the question did not affect his election by a single vote, though he made no secret of his opposition to woman's franchise. One of the Leeds members, a Liberal, declares that the general feeling was distinctly against the extension of suffrage to women, while a colleague of his who sits for another division of the same town has no reason to think that the Suffragists played any prominent part in determining the issue—he notes a remarkable falling off of the interest in the question since a by-election a year or two previous. An Irish Nationalist member for Galway County answers laconically, "Not the slightest." A Liberal M.P. for a county division of Cornwall, who is himself in favour of Woman's Suffrage, declares that the election was fought on purely party lines, Conservative Suffragist women working hard for the Conservative candidate, though an avowed opponent of their cause. Mr. J. F. Mason, M.P., who defeated Mr. Heber Hart for Windsor, was no less strongly opposed to the extension of the Suffrage than his adversary, and in Rossendale, where the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt had against him the only definite Female Suffrage candidate of the campaign, the latter secured 639 votes out of a total poll of 12,519! To the prosaic mind the balance-sheet and report of the Social and Political Union form a melancholy record of misdirected zeal and futile

NOTES AND NEWS.

APRIL, 1610.

SINCE our last issue the Home Secretary has announced an important reform in the treatment of prisoners convicted for offences not involving " dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence." He has framed a new code which grants power to extend to such persons, when committed to the second or third division, treatment similar to that in the first division. Though obviously devised to meet the case of the Suffragettes, these regulations raise the whole question of the treatment of "political" prisoners, and there will be general relief at the prospect of an end being put to those painful episodes, out of which so much capital has been made. The strain which has been imposed on doctors, matrons, and others concerned in the maintenance of prison discipline, has been one to which servants of the State ought not to be subjected. Whether the reform will be welcomed by those who, in the past, have obtained so much notoriety by their "martyrdom" remains to be seen.

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By electing Lady St. Helier to be one of their aldermen, the London County Council have shown their appreciation of her excellent work as a co-opted member of the Education Committee. Lady St. Helier will bring to the discharge of her duties a wide experience philanthropic and administrative work, and an influence of character which is bound to make itself felt in a body where, for the moment at any rate, there is much scope for one who combines dignity with experience.

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A VERY objectionable development of the Suffrage movement is chronicled in the Western Daily Press for March 8th. We are informed that the second monthly meeting of the Girls' Suffrage League was held by kind permission of Canon Haigh in St. Paul's Lecture Hall, Clifton, when, " after a substantial tea," the President explained to her juvenile audience "the hindrance and limitation they would be oppressed with in the labour market when they were old enough to go out and earn their own living." A series of speeches followed, in which the old familiar arguments and illustrations were produced for the benefit of children whose age renders them the easy victim of anything that the speakers choose to assert. We cannot condemn too strongly this

APRIL, 1910.

insidious form of proselytism among the intellectually helpless, and we are surprised that parents can be found to tolerate it.

6 6 In an admirable article in our present number Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun deals with "The Woman's Charter of Lady MacLaren. But we make no apology for quoting here the words of a writer in the Spectator for March 26th, on what is most truly described as "The Terrible Chapter on Infanti-

"Lady McLaren actually proposes that in cases where a woman kills her first illegitimate child within a month of its birth the maximum penalty should be two years' immaximum penalty should be two years im-prisonment, to be followed by a period of two years' industrial training. In the course of several pages of her pamphlet Lady McLaren sets forth at length her argument or punishing infanticide lightly as long as the killer is the mother of the murdered baby. Lady McLaren is, no doubt, herself a woman of humane feeling. Yet she has so bemused her mind with sophistry and cant that she actually gets herself into the position of de-manding that the law shall deliberately place it on record that killing is no murder if the human being killed is the child of the killer, and if the killer is careful to act within the se-time' for matricide prescribed by an Act of Parliament. Under the law, as Lady McLaren would have, it would be murde for a woman to kill the three-weeks-old baby of another woman, but only an offence com-parable in wickedness with, say, embezzlent for her to strangle or to beat the life out of her own offspring."

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MRS. LILIAN KILIANI, the Hon. International Secretary of the New York Anti-Women's Suffrage Society, sends us an account, unhappily too long for reproduction, of the proceedings on the hearing of the Suffrage Bill at Albany on March oth. That measure has gone before the Joint Legislative Committee of the State, as it has done annually for years past, and every year deputations of women, for and against the Bill, are heard, at what we should call at Westminster, the Bar of the House. Special trains are run from New York and from all over the State, and elaborate arangements are made for housing the trainloads and their friends. The Evening Sun, a sympathetic journal, gives a picturesque head-line in its report of the proceedings-" Eloquence, For and Against, Which the Legislature for the most part did not hear because they were not there." The same paper does not take a very hopeful view of the prospects of the Bill, and declares that the Suffragists secretly admit that there is little or no hope of the Judiciary Committee being induced to

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

" report " the Bill. The opinion is expressed that, in New York at any rate, the Suffrage movement is at a standstill. The important concession is made that "the women opposing the Suffrage were, after all, women from the home," and we are told that the anti-Suffrage attack on the four Suffrage States within the Union took the Suffragists completely by surprise, and that they did not reply, "being apparently outnumbered on this point in the artillery of statistics and figures." A great impression was produced by the speech of Miss Minnie Bronson, of the Bureau of Labour, who completely demolished the claims of Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah to pose as the van of American civilisa-

OUR BRANCH NEWS= LETTER.

tion.

Some valuable organising work has been done during March, and we have received excellent reports from our branch secretaries throughout the country

Leeds .- "The work here," writes Miss Fothergill, "has consisted of visits made, meetings held, and new members en-rolled. I have called upon all those suggested by the Committee with succes In some cases the response was immediate and active, and on the whole a great deal of interest has been aroused and expressed. Many who did not still see their way to join the League, were shaken in their belief in the Vote and realised for the first time that there is an Anti-Suffrage side to the question. What appeared to be most convincing was the showing that universal Suffrage must be the outcome of any concession of the Vote. Ten meetings have been held, two of them for working-class women, and a number of new members has been gained. is expected that a number of working-class women will take up associate cards, as many have expressed their wish to do so "The first working-women's meeting was held by a Branch of the Leeds Women's Liberal Association, the Secretary of the Branch (Mrs. Mayhew) being a member the local Committee of the League. At the end of the meeting a resolution was unanimously passed to the effect that the meeting was opposed to the Vote being given to The second working-class women was in the form of an address to the Branch of the Mothers' Union belonging to St George's Church: those present expressed sympathy with our attitude. Several people who could not arrange meetings at such short notice have said they will do so later, and in the autumn a large public meeting may be The policy of canvassing municipal held voters (women) will also be carried out. The last meeting was held at Bradford on March 18th, Mrs. Talbot kindly arranging it at short notice and some inconvenience.

Manchester .- The chief event in the nistory of the Manchester Branch during March was the meeting of delegates from the North of England Branches on March

A business meeting took place in 15th. the offices of the League when the question of forming a Federation for the urposes of intercourse and co-operation was discussed. Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool, Cumat this meeting. The Midland Westmorland were represented at this meeting. This was followed by a social gathering in the Midland Hotel when 135 members and their friends were present. Mr. Hamilton, the Chairman of the Execu-Mr. Hamilton, the Chairman of the Execu-tive, presided in the absence of Lady Shef-field, and, after welcoming the said that to extend the franchise to women would be disastrous to the best interests the nation and of the women, and would be disastrous to the men and women of the future. The outcry of a small number of women would be replaced by a further outcry alter the status of the men and women in the country. They did not want women in Parliament, they wanted to maintain and ncrease their influence in the home. Mrs. Henry Simon, the Hon. Secretary,

said that one of the early arguments in favour of Woman's Suffrage was that the women uld purify and uplift the morals of tical life, but the tactics of the Militant Suffragists have proved how vain was the hope. In the second place, the admission of women to political life would have a serious effect on the race. Quoting Professor Whe-tham, Mrs. Simon said that the decline in the birth-rate would appear to date from the beginning of the feminist movement.

Mrs. Balfour of Sheffield described the pro-gress made by the Sheffield Branch of the League, and Dr. Arnold Jones of Manchester pleaded for personal service in the cause. The result of canvassing the women house

holders who hold the municipal vote in Man chester has been very satisfactory to us.

Bristol.—A most encouraging account of the League's growth in the Bristol dis-trict has to be recorded. A great deal of good was done in February by a series of evening meetings, which our Hon. Secretary, Miss Long Fox, held at her residence, when speeches were followed by open discussion March has reaped the benefit of the seed sown then, and during April another series of meetings will be held at all the villages around Bristol. The membership at Bristol is very large and grows continually, so that our claim that this important city is an Anti-Suffrage stronghold is well maintained.

Other Branches which show excellent pro gress are Leicester, Torquay, Weston-super-Mare, Camberley, and Frimley, and successful meetings have been held.

Bedford Park .- A well-attended and successful drawing-room meeting was held on March 8th at 28, Priory Road, Bedford Park, by kind permission of Mrs. Frederick Brown, member of the Chiswick Committe

The chair was taken by Lindsey Winterbotham, J.P., who, in his opening speech emphasised particularly the Imperial and n-party position occupied by the League. s. Norris, President, who followed Mrs. him, made her points with her customary incisiveness, laying particular stress on the two points of view, social and political, which the League adopts. Mrs. Greatbatch, Hon, Treasurer, drew attention to the disastrous results which the Suffragette doctrines have already had upon the rising generation, and will have, through them, ipon the public opinion of the electors of the

Mrs. Grenside-Hewett, in proposing a vote

of thanks to the Chairman, gave some amusing reminiscences of her experiences when taking observations of the Suffragist manœuvres outside the Chiswick polling stations during the recent General Election. Tea and coffee were afterwards served, and a successful afternoon ended by the enrolment of new members and a brisk sale of the Society's literature.

Dulwich.—An interesting annual meeting of the Dulwich Branch was held on March 9th, at the All Saints' Parish Room in Croxted Road. Mr. George Dalzell took the chair, and read the annual report and statement of accounts, and proposed and carried the re-election of the Committee and its officers. Miss Lindsay addressed the members and associates of this Branch, most of whom were present, and urged the importance of carrying on their resistance to the demand for the Parliamentary vote for women with enthusiasm and energy.

Mr. Maconachie spoke more especially to those present who might be indifferent, waverers, or even pledged to the other side of the question. He expressed a strong opinion that, owing to the policy of the fanatical section of the Suffragists, their prospects of success were indefinitely postponed—and that neither the present Government, nor any that was likely to follow it, would include a Bill for granting the vote to women on the same terms as to men in its schemes. It was known that Mr. Asquith was against it, and that Mr. Balfour was no longer in favour of it. The Socialists and Labour members were

It. The Socialities and Fabour inclined were apparently. He contended that women were really the spoilt children of the manmade laws of our country, and many effective instances were given and confirmed by the Chairman's experience as a lawyer—but these were fretfully denied by a lady present, who said she remembered when the law of imprisonment for debt was rescinded in favour of women, and assured Mr. Maconachie this was not done to please women at all, but simply that men should not be deprived of their wives' and sisters' services !

Questions were then invited, and many of the usual objections were raised, and disguised in contentious speeches by some half-dozen malcontents who seemed annoyed when their unhistorical facts were quickly exposed by Miss Lindsay's ready wit and Mr. Maconachie's practical knowledge of life.

The Countess of Desart, speaking at a meeting of the League held on March 16th at 21, Cadogan Square, the residence of Mrs. Llovd, said that for two reasons the conferring of the franchise on women could be secured only by Adult Suffrage, which would mean the swamping of the intelligent and cul ured members of the electorate. In the first place women could never obtain the vote on a property qualification, for the commonsense reason that the vast majority of married women would thus be disqualified, and secondly, there was an advanced party, increasing in influence in the State, which would never be cajoled nor threatened into supporting an extension of the franchise on a erty basis Mrs. Campbell, of New Zealand, said that the extension of the franchise to women in that country had had an in-jurious effect on home life. Contrary to expectation, women there had voted for all xtreme radical measures. Mr. Maconachie, who presided, advised all Anti-Suffragists, irrespective of party, to support a strong effective Second Chamber in order that if a chance vote for extending the franchise was carried in the House of Commons, it might be submitted to the country before it became law.

One of the most interesting of debates during April took place at the Allen Street schools, Kensington, on March 22nd, when Mr. W. H. Harris, of Kensington, argued very ably for us with Mr. T. S. Turnham, and scored an Anti-Suffrage victory. For all the points raised by Mr. Turnham, Mr. Harris had a sound answer, and he dwelt on the point that the domestic state of Colonial government made the woman's vote there a very different thing to the power they craved in Great Britain.

Another recent public debate where the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority, was held at Oundle, North-amptonshire, the proportion of the vote in favour of our arguments being 5 to 1.

The first annual general meeting of the St. Andrews' Branch took place on March agrd at the residence of Mrs. Grogan, Gillespie Terrace. There was a large number of members and associates present. The proceedings opened by a presidential address by Lady Griselda Cheape (who has been unanimously re-elected President), followed by the election of office-bearers and Committees. Mrs. Grogan gave an exposition of the Anti-Suffrage question, and afterwards entertained the whole company to tea.

Clasgow.—The Countess of Glasgow presided at a largely attended "At Home" in the Grand Hotel, Glasgow, on March 18th. Her significant speech from the chair is given elsewhere in these pages. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun afterwards addressed the meeting. In opening she expressed the regret of those taking a prominent part in the Anti-Suffragist movement at finding themselves in opposition to their fellowwomen on the other side. At present there was no injustice between women and women, but the giving of the vote to only a certain number would set up a very potent cause of injustice. If they admitted that the vote was necessary at all, it was necessary for the poorest women. In New Zealand it had been found that Women's Suffrage had resulted in an increase of the Socialist vote. Our country was at a critical stage in its history. We had very grave problems before us. These were not going to be settled by passion or emotion or hysteria.

A meeting on the same evening was held in the Mid (St. Andrew's) Hall, and was presided over by Mrs. John M. Macleod. Mrs. Colquhoun again spoke.

Another successful meeting in connection with the Glasgow Branch was held in the Town Hall, Clyde Bank, when Mr. Henry M. Napier presided and Mrs. Colquhoun addressed a most interested audience.

In connection with the Epsom Division of the League, a successful meeting was held on March roth, in the Old Barn Hall, Great Bookham. Mr. C. Willock-Pollen presided over a large gathering, and Miss Lindsay and Mr. A. Maconachie gave convincing addresses. A resolution against the extension of the Suffrage to women was carried, and questions were afterwards invited, but none were asked.

A public debate, arranged by the West Herts Woman Suffrage Society, took place in the Masonic Hall, Watford, on March 18th, between Miss Lindsay and Mrs. Swanwick, M.A., Editor of *The Common Cause*, the organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. There was a large attendance of ladies, over which Mr. P. Heffer presided,

APRIL, 1910.

and Miss Lindsay, in her speech, which opened the debate, put the case against Woman Suffrage very clearly and decisively. The debate which followed Mrs. Swanwick's opposing address was brisk and animated.

On the 21st March an animated debate was held at the Polyglot Club, when there was a very large attendance. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was moved by Mr. A. Maconachie (in the absence of Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun). He dwelt on the sig-nificance of the fact that the Suffragist agitation differed from men's agitations for the franchise in the past in that, in this case alone, numbers, nay, the majority, of the proposed beneficiaries regarded the change as a bane, not a boon, and besought the exist electorate to rescue them from their self appointed saviours. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Crouch Batchelor, who spoke as a free lance, and whose line o argument was not that which commendatiself to the members either of the Men's or Women's Anti-Suffrage League. The motion was opposed by Mr. Laurence Housnan on the ground that the franchise was a "human right," apparently oblivious of the fact that this would involve the enfranchise-ment of all the dusky millions of Asia and Africa, to the obvious destruction of the Empire as a whole. Miss Decima Moore's support of Mr. Housman consisted in reating a rather absurd poem about worzen being imprisoned "for knocking at Asquith's door." In the result the resolution was defeated by 37 votes to 28.

LADY MACLAREN'S "WOMAN'S CHARTER."

UNDER the above title Lady Maclaren has published a pamphlet setting forth a number of the grievances and disabilities under which women are alleged to suffer, and the measures which, in her opinion are needed to remedy them. These have been embodied in a group of Draft Bills, of which Sir Charles Maclaren is in charge in the House of Commons. The pamphle is useful and interesting, because it brings out conditions in the social and legal status of women which need to be reformed. But it errs in the blind belief that legislation can remedy misfortunes due to the imperfections of human character, or to economic conditions which the legislation itself does not touch.

Naturally the majority of the suggested reforms " deal with the position of married women, but in the desire to prove that most women have to earn their living. Lady Maclaren counts as "permanent workers " all the women who never marry As a matter of fact, the vast majority of these are found in classes where the women are not all "thrown on their own resources for life." But even married women, she says, are "only provided for for some twenty or thirty years," and ' there are usually a number of years at the beginning and end of their lives when they must fend for themselves." necessary in order to support this theory to overlook the figures of the 1901 census, in which there were 11 million women over fifteen years of age, and only 4 millions

APRIL, 1910.

were earning weekly wages-a figure which includes many girl workers who live at home. No one would deny that married women often have to work, but exaggeration sets things in a false light. Lady Maclaren concludes that "Women not only do but must and ought to support themselves during most years of life.' The fact is that most women do not support themselves, and our social system is built up on the theory that men ought to be bread winners. My own feeling is that true reform must emphasise the fact that, although she may choose to work outside her home, or may be compelled by misfortune to do so (and in the latter case should receive every possible help) yet nature did not primarily intend woman for other than home work.

Lady Maclaren is driven to insist on the woman worker as the most important element in the feminine world, because it is the crux of suffragist arguments that en are economically independent, or could be made so, therefore they insist that even when a woman does not (either from choice or necessity) work outside her home she ought to receive the money value of her labour. Wives must be paid wages in the scale of housekeepers' wages in their own station of life. Whether women would profit by changing their present relationship with their husbands for that f employer and employed is doubtful. The great majority of the working and lower middle-class families have a budget in which a salary for the housekeeper is out of the question; but the wife administers he family funds, and although the share of his wages retained for his own pleasures by the man is sometimes excessive, vet e is not as a rule the selfish brute the Suffragists like to depict. There are selfish husbands, and extravagant wives, but legislation would change neither. The chief objection, however, to the payment of wives would be the impossibility of enforcing the law. The working of the Separation Acts has shown that it is easy to order a man to support his wife, but impossible to make him do so. How much more difficult would it be to enforce the payment of wages in a family which is ill supposed to be living on normal terms. The man of the industrial class can easily disappear: he can (and in some cases does) refuse to work, or even goes to prison, when the possibility of his supportng anyone vanishes. In higher ranks of ife, for instance with professional people the scandal of an appeal to the law would probably not only break up a family, but would cut off supplies at the source by ruining the man's business. No! the growth of a healthy public opinion alone can safeguard either a man or a woman n this most delicate and intimate relation hip of life. Nevertheless. I believe that

the financial position of the wife would be improved by some of the minor reforms as regards Inheritance and Dower which Lady Maclaren suggests. The fact that the majority of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on Divorce are prepared to go quite as far as Lady Maclaren

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

herself in equalising the position of men and women, proves that it is not impossible for women's claims to be considered, even though there is no parliamentary vote behind them.

Lady Maclaren does not appear to be in sympathy with recent factory legislation intended to protect married women. She tries to minimise the evil result of factory work for mothers, being bound to do so by her theory that women ought to be selfsupporting. When driven to admit that there are periods when women must be dependent, she declares that the "local authority " should be responsible for them, whether it can recover from the husband or not. The "local authority" is also to find pure milk, creches, kindergartens, nomes for illegitimate children, public kitchens and wash-houses, and cheap restaurants, so as to leave the house mother free for the factory work which Lady Maclaren considers so much more elevating than home duties. Such proposals, which transfer the responsibilities of the individual to a public body, simply mean an enormous charge on the rates (increasing the cost of living in that locality) and paid for by the industrious poor for the benefit of the lazy. There are many other practical objections, but this is fundamental. A far better suggestion is that of insurance for maternity benefits, which is already successfully worked in other countries.

Space forbids me to refer to many points raised by Lady Maclaren. Some will be dealt with under Poor Law Reform, others are highly controversial. For instance, Lady Maclaren desires to see Inheritance established on the French basis, but many people consider that system responsible for the serious falling off in the French birth rate, while our Empire has been built and peopled by younger sons.

Lady Maclaren puts the Parliamentary franchise last on her list, whereby she has offended some of her fellow Suffragists. My reliance on the "facts" on which she bases her conclusions is shaken by her repetition of some of the fallacies so often exposed by Anti-Suffragists, for instance, the assertion that a "Royal Commission ' declared 7s. a week to be the average wage for women workers. She also repeats the old parrot cries about men's selfishness, love of dominion, and so forth. The feeling left by a perusal of this pamphlet is that it is most encouraging to know how much has been done to secure the position of women in the last fifty years, and that there is no reason to suppose that any reform on which women are united would be rejected or opposed by men

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN.

gentleman who has resided in Utah for more than thirty years, and has had exceptional opportunities of observing the operation of Woman Suffrage in that State and in the other and adjoining Woman Suffrage States of Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho. My correspondent, Mr. Charles Mostyn Owen, belongs to a military family well known in Oxfordshire, of which county his father, Captain Owen, was for many years Chief Constable. Mr. Owen's communication deals with the common boast of the Suffragists that to give the vote to women is to raise the moral tone of government, of Government officials, and of public life generally; and the following is his experience as conveyed in the notes with which he has favoured me :---

'The State of Utah, in which I live, has had Female Suffrage since January 5th, 1896, when first, at a later date than the other three, it was admitted into the Union as a State, after being a Territory for nearly fifty years. In all four States Female Suffrage has had time to be tested, and, if there were anything in the Suffragist pretension that a great moral uplifting is the natural outcome this particular form of franchise, it would be reasonable to expect that polygamy as practised by the adherents of the Mormon Church would have come to an end. The complete extermination of polygamy was one of the conditions of admission to the Union. But that condition is far from being fulfilled. Polygamy, though a criminal offence since 1871, still exists not only in Utah but in all the four Female Suffrage States, without let or hindrance from the State and County officials. I may go further and affirm, from my own knowledge and experience, that the crime is actually protected by the very offi-cials whose duty it is to prosecute. It fell to my lot in 1800 to collect the evidence to be presented before the United States House of Representatives in support of the protest against the validation of the election of Brigham H. Roberts, the Congressman-elect from Utah. The Mormon Church were denying then (as they deny now) that there had been any practice of polygamy since the manifesto of 1890, when they had formally decreed that this infraction of the law must cease. To prove the falsity of this denial I swore to a number of complaints against the highest officials in the Church. But, out of more than one hundred complaints, veri fied with ample proof, against these persons, I was only able to get some fifteen warrants issued. All the fifteen persons pleaded guilty, but two (one of them Roberts himself) escaped punishment upon the plea that the different wives lived in different counties under different court jurisdictions, and were therefore not amenable. During the years 1902-1906 I prepared the case against Reed Smoot, United States Senator from Utah. The essence of the charge was, not that Smoot himself was a polygamist, but that, as one of the 'Twelve Apostles,' the ruling body the Mormon Church, he had abetted, and encouraged the practice of poly-gamv among his immediate associates, and as therefore unfit to be a Senator. In course of the preparation of that case I became cog nisant of so many cases of polygamy these four States as to put the fact of their condition in this respect beyond all question. The non-Mormon women of these States are not different from other women throughout the civilised world, but no clear pronouncement has come from them against this social evil. No protest, certainly, has been recorded by them at the elections, when

5

as a matter of fact, we cannot induce the best element among the women to take the trouble of voting, while the very worst element either flock or are driven to the poll. In all the larger cities of these four Western States there is a female criminal element, largely prostitutes. These, when election day comes are driven to the poll like sheep, under the auspices of the leaders of the political parties -usually the party for the time being in po tical possession of the city—under threat of the vindication of the law against them unless they vote and vote as they are told. No Female Suffrage voting voice has ever been raised against such proceedings.

6

So much for moral deficiency on the part of female voters; one word upon what may be called moral excessiveness, movements of the heart without the head, on the part of female politicians generally in the United States. "The Canteen Law of the United States

was formulated and passed under the auspices of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The result in Salt Lake City, a garrison town, has been that the soldier, unable to procure any form of liquor under military supervision, gets his liquor just the same, but under no supervision at all except that of a corrupt police who 'won't see.' As a consequence drunkenness is rife, and recently the officer commanding the post has sent a quarter-guard to the town on pay-days to hold in check the ruffianism of his men. It was under pressure from the women as everybody knows, though not, of course, through their vote, that the Prohibition Law vas carried in the non-Suffrage States of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa. What has come of it? Deceit is rampant, and liquor can be obtained, practically, without difficulty.

I can say with confidence that in no ne of the four Female Suffrage States has any legislation instigated by the female portion of the constituencies tended to the moral betterment of the people. The conditions surwith those confronting you in England. But the warning is obvious: where, as with us, Female Suffrage has got beyond the experimental stage and has had an opportunity expressing itself, it has not shown itself a worthy depositary of political power.

WOMAN'S FRANCHISE IN NEW ZEALAND.

AT an "At Home" held under the auspices of the Scottish Women's National Anti-Suffrage League in the Grand Hotel, Glasgow, on March 18th, Lady Glasgow, who presided, said that no one was more appreciative than she was of the great work women did to-day, but she had always been very much against Women's Suffrage. Lord Glasgow was Governor of New Zealand fourteen years ago, when the women got the vote there. The Bill for their enfranchisement passed the Legislative Assembly much to everyone's surprise, and to a great many people's dismay, by two votes, and within fortyeight hours of its passing Lord Glasgow had a petition signed by several thousands asking him to exercise the right of veto and refuse to sign the Bill. Of course. that was impossible, but she thought it was worth pointing out that the feeling in favour of votes for women in the Colony

so much quoted was not by any means unanimous.

As a pendant to Lady Glasgow's interesting statement, we quote the strange story of how the franchise was won in New Zealand, as it was told in an article in the Morning Post of March 28th. The significance of the warning will not be neglected, we trust, by the readers of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

When Mr. Seddon inserted the necessary clause in the Electoral Bill of 1893, a majority of the electors had probably paid no serious attention to the matter, and they certainly had not pronounced in its favour at the General Election held nearly three years before. Nor, strange to say, was Mr. Seddon himself in favour of the reform. The rivalry of Sir Robert Stout with a strong backing of Temperance sentiment had forced his hand in the House of Representatives. Like everybody else, he expected that the Legislative Council would come to the rescue by referring the matter to the people at the General Election due a month or two later, but his calculations were falsified by a single vote. "O, the little more, and how much it is." Thus it was that the women of New Zealand got the vote.

THE PROGRESS OF THE MEN'S LEAGUE.

LORD CROMER, presiding at the annual business meeting of the council of the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, held on March 18th, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, said that the cause of Woman Suffrage had made no headway in the country, and all the information he had received went to show that it had not exercised any appreciable influence at the recent General Election. They had heard great deal recently about the Referendum. One of the drawbacks to its adoption was the difficulty of framing a question to the public on a conflicting issue, but as regards this woman's vote question, that difficulty did not arise. He did not think any Government was justified in introducing such a revolutionary change as votes for women without something in the nature of a Referendum.

Mr. L. J. Maxse said that his experiences with regard to this subject during the recent General Election had been most encouraging. From the beginning of October to the end of January, though he listened to the speeches of many candidates, he never heard one single reference to the subject of Woman Suffrage.

Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., and other speakers confirmed the experiences of Mr. Maxse.

Sir Edward Clarke, in proposing the reelection of Lord Cromer as President of the League, said that organisation was really a defensive body, and during the last six months the attacking force had been so obviously beaten and broken up that they felt, for the moment, at any rate, somewhat reassured. During the latter part of last year the women advocates of the suffrage were doing the work of that League, because they had established in the minds of a majority of the voters the conviction that the women who might possibly be fitted for the franchise did not want it, and the women who said they wanted it were undeniably unfitted to have it.

Amongst others present were Mr. John Massie, Mr. Heber Hart, Mr. Godfrey Benson, Vice-Admiral Sir Bouverie Clark. General Sir A. Montgomery-Moore, Sir Charles Ollivant, and Mr. George Calderon. Lord Welby and Mr. Godfrey Benson were re-elected as Hon. Trea surers. The following members were reelected to the Committee : Lord Haversham, Mr. Massie, Sir Edward O'Malley, Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, Mr. Heber Hart, Mr. George Calderon, the Right Honour. able Sir West Ridgeway.

We should like the give the widest publicity to the following paragraphs from the annual report adopted by the meeting :

Local Correspondents have been appointed in several constituencies to assist in spreading the cause of the League, and members are invited to co-operate in securing correspondents in districts where they are still wanted.

A large correspondence has been carried on at the office, giving information as to our objects, supplying literature, instruct-ing speakers, and advising them generally as to the most effective arguments to be used. To this particular branch of the League's work great importance is attached, as it is considered to be the most economical and effective means of educating public opinion.

Although the League has undoubtedly effected a very useful work, it is felt that its opportunities would be far greater if the membership were considerably increased. The Committee would, therefore, be glad if each member of the Council would forward the names of personal friends who hold similar views, so that the Hon. Secretaries might endeavour to induce them to become members.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review." DEAR MADAM,-Having seen in the March number of your paper a contradiction by a Suffragist of the account given by Mrs. Norris of the proceedings of the Suffrage canvasser on polling day here, and having been at the same polling booth on that date, I must ask you to kindly let me corroborate Mrs. Norrick catement L are modely the Mrs. Norris's statement. I saw exactly the same method adopted which she describes; it is true one lady said the signatures must be written by those in favour themselves. but the canvasser who procured by far the largest number of names got the majority of them in the manner Mrs. Norris describes.-

I am, yours very truly, (Mrs.) C. M. GRENSIDE-HEWETT. 7, Fairlawn Grove, Chiswick, W.

March 21st. 1010.

NOTICE.

For the opinions expressed in articles signed or initialled, or in letters to the Editor, the authors alone are responsible.

APRIL, 1910.

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APRIL. 1910.

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8

Newport-(continued) Newport. (As Miss Prothero will be abroad for three months Miss Salusbury, Tredunnoe, Llangibby, Monmouthshire, has kindly con-sented to carry on the work during her

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