

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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## A Question to Politicians.

WAS there ever known an instance of a political franchise being forced on a class of persons who not only do not ask for it, but who vehemently repudiate and resist it? An active minority of women, thrusting themselves into public

notoriety in season and out of season, certainly demand votes. But the immense majority of women remain unmoved, whilst large organized bodies of women, under the lead of women most eminent in every social and intellectual quality, strenuously protest against votes as an injury to their whole sex.

Mr. Gladstone once said that he had never heard of any extension of the franchise being given to any class which had not seriously demanded it. This is a perfectly sound view which must commend itself to all thoughtful statesmen. In every enlargement of the franchise area, in our own or in any Parliamentary country, some doubt may have arisen as to whether the new body to be enfranchised actively desired it as a whole. But did one ever hear of a new franchise being imposed on any body of men, large sections of whom organized themselves to resist it as a moral and social evil, and fought against it resolutely with every known political machinery? Yet this is what we see to-day. Women who are amongst the foremost of our age are devoting themselves earnestly with money, labour, and discipline to resist a cry which in their conscience they believe to be most mischievous to the State, and certain to lower the moral influence of women as a sex. If Parliament, in an hour of confusion or weakness, were to yield to the clamour of a noisy group, women would really have good ground to complain of the injury inflicted on them by 'man-made' laws which they bitterly resented.

In the whole history of our Parliamentary representation for centuries has there ever been seen a case in which a class, whom it was proposed to enfranchise, carried on an organized opposition through the length and breadth of the country to repudiate it as mischievous both on public grounds and their own class interests? No legislature would ever dare to force on

a franchise which was hateful to those to whom it was offered. Let members of Parliament who, in an easy mood, gave an academic assent to Mr. Mill, and at election time avoided facing a new worry, let them note the serious agitation now rising in resistance to Women's Suffrage, let them note the strength of the petition signed against it, let them ask—who are the women leading the opposition and what is the social and intellectual authority they represent? Did they ever know of a political privilege so systematically repudiated by those to whom it was offered? And can they—even on Mr. Mill's doctrines, even on the principles of the Suffragists' own terms—can they as male legislators force a new law specially on women, which the mass of women, and the best women, unite in condemning?

It is idle to say that women who do not care to vote can stay away from the poll, that the franchise will only be used by those who desire it, and no harm will be done to women who wish to keep out of politics. They know better. Women will be harried, and hunted up at home by canvassers, and worried to attend committees and meetings. Irrepressible party 'organizers,' adorned with badges, scarves, Holloway caps, and dog-whips, will thrust themselves into every home, and insist on every female elector being ticked off as 'sound' in their canvassing books. The irresistibility of the 'lady organizer' will be accentuated when there are as many female votes to be secured as men's votes—and indeed many more. The 'lady organizer' is becoming a happy solution of the feminine side of the great non-employment problem.

Apart from this, it is false logic to argue that great social changes going to the root of institutions and sex only affect those who choose to avail themselves of the new law. Many reformers, both men and women (and Mr. Mill

and Mr. George Meredith, Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Pankhurst, have been among the number) have advocated change in the law of marriage. But any change in the law must inevitably, and even insensibly, affect the position of all women who are married or look to be married. Suppose a new law made authorizing husband and wife to dissolve their union by mutual consent, or authorizing bride and bridegroom by settlement to agree to marry for a term of years—would not such a law affect the moral status and happiness of every wife and every spinster, however little she ever dreamed of using it herself? Just so, the moral status of every woman would be affected by a new law making women Parliamentary electors under an Act to which she never intended to resort, and to the making of which she had offered every opposition in her power.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

### Women in Local Government.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT is the domestic work of the nation, and it calls for exactly that attention to detail, careful organization, and economy of means which make a good housewife. Moreover, as at present organized, the Local Government bodies hold in their hands such matters as the care of the poor and sick, the administration of education, the feeding of school children, sanitation, workmen's dwellings, and a thousand other matters in which women have special interest, and often expert knowledge. With the great educational movement of the second half of last century came the demand for a share in these tasks, which men, in the throes of creating new Local Government forms to suit fresh industrial and social conditions, were then attempting to perform without any assistance from the other sex. In 1870 the first women were elected on School Boards. They have long sat as Poor Law Guardians, and

were also eligible for Vestries, Urban Councils, and other bodies. The alteration in the machinery which took place in 1899 and 1902 abolished the Vestries, and then transferred the education authority to the County Councils for which women were not eligible. In consequence the first years of this century saw a temporary check to women's work, due, not to any disregard for their usefulness, but to the conditions of change and chaos into which the machinery of Local Government was thrown. It took an expert to decide as to which bodies a woman was eligible to sit on.

This state of affairs was partially remedied in 1907 by the passing of the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act. The Bill was warmly supported by men on both sides of the House, and met with little opposition. It definitely enacted that henceforth women were qualified to sit on County Councils. Anomalies still exist in the qualifications, and many people desire to see the disabilities of married women reduced. It is always difficult to condense a Government document, but, roughly speaking, the present qualification of women is as follows. Women are not debarred either by sex or marriage from the Metropolitan, Borough, Urban District, Rural District, or Parish Councils. They are eligible for the London County Council and Boards of Guardians, and as County Councillors can be co-opted to Education Committees, but in England and Wales only widows and spinsters are eligible (outside London) for County and Borough Councils. The claim to the vote lies in being an 'occupier' of a separate dwelling, or of land or business premises of the yearly value of £10, and the fulfilment of certain conditions of residence and rate-paying. There is neither the service nor lodger franchise for women in Local Government. In Scotland and Ireland these disabilities are not in force, and the qualification is the same for either sex.

It is impossible, in the absence of any reliable calculations, to estimate how many of the one million and nine

thousand women who possess the Local Government franchises have so far made use of them. A limited experience in the borough of Kensington, where there is a Branch of the Women's Local Government Association, leads one to believe that comparatively few, even in such an enlightened borough, are prepared to take an active interest in their duties as electors. It will be a matter of time and education to alter this. Women are, however, taking part already in Local Government, as will be shown by the following figures:

Out of 24,613 Poor Law Guardians there are 1,141 women, but 254 Boards have no women on them, though a late President of the Local Government Board declared that no Board could be considered complete without them. Women have been Guardians now for 34 years, and, although the reform of the Poor Law will do away with their present office, yet there will be a heavy demand for women with experience on the new authorities, and it is much to be regretted that a larger number will not be available. It is extremely difficult, even in London, to get candidates for what is often an onerous post.

Two women only sit on Urban District Councils (England and Wales); Rural District Councils have 146 (out of a total of 16,001); the County Boroughs have 145; other Boroughs 224; and Urban Boroughs 81; making a grand total of 1,903. The first woman candidate for the L.C.C. was Miss Balkwill (others had been co-opted earlier, but could not take their seats), and the first lady mayor nominated was Miss Dove, of High Wycombe, though Mrs. Garrett Anderson has the honour of being the first elected to that post. Besides this, there are three women inspectors for Boarding-out, and one assistant Poor Law inspector; 39 sanitary inspectors under the Metropolitan Boroughs, and 16 under the Board of Works. Women are serving to the number of 594 on Education Committees, and are acting as school managers, on After Care Committees, Old Age Pensions and Distress Committees, and other bodies. These bring them in touch with a vast number

of social, educational, and administrative problems, and provide a field for their energies, of which, so far, they have only covered the barest modicum. When the Children's Bill comes into force it is estimated that at least 1,000 women will be wanted by the L.C.C. to act on Care Committees.

Space forbids any comment on the facts set forth in this brief outline, which may, however, be of service if it induces any woman to abandon theorizing as to what she could do if she had the Parliamentary vote, and to concentrate her attention on the powers she already possesses through the franchises and offices open to her.

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### NOTES AND NEWS.

THE fact that there is only one article relating to the Suffrage question in the monthly magazines for March, and that that is in opposition to the Suffragists, once again shows in welcome fashion that the agitation has spent much, if not most, of its force. The Suffragists, in fact, are being given unequivocal signs that they have outstayed their welcome. Nobody would deny, of course, that there are many thoughtful and earnest women among those who support the Suffragists; but the majority, we believe, were simply caught by a dexterously-managed advertising campaign which invested a baseless political theory with all that strange attraction exercised by a new thing upon an untrained mind.

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THE month itself has hardly been remarkable for any fresh outburst of propagandist campaigning. The mere remembrance that a young lady was turned away from the Prime Minister's door-step as a dead letter in charge of a telegraph messenger, instead of the more usual policeman, and that another young lady threw handbills from an aeroplane on the heads of the inattentive citizens of the metropolis, hardly suffices to make history; the ordinary common-sense person is bored rather than amused by such trivialities. Nor did the relatively small number of metropolitan police-court visits, which the Suffragists paid in the course of their voluntary 'martyrdom,' obtain the recognition which awaited them of old in the columns of the cheaper and more sensational press.

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A SUFFRAGIST meeting at Reading, early in February, was noteworthy as showing the diversity of agreement among the Suffragists as to their supposed rights. Mrs. Snowden remarked that 'the position that women should be enfranchised on the same terms

as men were or might be enfranchised, was the only sensible position to take up; it was the only possible position for a disfranchised sex to take up. If at any time complete manhood Suffrage was granted it would apply to women automatically.' Lady Frances Balfour, on the other hand, admitted that she was absolutely opposed to adult Suffrage; and her statement was followed by the mingled cheers and hisses which show that the audience was as divided in opinion as the two speakers. One may fairly ask the Suffragists to make up their minds what it is exactly that they do want, before they trouble the world with demands with which a considerable number of their own nominal supporters are in cordial disagreement. Lord Melbourne remarked on a celebrated occasion to his Cabinet that, 'It doesn't matter what we say, but we must all say the same thing.' It would not be bad policy for the Suffragists to take his advice to heart.

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AMONG the many extravagances of the Suffragists, not the least amusing was put forward by Mrs. Stanbury at a recent meeting of the London Society for Women's Suffrage. She alluded to the argument that physical force was the ultimate factor on which a Government rests, and remarked that she was certain 'they could raise quite a good regiment of young women as they were to be seen to-day on the hockey field and the golf course.' We would suggest to Mrs. Stanbury that she should study the reports of old travellers as to the existence of Amazons in South America. The accounts are all mythical—as, we fear, her proposed regiments of sporting damsels would also be—but they are not the less entertaining for that. The advocate of a feminine army would acquire a good deal of curious lore by reading Raleigh and his contemporaries, and she would discover that even the savages who hoodwinked the European adventurers realized there were other considerations in a woman's republic as essential as the formation of a regiment of Amazons.

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As to the slightly ridiculous question of a female army, we cannot do better than quote the concluding words with which Mr. Frederick Lawton sums up the position of the Feminists in France, in his recently-published and well-written history of 'The Third French Republic.' Mr. Lawton remarks that 'At the last municipal elections there was a woman candidate who secured a fair measure of support in votes, which the returning officer was compelled to throw into the waste-paper basket, since women town councillors and women Members of Parliament are conquering heroes—of the future. When the remaining disabilities of the fair sex shall have been swept away, perhaps there will be a Feminist movement in favour of woman conscription, which, if it should happen, would permit of grand military manoeuvres, much more interesting than at present, since the country's army of

male defenders might be tested by another army of Amazons with its brilliant staff of women officers, and, from a fighting point of view, the problem of sex superiority be settled.' Perhaps!

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THE Suffragists have apparently at length begun to realize that their militant methods do not pay. At a recent meeting in Manchester it was decided by resolution, after a debate between Mrs. Swanwick and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, that the campaigning at by-elections and what we may call the muffin-bell form of argument was impolitic, and likely to retard the cause it was supposed to assist. And similarly the 'Preston Herald' remarked a few weeks back that 'It was obvious (at a Suffragist meeting) that the women had found the necessity for a change in procedure. Last year their meeting was presided over by a Socialist of extreme views, and no secret was made of the demand for Universal Suffrage. This time the Socialist aspirations were kept in the background, and the resolution, passed with little notice, only asked the Government to introduce a Bill which should enfranchise "duly qualified women" this session. It was thought appropriate to play the "Marseillaise" on the organ, but even this failed to evoke any effusive display of sentiment.'

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ON many grounds it is a pity that Mrs. Dockrell retreated from her challenge to Sir Edward Clarke; though the decision was no doubt wise from the Suffragists' point of view. But the methods pursued by the lady in question are so entirely typical of the cause she advocates that they deserve passing notice. Mrs. Dockrell first traversed a statement by Sir Edward Clarke, and then challenged him to a debate. The great lawyer accepted, apparently with more alacrity than had been expected or desired; whereupon Mrs. Dockrell promptly shifted her ground, and laid down new and impossible conditions. Such tactics may be amusing and even tolerable in a private debating society; but when one is agitating for a cause which should be fought with a serious sense of responsibility, they can only inspire a feeling of loss of respect, not only for the tactics themselves, but for the cause as a whole.

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### BRANCHES.

NOTE.—For a complete list of Branches, readers must consult also the February number. We here give only new Branches, and those in which any change, whether of officers or addresses, has occurred.

#### BASINGSTOKE—

President: The Lady Calthorpe.  
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke.

#### BECKENHAM—

Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake, Kingswood, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent.

**BERKS (NORTH)**—  
President: The Lady Wantage.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gladys Pott,  
The Red House, Streatley-on-Thames;  
and 7, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde  
Park, W.

**BERKS (SOUTH)**—  
President: Mrs. Benyon.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dickinson, Maiden  
Hatch, Pangbourne (until end of March).

**BERWICKSHIRE**—  
President: The Hon. Mrs. Baillie  
Hamilton.  
Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. M. W. M. Falconer,  
L.L.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwick-  
shire.

**BIRMINGHAM**—  
President: Lady Leigh.  
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Calthorpe;  
Mrs. E. M. Simon; Miss Beatrice  
Chamberlain.  
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq.,  
L.L.D.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; Mrs.  
E. Lakin-Smith; Miss Baker.  
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 19,  
New Street, Birmingham.

**BOURNEMOUTH**—  
President: The Lady Abinger.  
Hon. Treasurer: The Rev. Dr. Carlyon.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Clara Sivewright,  
Brinklea, Bournemouth.

**BRIGHTON AND HOVE**—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Irene Duke, 30,  
New Church Road, Hove.  
Hon. Treasurer: General Erskine.

**CRANBROOK**—  
President: Miss Neve, Osborne Lodge.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mordaunt, God-  
dard's Green, Cranbrook.  
Hon. Secretary (for Benenden): Mrs. W.  
Hoare, Summerhill, Benenden, Cran-  
brook, Kent.

**CROYDON**—  
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry,  
Rosenheim, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

**DUBLIN**—  
Chairman: Mrs. Bernard.  
Joint Hon. Treasurers: Miss Dickson  
and Miss Orpin.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. E. Murray,  
2, Clyde Road, Dublin.

**EALING DEAN**—  
President: Mrs. Sommerhayes.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses  
Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West  
Ealing.

**GLASGOW**—  
President: The Duchess of Hamilton.  
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John M.  
Macleod.  
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Miss  
Bicknell, Armstrong's Hotel, 244,  
Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

**GRIMSBY**—  
Advisory Committee appointed, but no  
officials chosen yet.  
Convener: Miss Pickford, Clethorpes,  
Grimsby.

**HAMPTON AND DISTRICT**—  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks  
Beach, Cranham House, Hampton-on-  
Thames; Miss E. J. Mather, Sheen  
Cottage, Nightingale Road, Hampton.

**HAWKHURST**—  
President and Hon. Secretary: Mrs.  
Frederic Harrison, Elm Hill, Hawk-  
hurst; also 9, Ovington Gardens, S.W.

**HAWKHURST—contd.**  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Beauchamp Tower,  
Chittenden, Hawkhurst; to whom all  
communications should be addressed  
this month.

**HEREFORD**—  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. C. King King.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Armitage,  
The Bartons, Hereford; Miss M. Capel,  
22, King Street, Hereford.

**HULL AND DISTRICT**—  
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Walker,  
18, Belvoir Street, Hull.

**LEEDS**—  
Branch in course of formation. Address,  
Miss Lindsay, Royal Victoria Hotel,  
Sheffield.

**LYMINGTON**—  
President: Mrs. Edward Morant.  
Chairman: E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C.  
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**MANCHESTER**—  
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Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bear,  
1, Princes Street, Manchester.

**DIDSBURY (SUB-BRANCH)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry  
Simon, Lawnhurst, Didsbury.

**HALE (SUB-BRANCH)**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Arthur  
Herbert, High End, Hale,  
Cheshire.

**MARYLEBONE (EAST)**—  
President: Mrs. Moberly Bell.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Baynton, 27, North  
Gate, Regents Park.

**MARYLEBONE (WEST)**—  
President:  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alexander Scott.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove  
End Road, St. John's Wood.

**NORTH HANTS AND NEWBURY DISTRICT**—  
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Vice-President: Lady Arbuthnot.  
Hon. Treasurer: Paul Forster, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Stedman, The  
Grange, Woolton Hill, North Hants.

**OXFORD**—  
Chairman: Mrs. Max Müller.  
Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Ban-  
bury Road.  
Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford,  
40, St. Giles, Oxford.

**ST. ANDREWS**—  
President: The Lady Griselda Cheape.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.  
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Curran, 9,  
Abbotsfort Crescent; and Mrs. Rodger,  
St. Mary's Place, St. Andrews.

**SALISBURY**—  
President: Lady Tennant.

**SCARBOROUGH**—  
President: The Lady Helmsley.  
Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Daniel,  
Saxifield, Filey Road, Scarborough.

**SEVENOAKS**—  
President: Edith, Lady Auckland.  
Deputy President: Mrs. Ryecroft.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Herbert Knocker.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Tabrum, 2, Hill-  
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**SHEFFIELD**—  
Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Arthur Balfour,  
'Arcadia,' Endcliffe, Sheffield.

**SUSSEX (WEST)**—  
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**TORQUAY**—  
President: Hon. Mrs. Bridgeman.  
Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. Helen Tre-  
fusus.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. C. Phillpotts,  
Kilcorran, Torquay.

**WESTMINSTER**—  
President: The Lady Biddulph.  
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss  
Stephenson, 44, Ennismore Gardens,  
S.W.

**WHITBY**—  
A meeting has been held, and it is hoped  
that a Branch will be formed here  
shortly.

**WIMBLEDON**—  
President: Lady Elliott.  
Hon. Treasurer:  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Veitch, 2, The  
Sycamores, Wimbeldon.

**WINCHESTER**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bryett, Kerrfield,  
Winchester.

**WORCESTERSHIRE**—  
President: The Countess of Coventry.  
Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day,  
'Doria,' Worcester.

### NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES.

**NEWCASTLE.**  
UNDER the auspices of the Women's National  
Anti-Suffrage League, a meeting was held at  
the Drawing Room Café, Northumberland  
Street, Newcastle, on February 15th. Mr. J.  
W. Hills, M.P. for Durham City, presided  
over a large attendance.

Mrs. Colquhoun, London, in the course of  
an address, said the interests of men and  
women were complementary to each other,  
seldom competitive, and never antagonistic.  
Reviewing the claims of the Suffragist for the  
vote, she remarked that they were told that  
a certain section of women were to be given  
the vote, but any attempt to give the vote only  
to privileged women would be iniquitously  
unjust. If it were given at all, she maintained  
it ought to be given to all women alike. It  
was the conviction of many people who had  
studied this problem, and some of their  
greatest politicians and students of the  
franchise and history, that it was not possible  
to enfranchise women unless they were going  
to lead on to Adult Suffrage for both men and  
women. There are about one-and-a-quarter  
million more adult women than men, and as  
this country reposed sovereign power in the  
hands of the voter that would mean that they  
were handing over the sovereign power in  
England to the hands of women.

Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., said he did not think  
there was a question before the public of equal  
importance with this. It meant a total change  
of the power in the country. So long as the  
electorate was male they could add more men  
to the electorate and not change its character,  
but as soon as they came to women the whole  
thing was absolutely changed. Then it was  
a contest who ruled: men or women.

### SHEFFIELD.

THE League is establishing a Branch in  
Sheffield.

Mrs. Arthur Balfour was the first to give  
the work an official send-off by a drawing-  
room meeting at her residence in Endcliffe  
Grove Avenue during the latter part of  
January, and it evoked so much approval  
and sympathy that Mrs. Charles Laycock  
convened a second meeting at Stumperlowe  
Grange for 18th February.

Mrs. Laycock, in a few well-chosen sen-  
tences, introduced the lecturer, Miss Lindsey,  
of York, to her guests, and the address she  
gave, lasting about half-an-hour, was ex-  
ceedingly interesting.

### CHEL TENHAM.

THAT there is in Cheltenham a strong, well-  
organized, and intelligent body of opinion in  
favour of the extension of the Parliamentary  
franchise to women has been evident for some  
time past to those who have followed the  
records of the activities of the local Suffrage  
societies. After the meeting at the Town Hall  
on Monday night, February 1st, it must be  
equally evident, that there is also a strong,  
well-organized, intelligent, and perhaps larger  
body of opinion opposed to it. Organized by  
the Cheltenham Branch of the Women's  
National Anti-Suffrage League, the meeting  
was held in the supper room, which was  
comfortably filled. There was a sufficiently  
strong opposition to make the proceedings  
piquant, but it was unfortunate that some of  
the advocates of Women's Suffrage present  
did not control their feelings sufficiently well  
to enable them to refrain from hissing when  
the various speakers made their 'points'  
against them. The emission of unlovely  
noises by educated and well-dressed ladies  
is not the most intellectual answer that might  
be brought against the Anti-Suffrage position.

### TORQUAY.

UNDER the auspices of the Women's National  
Anti-Suffrage League, a meeting was held in  
the Bath Saloons, Torquay, on February 22nd.  
Mr. A. Iredale, C.C., presided, and those also  
on the platform were: Admiral the Hon. Sir  
E. R. Freemantle, G.C.B., Rev. A. E. Northey,  
and members of the committee of the local  
Branch, the Hon. Mrs. Bridgman (president),  
the Hon. Helen Trefusus, the Hon. Morwenna  
Trefusus, Lady Macgregor, Miss Andrews,  
Mrs. Bower, Miss Mary Philpotts, Mrs. Par-  
ker, and Mrs. E. Brown. There was a full  
attendance, chiefly of ladies, including a  
number of Suffragists, who at the back of  
the room occasionally made their presence  
known by their demonstrations of feeling  
(including a few hisses), and also by handing  
up written questions. Apologies for absence  
owing to illness were received from Mrs.  
Wm. Ely and Mrs. Baynton, both of whom  
were to have spoken. A letter of apology  
was read from Lord Cromer, who wrote  
that the immense importance of the pro-  
posal to give votes to women in this country  
was as yet perhaps hardly fully realized  
by the community in general. The change  
might almost be described as revolutionary,  
and would very materially affect the whole  
of their political and social life; and it was  
therefore very necessary that those who  
were opposed to the measure, both men and  
women, especially the latter, should make  
their voices heard.

### ST. ANDREWS.

A BRANCH of the Women's National Anti-  
Suffrage League has been started at St.  
Andrews. A meeting under its auspices was  
held in the Christian Institute on Friday after-  
noon, January 29th, and there was a very  
large and representative gathering of ladies.  
The principal speaker was Mrs. Colquhoun,  
of London (the wife of the distinguished tra-  
veller, Archibald R. Colquhoun). Professor  
Burnet presided.

General Nicholson proposed a vote of  
thanks to the speakers.

Lady Griselda Cheape has been appointed  
president of the local Branch of the League;  
Mrs. Curran and Mrs. G. B. Rodger, joint  
secretaries; and Mrs. Burnet, treasurer. The  
committee consists of Miss Macfarlane, Mrs.  
Garman, Mrs. Grimond, Mrs. M'Laren, Mrs.  
Moncrieff, Miss Russell, Mrs. Milne, Miss  
Birrell, M.A., and others.

### LEICESTER.

A MEETING under the auspices of the Women's  
National Anti-Suffrage League was held in  
the King's Hall of the Grand Hotel on Feb-  
ruary 17th. Mr. Johnston Edwards (London)  
took the chair, and was supported by Miss  
Mary Angela Dickens, Miss Lindsay (organ-  
izing secretary), Mrs. Butler (hon. treasurer  
Leicestershire Branch), Mrs. Rudd, Mrs.  
Waddington, Miss V. D. Ellis, Miss Leeson,  
Mr. Percy Hagon, Mr. Herbert Ellis, and Mr.  
J. Leeson. Apologies were received from the  
president (Lady Hazlerigg) and the Hon. Mrs.  
Murray-Smith, Mrs. Heygate, Mrs. Martin,  
and Mrs. James Ellis.

### HULL.

THE address given by Miss Lindsay, of the  
Women's Anti-Suffrage League, on February  
15th in Hull, was a thoughtful study of the  
position of women from the point of view of  
opponents of the extension of Suffrage to them.  
There was a moderation in her views, that  
even the one or two lady Suffragists, who  
were present at the beginning, could not but  
respect, though they applauded the name of  
Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and  
Miss Pankhurst.

### DUBLIN.

A LARGELY attended and influential drawing-  
room meeting was held at No. 2, Clyde Road  
on February 21st, when an able and interest-  
ing essay was read by Mrs. Albert E. Murray,  
the hostess, powerfully combating the claims  
of the Women's Suffrage and Freedom  
Leagues, and explaining the basis on which  
the Anti-Suffragists rest their opposition.  
The essay was discussed, and the subject  
debated on by Mrs. F. H. Pim, Miss Bagley,  
and others. Several gentlemen present took  
part in the discussion. The object of the  
meeting was to inaugurate a local Branch of  
the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League,  
and a large number of new members gave in  
their names for enrolment. A Branch meeting  
will be convened early next week.

### WORCESTERSHIRE.

THE Countess of Coventry presided at a  
meeting at the King's Hall, Worcester, on  
February 23rd, in connection with the Wor-  
cestershire Women's Anti-Suffrage Society.  
There was a large attendance. Mrs. Ernest  
Day (hon. secretary) said that though they  
only started the Branch in December they  
had over 150 members, and members had ob-

tained over 1,000 signatures for a petition  
against the extension of the franchise. Lady  
Coventry herself collected 106 signatures,  
and Mrs. Long, Mrs. Eliot Howard, and Mrs.  
Wakeman-Newport had obtained a large  
number of signatures. Women of all classes  
had signed.

### MALVERN.

A LARGELY attended meeting of supporters  
of the Worcestershire Branch of the above  
League was held at South Bank, Malvern, on  
Tuesday, February 2nd, when it was unani-  
mously decided to form a Malvern Sub-  
Branch, and secretaries and committee were  
appointed.

Petition papers to be signed by those in op-  
position to the franchise for women had been  
sent down from London, and are being rapidly  
filled up. It is not necessary that all who sign  
the papers should have become members of the  
League (which entails a small subscription),  
and anyone wishing to sign will find the  
papers with Mrs. Flitton, Fairlea; Mrs. Hol-  
beche, Prior's Croft; Mrs. Need, York House;  
Miss Hookham, Hampton; Miss Monckton,  
Bredon House; Miss C. Martin, Knotsford;  
Miss Arrow, Wentworth; Miss Schneider,  
Abbey Hotel; Miss Mellis, Malvern House;  
and also with Mrs. Hollins, South Bank; and  
Miss Sheppard, Tedstone, who are appointed  
hon. secretaries. It is hoped to send up an  
immense number of signatures.

### CAMBRIDGE.

AT the Guildhall, Cambridge, on February  
17th, a public meeting was held under the  
auspices of the Cambridge University Anti-  
Suffrage League and the local Branch of the  
Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.  
There was a large attendance, both of ladies  
and gentlemen. Mr. C. R. W. Adeane pre-  
sided.

Mr. Massie, M.P., moved a resolution op-  
posing the extension of the Parliamentary  
franchise to women. He said that if the  
giving the vote to women were afterwards  
found to be deleterious to the country, it  
could never be taken away again. Behind  
all law must lie force, either obvious or latent.  
Women-made law, enforced by hired men,  
lacked the force which enforced respect. As  
a sex, women could not enforce treaties or  
laws. Women were out of it, both by nature  
and a proper regard for their sex. Far dis-  
tant might be the day when they were brought  
into the rough and tumble of life! Mrs. Som-  
ervell also made an able speech, and was  
vociferously cheered.

### OXFORD.

THE Women's National Anti-Suffrage League,  
Oxford Branch, held a successful meeting on  
February 8th in the Corn Exchange, Oxford.  
The chair was taken by Mrs. Max Müller, and  
supporting her on the platform were the Earl  
and Countess of Abingdon, Lady Teignmouth,  
Lady Aitchison, Sir Robert Buckell, the  
Rector of Exeter, the Warden of Wadham,  
and others. The Countess of Jersey moved  
a resolution pledging the meeting on national  
grounds to resist by every means in its power  
the proposal to extend the Parliamentary  
franchise to women, but maintaining the  
principle that the work of women on local  
authorities concerned with the social and  
domestic affairs of its community was of great  
and increasing value. Lady Jersey said that  
when the other side professed to represent

the whole of the women in the country, the Anti-Suffragists were obliged to accept the challenge and give an answer to the best of their ability. It was bad to set class against class, but it was worse to set sex against sex. (Cheers.) Professor Dicey and Mr. Massie, M.P., spoke in support of the resolution, which was carried by a very large majority.

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YORK.

UNDER the auspices of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, a meeting was held in Heworth Institute, York, on February 6th, when an address was given by Miss Lindsay, organizing secretary from the central office of the League, at Westminster. The Vicar of Heworth (the Rev. A. Victor Jones) presided over a fair attendance.

The chairman introduced Miss Lindsay, and said that the meeting was an educational one. They had all heard very much about the Suffragettes. They had heard possibly very little about the other side of the question, and he was sorry that men were not present that evening in greater numbers. It was for the supremacy of men that Miss Lindsay and her Society were working, and so men ought to respond more warmly to their efforts. He confessed that some time ago he had a very warm corner in his heart for the Suffragettes—he supposed most men had. (Laughter.) He did not pay much attention to their demands, but, as most men were, he tried to be gallant to them because they were of the opposite sex. Recently his warmth had cooled down. The deplorable scenes of which he had heard had damped his ardour considerably, and so he was glad Miss Lindsay was there that evening to tell them something of the arguments against allowing votes for women.

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SOUTHSEA.

THE case in favour of Women's Suffrage has been put very ably and vigorously at a number of local meetings lately, but on Tuesday afternoon, February 9th, for a change the case against votes for women was put to a meeting at Sandringham Hall, Southsea, by Miss Mary Angela Dickens.

Mrs. Godfrey Twiss, who was in the chair, read a letter from General Sir Edward Hutton, in which he said he was glad to hear of the formation of a local Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.

A resolution for the formation of a local Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, was passed, and officers elected.

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BASINGSTOKE.

ON Thursday afternoon, February 25th, a privately-called meeting was held in the Town Hall, which, though open to all, was chiefly attended by ladies, who filled about two-thirds of the hall. The meeting was under the auspices of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, and was presided over by Lady Calthorpe, and on the platform were Miss Violet Martineau, Mrs. Courtenay Bruce, Mrs. Macfarlane, Mrs. Bradbury, Mrs. Northcote, Mrs. Prance, Mrs. J. B. Allnutt, and Miss Mary Angela Dickens, who represented the League. Lady Calthorpe opened the proceedings by remarking that they had met to promote the formation of a local Branch of the League. She considered it undesirable that women should mix themselves up with politics, and believed it would do more harm than good that women should have Parliamentary votes. Miss Dickens gave a long

and interesting address, with a series of reasons and arguments against giving the franchise to women, and concluded by appealing to all present to join the League.

It was understood there were several of the opposite way of thinking present, but they confined themselves to holding up their hands against the resolutions, which, however, were carried with overwhelming majorities.

The points submitted and carried were: (1) That a Branch of the League be formed here; (2) that the Lady Calthorpe be the president and Mrs. Allnutt local secretary; (3) that Mrs. Bruce, Mrs. Bradbury, Mrs. T. N. Burberry, Lady Knox, Miss Masterman, Mrs. Macfarlane, Mrs. Northcote, and Mrs. Prance form a local committee.

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WHITBY.

A MEETING under the auspices of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was held in the Crown Hotel, Whitby, on March 5th, when an address was given by Miss Lindsay, organizing secretary. Mr. S. Durrant, who has charge of the work of organization on the north-east coast, presided; and Miss Pringle, secretary of the Whitby Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and several other members of the Branch were amongst the audience.

Mr. Durrant read a letter from Lord Helmsley, M.P., expressing sympathy with the objects of the League.

Miss Lindsay said the argument of the League was that many of the reforms demanded by Suffragists could be secured by existing means. The parochial and municipal votes were quite sufficient for women, who were not so well fitted as men for the carrying on of the work of the Empire. It was claimed that with the vote the women could assist in the settlement of the temperance question; but she would suggest that the work of the Mothers' Union in different parts of the country was doing more than any exercise of the vote would do.

At the close, a vote of thanks to Miss Lindsay was proposed by Mrs. J. T. Sewell (who admitted that she was a Suffragist) seconded by Mrs. W. H. Wilson, and carried.

Forms of membership were circulated in the meeting to secure the formation of a Branch of the League.

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EAST BERKS.

A LARGE and enthusiastic meeting, principally of ladies, was held in the Guildhall on Wednesday afternoon, March 3rd, in connection with the East Berks Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. Lady Haversham presided, and was supported on the platform by Ellen Countess of Desart, Lord Haversham, and a large and influential company.

Lady Haversham opened the proceedings, and read letters of apology for their absence from Mr. J. F. Mason, M.P., Lady Evelyn Mason, Lady Ryan (hon. treasurer of the Branch), Bishop and Mrs. Barry, and several others.

Mr. Hicks Beach moved: 'That this meeting desires to enter an emphatic protest against the adoption of Women's Suffrage, believing that such a measure would be in the highest degree injurious, both to the political and social well-being of the community.'

Referring to the proposed measure for women, Lady Desart said unless they took active steps their silence would be sup-

posed to give consent to it, and the case would go against them by default. The Women's National Anti-Suffrage League had been started to show that the majority of women did not want the vote. Let them consider that they would be doing no good to their country if they pretended that the campaign of those agitating for the vote was doing no harm. It was doing harm, because it was a sham and a pretence. They had far better do their work in that station of life to which it had pleased God to call them.

Mr. G. Calderon supported the resolution. Mr. Stoneham moved an amendment: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the franchise should be conferred on all persons of 25 years of age and upwards.'

Mr. Luff seconded the amendment, but only six hands were held up in its favour.

The resolution was put to the meeting and declared carried, only seven hands being held up against it.

The Rev. F. R. Keightley moved a vote of thanks to Lady Haversham for presiding.

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SCARBOROUGH.

UNDER the auspices of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League an invitation meeting was held on March 4th, at the St. Nicholas Hotel, for the purpose of forming a Branch at Scarborough. Miss Thompson presided over a fairly large attendance of ladies.

Miss Thompson read a number of letters from those who supported the Anti-Suffrage movement, including one from Lord Helmsley, M.P.

It was decided, on the motion of Mrs. Daniel, seconded by Lady Austin, to form a Branch of the League for Scarborough and district. Five or six hands were held up against the resolution, and about twenty in its favour. The following ladies were asked to serve on the committee:—Miss Thompson, Mrs. Daniel, Miss Chrimes, Miss Alice Hogarth, Miss E. M. Hart (Scalby), Mrs. Hogarth, Mrs. H. E. Donner, Lady Austin (Cloughton), Miss Mackarness, Mrs. John Dale, Miss Wise, Miss Teale, Miss Boddy, Miss Ellis, and Miss Hunslett.

On the motion of Miss Thompson, seconded by Mr. Dunn, it was decided to ask Lady Helmsley to accept the presidency of the Scarborough Branch.

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WEST MARYLEBONE.

ON Wednesday, March 3rd, a meeting was held at 11, Grove End Road, N.W., with the object of forming a Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., who took the chair, opened the proceedings with a long and convincing address, the closely reasoned arguments of which were attentively followed by a large audience. He dissociated the Anti-Suffrage movement from party politics, but pointed out that Mr. Asquith's undertaking that the Government would bring in a Reform Bill during the present Parliament and accept from private members an extension in favour of Female Suffrage had brought about a grave situation.

After showing the necessity for combating the principle altogether, as, once admitted in the slightest degree, there could be no logical or practical ground for opposing its indefinite extension, he went on to discuss in detail the tactics of the Suffragists and to weigh carefully their reasons for demanding the franchise. He then showed that women's claims were

not ignored by a Parliament of men, and he declared, on behalf of every party in the House of Commons, that they would always be ready to consider favourably any change that would tell in favour of removing or mitigating such social hardships as were amenable to legislative remedies. After insisting on the Imperial aspect of the question he introduced Mrs. Wilfrid Ward who was followed by Mrs. Arthur Somervell. Both ladies, in cleverly reasoned arguments, put forth the Anti-Suffrage claims very effectively. At the conclusion of the meeting which, in spite of the snowstorm had been so well attended, it was unanimously decided that the Branch should be started, and a provisional committee was formed with Mrs. Alexander Scott as hon. treasurer, and Mrs. Jeyes as hon. secretary.

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BIRMINGHAM.

A MEETING convened by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was held at Birmingham on March 2nd, under the presidency of Dr. Saundby, Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. A. R. Colquhoun being the principal speakers. Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote that he was opposed to the extension of the Suffrage to women, and Mr. Evelyn Cecil wrote that he was in sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Mrs. Humphry Ward said that what they wanted to point out to the nation was that women had their own independent sphere in the nation's activity, and that to insist upon doing the men's tasks as well as their own would only injure their own contribution to the national life, without effecting anything that could not be equally well obtained by other means.

Mrs. Archibald R. Colquhoun, who seconded Mrs. Humphry Ward's resolution in opposition to the extension of the Suffrage to Women, scored a great success in an incisive speech, and the few Suffragettes present found more than their match in her at question time.

The February work of the League in Birmingham has been very satisfactory. The New Street shop has been given up, but a new office has been opened at 19, New Street. Unfortunately, this office being on the third floor, it will not be possible to obtain the signatures of passers-by in the same numbers as heretofore, but as 22,000 signatures from women only have just been sent to headquarters, the past three months' work is a capital record of success. The committee feel convinced that, given time and the necessary organization, the 22,000 names might easily be increased to 100,000. Men to the number of 8,000 have signed the Anti-Suffrage petition almost entirely without canvassing of any kind.

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EXETER.

THE public meeting arranged by the Exeter Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, held at the Barnfield Hall, Exeter, on March 1st, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Acland, was very largely attended.

The chairman opened by reading a number of letters from persons regretting they were unable to attend. He proceeded to say he was delighted to find that, even without their attendance, there was a splendid meeting.

Mrs. Colquhoun commenced by emphasizing the point that the Anti-Suffrage movement was not in any sense a party or political cause. It was as much a sociological as a political society, and it went to the root of social life. The Anti-Suffrage Society did not believe in personal violence in making known their views.

She maintained that there was no finality in the claim of the Suffragists to be given the vote on the same terms as it was given, or might be given, to men. The question affected not only Great Britain, but Greater Britain. Women were claiming that they should share the white men's burden; they claimed that an equal share of power should be put into their hands. They were now asked to put on one side the experience of ages and give women the vote. Their reply was, no one had any inherent right of government. It was a mistaken and exploded theory. The men of the country had proved their right to vote. Why? Because they were strong enough, because they had the physical force to uphold the Government which they made. And what was the right to rule the Empire? The right by which they won it by the sword, and would keep it by the sword. And when they were invited to put side by side with the will of man and the force he could exercise, the element of woman's will—not might—then they were introducing a false quantity into the basis of the Government. (Applause.) If they put the man's vote and the woman's vote into the ballot box they put together two things which were not equal.

On the motion of the chairman, Mrs. Colquhoun was thanked for her address. Mrs. Derry proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas for presiding, and the motion was carried unanimously.

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#### NOTES ON THE SUFFRAGE DEBATE OF FEB. 26th.

I HAVE asked the Editor of the 'Review' to allow me space for a few notes on points connected with the debate on Woman Suffrage, between Mrs. Fawcett and myself, held on February 26th at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. First, with regard to the vote taken, and to the letter from my friend Miss McKee and Mrs. Bertram, which appeared in the 'Times' of March 1st. Although, of course, I entirely accept Miss McKee's and Mrs. Bertram's assurance that they did not make inquiries when selling tickets, yet the Suffragist committee which arranged the meeting had first information and was naturally first in the field, and there can be no doubt, I think, that the bulk of those applying to the representatives of that committee for tickets held Suffragist opinions, while the bulk of those applying to us were of the opposite way of thinking. And as the National Suffrage Society had 350 tickets to dispose of, and we of the Anti-Suffrage League only 150, the result of the vote was a foregone conclusion. I find also on inquiry that although we did try to reserve our minority of tickets for our own members and supporters, if only to provide some necessary support for the League speaker, in a debate where we knew we should be largely outnumbered, yet our rule was not rigid, either. A good many of our tickets were sold without inquiry, and of my own eight, two were neutral and three voted against us. I have nothing personally to complain of whatever. I accepted, indeed suggested, the arrangement as to the relative number of tickets, simply as a

means of leavening what I took for granted from the beginning would be a hostile audience; and the only thing that can be said is that it would have been more satisfactory if there had been no vote, as the defeated party could not fail to feel that although the conditions of the debate were perfectly even—indeed gave me something of an advantage—those of the vote could not, under the circumstances, be quite equitable. On the substance of the debate I should like to make one or two comments.

(a) It must, I think, have been felt by many persons present that Mrs. Fawcett did not really deal with that portion of my argument which contended—in agreement with Mr. Harold Cox—that, admitting the inequality of wage, the vote could do nothing to mend it, or as Mr. Cox puts it, to 'affect the economic position of women.' Mrs. Fawcett replied by merely quoting a number of instances of inequality—as grievances requiring amendment—without attempting to show how the vote could have affected any of them. The argument and the reply did not, as it seemed to me, touch at any point.

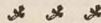
(b) The chief instance of inequality quoted by Mrs. Fawcett was that of doctors and nurses in the South African war. Amid a sympathetic accompaniment of 'hear, hear!' and 'shame!' from the Suffragist members of the audience, Mrs. Fawcett stated that the salary of a doctor in the war was reckoned by hundreds (the full text of Mrs. Fawcett's speech has not yet been printed, but I think I am stating her meaning correctly) while an army nurse was paid only £40 a year. It was indeed astonishing that Mrs. Fawcett should choose this particular fact as an illustration of women's grievances. A male nurse might as well complain because he is not paid as much as a woman doctor. A doctor is paid more than a nurse, not because he is a man and she a woman, but because he has gone through a much longer training than she, has expended a large amount of money upon it without any return for a number of years, and has thereby obtained a knowledge rarer and more valuable to the community than that of the nurse; while she has at least earned her living from the beginning, and has chosen a profession in which there is much less arduous and severe competition. The comparison should of course lie between women doctors and men doctors, between women nurses and male nurses. The male remuneration is generally higher; but Mrs. Fawcett herself explains why, more cogently than I could hope to do it, in the admirable paper of 1892, from which I hope later to give a few extracts. The best men doctors are paid more than the best women doctors, because there is a greater competition for their exceptional ability among wealth-producing occupations than there is in the case of women. But where the ability is average, or as yet undiscriminated, as in the case of posts under public bodies, the remuneration is beginning to be equal. The minor medical posts at least, under the Education Committee of the L.C.C., are

open to men and women alike, and the salaries are the same.

(c) Mrs. Fawcett attributed most of the reforms relating to women and children which I quoted in my opening speech to the influence of the Woman Suffrage agitation. My own belief and experience over 35 years does not at all bear out Mrs. Fawcett's contention; and I hope before long to collect some evidence on the point. But meanwhile the illustration by which Mrs. Fawcett supported her argument was a curious one. I understood her to say that just as it was the Home Rule agitation which promoted Irish land reform, so it was the Woman Suffrage agitation which promoted legal reform, in the interests of women and children. But Mrs. Fawcett, as we all know, is *not a Home Ruler!* The inference, therefore, is that even if the Woman Suffrage agitation, or those concerned in it, did promote reform, there is no necessary connection whatever between the reform and the agitation. For in the Irish case, Mrs. Fawcett accepts the reforms, and at the same time entirely repudiates the constitutional, or anti-constitutional, agitation which had a share in bringing them about.

(d) The mention of the Midwives Act reminds me that I have had various letters contesting my statement in the debate that the Midwives Act owed its passage to the efforts and the influence of women. I have exhausted my space for the present, but I hope in the next number of the 'Review' to show what overwhelming evidence there is for this statement, and how entirely baseless is the contention that votes or no votes had any thing to do with the matter.

MARY A. WARD.



### LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

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

MADAM,—In the first number of 'The Englishwoman' for February there is an article by Mrs. Fawcett, in which the following passage occurs: 'In the year 1834 a group of Dorsetshire labourers, who endeavoured to persuade some of their fellow working-men to join a Trades Union and to take an oath in connection with the ceremony of enrolment, were sentenced to seven years' transportation. The wages of labourers in Dorsetshire at the time were only 7s. or 8s. a week; bread was twice its present price. These unhappy men, therefore, lived in continual sight of starvation, yet they were subjected to an incredibly cruel punishment, worse almost than death, for endeavouring, by what was then an illegal means, to improve their industrial position. Notwithstanding these well-known facts, we see reported in the papers speeches of almost inconceivable ignorance by Anti-Suffragists to-day that the right to vote has done nothing in the case of men to improve their industrial condition.' The inference which these words are intended to convey is obvious. It is that the possession of a vote enabled the Dorsetshire labourer to 'improve his industrial position' in three respects—wages, the right to form Trades Unions, and the price of bread. Now what are the facts?

Trades Unions began to exist, as effective

labour combinations, about the end of the 18th century. It was a time, as everyone knows, of severe repression, in which such combinations, along with many others, could be brought within the law of conspiracy. 'The Act of 1825' (say Mr. and Mrs. Webb, Trade Unionism, p. 97) effected a real emancipation. The right of collective bargaining, involving the power to withhold labour from the market by concerted action, was for the first time expressly established. And though many struggles remained to be fought before the freedom of Trade Unionism was fully secured, no overt attempt has since been made to render illegal this first condition of Trade Union action.' This law was passed, be it observed, seven years before the Reform Act of 1832. The penalty inflicted on the Dorsetshire labourers was justified by what must be allowed to have been a harsh and extreme interpretation of the existing law, not on the ground that they had formed an illegal combination, but that they had imposed an oath upon its members. The consequence of this decision was that the imposition of an oath was dropped by Trade Unionists. But this did not hinder the formation of Trade Unions, which multiplied rapidly during the 20 years following the Act of 1825. The 'revolutionary period' of Trade Unions ended, according to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, about 1843. Afterwards their policy changed; instead of aiming at social revolution, they devoted their attention to the improvement of their social and industrial position; and their efforts—the efforts, that is, of the Unions unaided by Parliamentary representation, for neither the agricultural labourer nor the town artisan as yet possessed the vote—met with much success. There was a still more rapid growth of Unions between 1850 and 1860. Meanwhile the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846), and the influx of foreign corn—not the Parliamentary vote—pulled down the price of bread; while the growth of railways and manufactures, and the competition for labour, aided by Trade Unions, raised the wages of the artisan. A Royal Commission, appointed by Lord Derby in 1867, before the Reform Act of that year, reported in favour of Trade Unions, which received their full legalization by the Act of 1871. Next year Mr. Arch began the agitation for rural Unions, in order to take advantage of the economical causes which had already combined to raise the wages of the agricultural labourer—an agitation which bore considerable fruit during the next 12 years. Meanwhile the price of food had steadily decreased. 'It was estimated that the cost of provisions had fallen 30 per cent. between 1840 and 1850' (Social England, vi, 406); and it continued to fall for a long time after the latter year. Wages had gone up. In 1850 the wages of the agricultural labourer averaged 10s. or 12s. In 1867-1870 they were estimated at 12s. 3d. In 1879-1881 the Richmond Commission (Gibbins, Industry in England, p. 447) ascertained the average to be 13s. 1d., nearly double what it was in 1834. Five years later, in 1884, the agricultural labourer obtained the Parliamentary vote.

After this, will Mrs. Fawcett contend that it is the possession of the franchise which has enabled the Dorsetshire labourer to 'improve his position' in the matter of wages, or Trades Unions, or the price of bread?

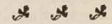
Yours faithfully,

G. W. PROTHERO.

24, Bedford Square, 7th March, 1909.

### APPEAL FROM THE HON. SECRETARY.

The Hon. Secretary is going to Manchester about March 29th to hold a series of meetings and to push on the work there. Help is greatly needed, and both workers willing to pay their own expenses, and contributions towards those expenses from those who cannot give personal services, would be warmly welcomed.



### LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Ward's Speech. Price ½d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman's Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. Shall Women Receive the Vote? Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Woman's Suffrage and National Welfare. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. Women of Great Britain. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
11. The Latest Phase of the Women's Suffrage Movement. Price 5s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
14. (1) The Franchise for Women of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
14. (2) Women and the Representation of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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