

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, and can be obtained through any bookseller or newsagent. Annual Subscription, 1/6, post free.

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London." Telephone Number: 8472 Gerrard.

No. 23.

LONDON, OCTOBER, 1910.

PRICE 1d.

## THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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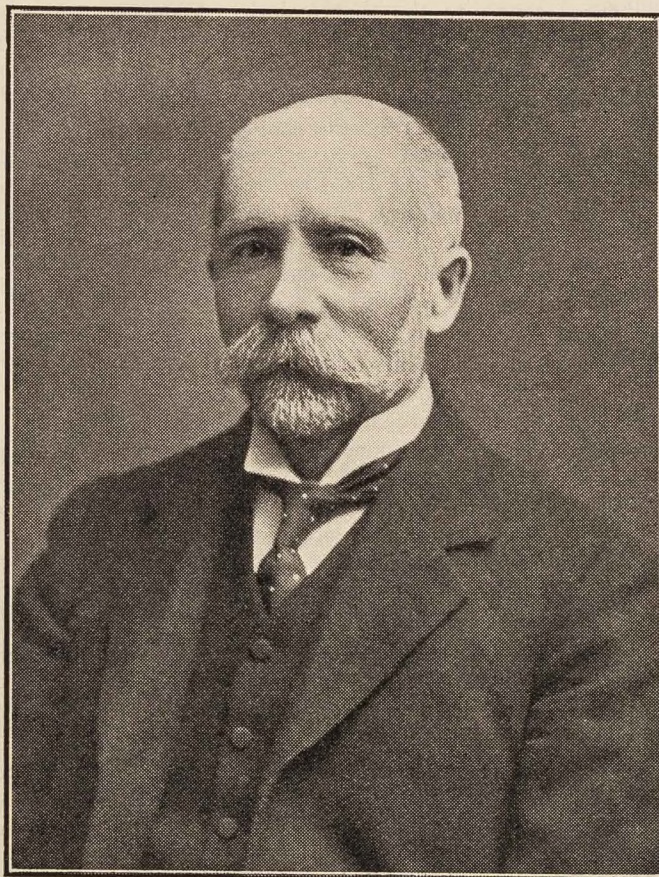
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### PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

MR. JOHN MASSIE.

MR. JOHN MASSIE, the valued Hon. Treasurer of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League since its foundation, and also of the new organisation recently initiated by Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon, is one of a large number of active politicians and well-known educationalists who are firm adherents and upholders of the anti-suffrage cause. A distinguished man of letters, an energetic worker in the fields of education and of public work, and a writer of no mean reputation, Mr. Massie is a graduate both of Cambridge and of Oxford. He was for many years lecturer in New Testament Greek and Exegesis at Mansfield College, Oxford, and is a busy contributor to the literature of his special subject. During his lectureship he likewise found time to be Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, of which Mr. James Bryce was chairman. He wrote at this time the Official Report on Secondary Education in Warwickshire, with which county he was well acquainted through a ten years' residence in Leamington, where he



*John Massie*

acquired experience in local government as Councillor, Alderman, and Deputy-Mayor of the Borough. Mr. Massie has for some years been chairman of the National Education Association, and his output of pamphlets and articles on educational subjects is considerable. For three years he was Treasurer of the National Liberal Federation, but retired from that office in 1906, on his election as Liberal Member for the Cricklade Division of Wiltshire. Whilst in Parliament, Mr. Massie took a deep interest in the Woman Suffrage question. This question came first into the region of practical politics on the occasion of the 1907 Bill, and the reprint of Mr. Massie's speech in that debate was perhaps the first piece of anti-suffrage literature published at the commencement of the organized movement. Mr. Massie then became the Treasurer in a private Committee of Anti-Suffrage Members which made the first stir in the movement that afterwards grew into the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. L. V. M.



## COLD COMFORT.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, who confesses himself a convinced supporter of Woman Suffrage, received, at the end of last month, a deputation of Suffragist women belonging to his own constituency. They came to rebuke him for failing to support the so-called Conciliation Bill; and they talked, or kept him talking, for two-and-a-half hours. Then they went home, thanking him for his courtesy, but not, we imagine, for the exceedingly cold comfort that he had administered. For he showed, as the debate in Parliament had shown, first, that there was no chance for Mr. Shackleton's Bill in this session, or in this Parliament; and, secondly, that there was still less chance for any other Bill. The only Bill that he would support must be a more democratic Bill; and such a Bill is not to be thought of in the present House of Commons. The humour of the situation was pleasantly illustrated by one episode. Two married ladies said that they were interested in certain social questions mentioned by Mr. Lloyd George, and "wished to have a voice in settling them." But when he asked them whether the Conciliation Bill would have given them a vote, they answered that it would not. The Chancellor's reply was that he asked for no better illustration of the defects of the measure.

One of Mr. Lloyd George's remarks to the deputation expressed very well not only his attitude, but that of any other political leader, and that of nine out of ten politicians and serious electors. He said that he had other causes nearer his heart than that of Woman Suffrage. This is the difference between men, who know what it is to govern a great country, and what it is that the country needs, and the passionate, intense, or inexperienced women who, like horses driven in blinkers, see nothing but the one road, and ignore the vast world to right and left. If Mr. Lloyd George desires women to have the vote, it is only as a means to certain ends,

which he specifies as "Welsh Disestablishment, Land Reform, and the improvement of the condition of the masses." We ourselves, of course, think that the Suffrage would be a hindrance, not a help, to him; but let that pass. The Liberal leaders have these causes at heart; the Conservative leaders have others—or the same, with a difference—held not less firmly and zealously. On neither side do the leaders, with two or three possible exceptions, believe that the Suffrage would aid them in carrying their policy into effect. Nor, as every sensible person who watched the last election must admit, does the British voter believe it. Not one candidate in ten at that election ever heard of the Suffrage as a serious issue among his constituents. The electors put it aside, partly because they knew that women's grievances had been, or would be, remedied under our existing constitution, and partly because, to the vast majority, Woman Suffrage meant an injury to the family and a danger to the State. And the vast majority of women also, by their indifferent or hostile attitude towards the Suffrage agitation, showed that they, too, like Mr. Lloyd George, had other matters much nearer their hearts; and that with these matters, the Suffrage, in their belief, has very little to do.

A few men, of course, are found to think differently from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would seem that the more ardent spirits of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage have determined to set the Suffrage before Mr. Lloyd George's "Causes," and have voted for the adoption of "an anti-Government policy." This will mean the withdrawal of all the Liberal M.P.'s who now belong to the League, and consequently the loss of any small Parliamentary influence that the League may have had till now. Whether the League can continue to exist under such conditions is a question which we cannot answer. There are some organisations which continue to live and move if you cut off their heads; but they are not supposed to rank very high in the scale of creation.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

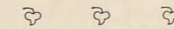
IN the first September issue of "Votes for Women" several characteristic prejudices appear under more or less familiar guise. The Midwives Bill is singled out as enacting "special and degrading treatment" of women, in that it provides, should no previous arrangement have been made for a doctor's visit and such visit be considered necessary and procured by the midwife, that the doctor's fee, failing the patient's ability to pay, be refunded to him by the Board of Guardians. To persons not obsessed by the idea that men seize upon every chance of inflicting oppression on women, this appears a simple measure of justice to the doctor, who cannot refuse attendance at such a crisis, and has, we believe, been subjected to a good deal of friction and difficulty since 1902 in getting paid for services rendered under the Act of that date. Mrs. Webb's letter to the Press, with its sarcastic allusion to the free surgical treatment, outside the Poor Law, which is accorded to the victims of street accidents, is quoted with approval; a comparison which to us seems ludicrously irrelevant. Babies, unlike motor cars and other vehicular conveyances responsible for the greater number of street accidents, do not invade a preoccupied family party unannounced and unexpected; and the possibility that medical attendance may be required in childbirth ought surely to be anticipated as a normal feature of married life. The great friendly societies, and the vast majority of metropolitan hospitals, through their out-patients' or almoner's departments, by which various charitable agencies are set in motion for the benefit of maternity and other cases, realise the desirability of providing for such a contingency; and though from the followers of Mrs. Webb's school of economic theory the advocacy of free relief in an increasing number of life's emergencies, natural and other, is to be fully expected, we shall be much surprised if plenty of Suffragists, in common with their opponents, are not still to be found outside her camp. The controversy, in fact, lies not between Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist, but between Collectivist and Individualist; and to invoke sex-antagonism about such an issue is simply to obscure its meaning.

FURTHER on we have Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, amid the exuberant rhetoric

to which she and her party have accustomed us, indulging in a diatribe upon "man-made law," and the "exclusive parental rights" of the father. The question of guardianship is indeed often a thorny one. Anti-Suffragists would be the last to deny the deep misery resulting again and again from a husband's ignoring of the mother's moral rights over her children; but legal and moral "justice" never have and never will exactly coincide. "The law" can never be more than a more or less clumsy contrivance for keeping the balance; and, as a consequence, "Justice is not without us, as a fact"; nor will any extension of the franchise create it, for it is a moral relation between human beings. What remedy can be found under modification of the law? Would it be fairer to give the mother exclusive rights, and ignore the father? Mill himself allows that in any community within the State ultimate responsibility and decision must rest somewhere; and his complaint that, as between husband and wife, it is always permitted to rest with one person, which is never considered necessary in other corporations—e.g., joint-stock companies—hardly diminishes the force of that contention as regards the family. For, if only Suffragettes will explain how to introduce the system of majorities and casting votes in a community of two, we are sure many husbands and wives will gladly avail themselves of such means to domestic order. It will be a long time before a better working principle is found than to vest the ultimate authority in the father of the family; otherwise, where husband and wife could not agree about the children's education, the State would be constantly called upon to decide upon the most impossible controversies—e.g., the relative merits of Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity, &c. Under the existing system hard cases may arise, and do; but it is impossible to devise a system which will eliminate them. The fact is that though legal operations may in some cases palliate, they cannot mend, an ill-assorted marriage; and in a well-assorted marriage, a woman of sense is not conscious of "mental, moral, spiritual, and physical subjection" when she consults her husband about the education of his own children, and if need be, and on occasion, defers to his opinion.

THAT the militant movement is not dead, but merely in a state of suspended

animation, is proved by the applause which greeted an extraordinary speech delivered by Lady Constance Lytton at an "At Home" organised by the W.S.P.U., and held in Nottingham on September 14th. Lady Constance's lengthy defence of militant tactics (much of which we have heard before) was received with enthusiasm by her supporters, who included most of the members of the Nottingham organisation. The peroration of Lady Constance's speech was a plain threat of what we are to expect, and contained a menace for the future, which believers in Suffragism would do well to note. "When there is absolutely no other means, we are ready even to risk doing, and deliberately doing, injury to others," said Lady Constance amid applause. "If the Government does not grant time to consider the Conciliation Bill, if our cause is stopping instead of going ahead, then for us it is militancy rather than nothing, and stronger than ever before." We quote Lady Constance's speech as reported in "The Nottingham Guardian" of September 15th.



WE gladly put in the following correction from Lady Laura Ridding. The account given in the REVIEW was taken from the daily Press, and, as it had not been contradicted, we presumed that it was accurate. We are sorry for the mistake, but, so far as the responsibility of the N.U.W.W. towards their Anti-Suffrage members goes, we cannot see very much difference between the correct and the incorrect statements. The N.U.W.W. was officially represented at a Suffrage demonstration. It is there that the ground lies for the complaints that have since been freely urged upon the Executive of the N.U.W.W. by their Anti-Suffrage members and Vice-Presidents. We believe that the whole matter will shortly come before a special meeting of the Executive, and we sincerely hope that a neutral attitude towards this burning question will be adopted in future. Any Suffragist member of the N.U.W.W. can join a Suffragist association for the furtherance of her views. But the National Union has a unique place and function as gathering together women of all parties or none, into a common sympathy with work of mercy and good-will. To break up such an instrument for good, such a means of mutual understanding, in this partisan

world, would be wasteful indeed. Lady Ridding's letter is as follows:—

To the Editor of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.  
MADAM,—My attention has been called to a paragraph in the September number of your Review, which states that "the National Union of Women Workers was officially represented by a platform and speakers at the meeting held in Trafalgar-square during July by the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, in support of the Conciliation Bill."

This statement is incorrect. We had no platform and no speakers, and, I may add, no banner, at the meeting.

The N.U.W.S.S., as an affiliated society, requested us to send representatives to the meeting. We sent two in accordance with our usual practice when requested so to do by affiliated societies.

I shall be much obliged to you to insert this correction in your forthcoming number.—Believe me, yours truly,

LAURA E. RIDDING,  
President of the National Union  
of Women Workers.

The Old House, Wonston, Micheldever,  
Hants, September 27th, 1910.

## MILL—AFTER FORTY YEARS.

["The Subjection of Women." By John Stuart Mill. Edited, with Introductory Analysis, by Stanley Coit, Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., 1909. Price 6d. net.]

IT is an immense satisfaction to turn from most modern brochures on the all-pervading topic, with their ill-balanced and often hysterical discourse, to the sanity and judgment of this great champion of our sex. Where he convinces, it is by reason. Those stock appeals that we know so well now, *ad misericordiam*, *ad hominem*, and, finally, *ad baculum*, he would no doubt have derived (as he does our every failing) from the long ages of our intolerable subjection; yet we question whether, if living now, he would have been found beneath a banner in Trafalgar Square.

Dr. Coit's handy little edition has a valuable introduction, showing, in a clear and simple manner, where the author's assertions have ceased to hold good owing to new Acts of Parliament; thus in a compendious form are given the chief improvements enacted for women since 1869. Forty years ago! So short a period has seen the vast bulk of those grievances, on which Mill dilates with all the eloquence of his restraint, and of which a recital must excite the deep gratitude of every woman towards all who have contributed to their elimination, removed and done away! That "recognition as the equals of men in all that belongs to citizenship,"



by virtue of which (in Mill's view) the ideal marriage, the right and happy relationship of brothers and sisters and of mothers and sons—even of district visitors and their districts!—were alone conceivable or possible, has not yet come to pass. But that still more improbable thing, the operation of common sense and justice in the exclusive holders of the Parliamentary franchise, has actually accomplished something. With the widening education of women has come the recognition of their right to manage their own lives, and to speak with authority on the education of their children. The *power to earn*—that foundation of all independence and responsibility—increases daily. Who does not remember the bitter passage in "Shirley," where through the lips of a heroine cut off from love, equal friendship, rational companionship, and, lastly, the opportunity to earn her own living, Currer Bell speaks forth from the prison of her own recollections? Sensible women are heard and consulted with as much frequency and respect as sensible men; and though much still remains to be done and fought for, we see not the smallest reason to suppose that the steady liberation of women's faculties, and consequent increase in their power to do good and to enjoy, should not indefinitely continue.

Page after page is devoted to contentions which no one now thinks of denying: the objectionable character of an education which makes marriage its sole object, and regards old maids without ample means, as—so Miss Austen's Emma airily and without fear of contradiction observes—"the proper sport of boys and girls"; the immense expansion of faculty likely to be effected by replacing "chivalry" in the narrow sense by a higher view of the place of women in social life; that the intellectual inferiority of most women is artificial and not natural; and so on. And let us notice in passing that, though convinced, of course, of the married woman's right to her own property, Mill deprecates the paid employment of married women in general—a great *cheval de bataille* among suffragists—in a passage which for another reason, perhaps, will be of interest to many married readers of the REVIEW:—

"If," he says, "in addition to the physical suffering of bearing children, and the whole responsibility of their care and education in early years, the wife undertakes the careful and economical application of the husband's earnings to the general comfort of the family, she takes not only her fair share, but usually the larger share, of the bodily and mental exertion required by their joint existence. *If she undertakes any additional portion (the italics are ours), it seldom relieves her from*

this, but only prevents her from performing it properly. The care which she is herself disabled from taking of the children and the household, nobody else takes; those of the children who do not die grow up as they best can."

The whole argument, in fact, is really one for a proper education; and the volume itself, like most reformers' books from "The Republic" downwards, more enlightening on that topic than on any other.

To imagine that ours is the first epoch of educated women is, of course, ridiculous; we have only to read of the accomplishments of Lady Jane Grey and John Evelyn's daughters, or even in some cases follow the unfashionable pursuit of talking to our own grandmothers, to realise that culture among women is nothing new; and that it was, perhaps, not so much the reading of Greek as the going to Oxford to do it that agitated the minds of our immediate ancestors. But in 1869, the picture sketched by Mill of the woman too stupid and unlearned to rise above the narrowest conventions, and convinced that "nothing prevents her and her husband moving in the highest society of her neighbourhood . . . except that her husband is a Dissenter, or has the reputation of mingling in low radical politics," so that she must bend her whole energies to making a hypocrite of him, was perhaps even commoner than it is now. Till all the pretty women are philosophers we fear the type will reproduce itself; but at least nowadays a great many efforts are being made to mend it. All honour to those—like the founders of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges—responsible for these efforts.

For it is the improvement in women's mental and physical training that is giving them freedom; it is because their companionship adds everywhere new value to family and social life, that women take such a respected place there, and find their opinions met, not with the "chivalry" accorded to amateurs, but the equal treatment of professional comradeship. This, we shall be told, is a rosy picture; but we can only speak as we find.

Those, indeed, who believe with Mill that the exercise of a Parliamentary vote is the only true means of education for either sex, will view the advance already made with impatience rather than satisfaction; your reformer's natural tendency is to see as little comfort as he can. But, writing in 1869, Mill lays such constant stress upon the misery entailed on women by the then conditions of marriage, property and education, that had he lived to see these disabilities being steadily removed, while political life advances along

the lines which under modern conditions of the franchise it is bound to follow, it is at least open to question whether he would still have been so strongly convinced that woman's sole chance of genuine self-respect lay in exercising the Parliamentary vote. Under the inevitable conditions of democracy, the political world is become the last place in which to look for leadership of thought or policy; for that, the anxious registration of popular demand or clamour, the bargaining among factions, the whole clumsy movement of the machine, leave neither opportunity nor scope. The power of *directing* the demand lies far elsewhere, and not to vote by no means implies what Mill rightly describes as "the greatest grievance of all"—personal exclusion from the deciding authority. Listen to Mill on the influence of participation in an election. He talks of "the nerve and spring which it gives to all the faculties, the larger and higher objects which it presents to the intellect and feelings, the more unselfish public spirit, and calmer and broader views of duty, that it engenders, and the generally loftier platform on which it elevates the individual as a moral, spiritual, and social being." Are these things, the author goes on to ask, "no important part of individual happiness?" Yes, in truth!—but who, nowadays, forty-three years after '67, would recognise this description as specially applicable to the influence of practical politics on the individual? A "more unselfish public spirit"—"calmer and broader views of duty"—these women have obtained, but **not** through the vote. Why, we ask, risk so much, to obtain so little?

B. GWYER.

### AUGUST PROPAGANDA.

MR. A. M. MACHONACHIE sends us some interesting and lively notes of his campaign in seaside places. After a few fairly successful—but only fairly successful—meetings on the beach at Ramsgate, Mr. Machonachie says: I now desisted from invading the sanctities of the beach, and for the rest of the week held meetings in the town to quite satisfactory audiences of normal Ramsgate (which rarely visits "the shore" in August), variegated with considerable numbers of visitors from elsewhere. There was the usual amount of heckling from Socialists and Suffragists, which was easily disposed of. Perfect order and good temper prevailed, and the vote was invariably and strongly against the suffrage. I have so learned to take that for granted that I almost forget to mention it.

There was no time for a meeting at Broadstairs; but one evening, after our own meeting was over, Mr. Dodsworth, whose loyal help all that week I shall not forget, joined me in a raid into the camp of the enemy, who were speaking there, and at the close of the speeches there ensued half-an-hour's heckling which, to judge from the cheers of the crowd at its conclusion, was welcomed and ratified by the great bulk of the audience.

A word as to the electoral position in the Thanet Division, to which Ramsgate and Broadstairs belong. It affords a great opportunity for useful anti-suffrage work. The member, Mr. Norman Craig, voted for the second reading of the "Conciliation" Bill, but he has incurred suffrage displeasure by also helping to shelve it in committee of the whole House. Strange to say, he entertains the notion that the enfranchisement of the woman of property would prevent adult suffrage, forgetting that "ilka coo kens her ain calf," and that Mr. Shackleton knows his own Bill as the "thin end of the wedge." It ought not to be impossible, some time before the next election, to convince Mr. Craig that Mr. Shackleton's view is the better estimate.

**Hastings and St. Leonards.**—The first thing I ought to say with regard to the second week of my tour is that I owe a profound and lasting debt of gratitude to my friend, Mr. Bernard Fletcher, who chanced to be holidaying in Sussex and in the handsomest and most generous way, on hearing of the campaign, quartered himself for the week next door to me at St. Leonards and worked voluntarily like a Trojan "every day and all day." For let no one imagine that it is play to arrange and carry through a series of these meetings. "Flag-lieutenants" to carry our colours through the town have to be found, instructed, and supervised, the police have to be consulted and editors interviewed, the distribution of literature before, at and after the meetings to be organised, local friends of the cause to be visited, and when, as in Hastings, all these details have to be undertaken on the spot and without knowing a soul to start with, the net result is that you are nearly as busy from 10 a.m. till 9 p.m. as if you were in the thick of a by-election. Without Mr. Fletcher's help I do not know how I could possibly have worked these Hastings meetings with half the success which in fact attended them, and the party as well as myself owe him gratitude for the splendid service he has rendered to the cause. But the actual preaching of anti-suffragism in Hastings and St. Leonards is like pushing an open door. The member, Mr. Du Cros, voted frankly against the Bill, and there is every sign that his constituents will ratify his action. The local suffragists have vowed dire vengeance and, opportunely for our campaign, they last week intimated their resolve to make things hot at the next election. I do not think they will prove very formidable; but their virulence gave a certain

local point and purpose to our efforts. All our meetings were excellent, generally lasting long into darkness, while the heckling went on apace amid the music of the waves a few yards behind. The audiences have been large, intelligent and earnest. They think nothing of standing, some an hour, some nearly two hours, listening to speeches and watching the subsequent play of attack and *riposte*. The crowds became so large that I had a very polite request from the Superintendent of police to take my stand next time further seawards along the shore to prevent congestion of traffic on the street. At the last two meetings, the Suffragists, though present, abstained from asking any questions at all, though pressed to do it. So, all round, Hastings (which includes St. Leonards) was a crescendo of encouragement, and our resolution was always carried by an overwhelming majority.

**Bexhill.**—Learning that the enemy had been specially active here of late and that the leader of the Men's Subjection League—I mean the Women's Freedom League—Mrs. Despard, had been much in evidence at Bexhill, and hearing from my friend, Mr. D'Egville, who had recently been visiting there, that Bexhill was rather panting for a counter demonstration, Mr. Fletcher and I resolved on a foray thither on the conclusion of our "Hastings week." We went over on the Friday morning and spent most of the day in prospecting the ground and, after much difficulty, in securing, by the kindness of Mr. Gray, agent of the De La Warr estate, the use of a little field near the parade. We went back to Hastings for our Friday meetings, and next morning we returned to Bexhill to fix up everything for an onslaught at 6 p.m. Our "flag-lieutenant" took the field—i.e., the street—at three, and paraded the town till six. Another man with a sandwich-board took other parts of the town. Meantime, Mr. Fletcher and I were rummaging the whole place in hot haste for a man with a scythe or a billhook. Our field was a mass of weeds, several feet high, and that jungle had to be cut down before a meeting was possible. It was now less than three hours before the "rise of the curtain." It was Saturday afternoon, and for a time it seemed impossible to find a gardener or a scythe in conjunction with Bexhill, and we began to think we should have to clear the jungle ourselves—which we certainly should have done, had that been necessary. Ultimately, however, after several wrong directions, we traced a gardener to his happy home, and, after much persuasion, got him to come with us to the projected forum and tackle the weeds. In a couple of hours—barely in time—it was quite presentable. The news about the meeting had gone round like wildfire. The suffragettes, who had been warned of our coming by a postcard in the morning from Hastings, turned out with the alacrity of a fire brigade, and by six o'clock we had a magnificent audience of many hundreds. A porter's handcart did duty for platform, and a highly attentive and thoroughly en-

thusiastic meeting (the suffragists were "snowed under") lasting close on two hours was held. Heckling, which was spirited and for the most part intelligent, was followed by a vote, and the enemy were hopelessly beaten. We received the warmest thanks and congratulations, on all hands, on what was regarded by Bexhill as a signal score, none the less striking for its unexpected rapidity.

The Bexhill meeting gives emphatic confirmation of a fact I have often noticed—the impotence of the suffragette disturber at a meeting in the open-air. At the Queen's Hall, in July, in the gallery where I was posted, one or two rather smartly dressed women were conspicuous for their grossly persistent interruptions, and for insolent behaviour. These same women were prominent at Bexhill—one in particular. She attempted the same tactics of noisy laughter and impertinent interruption. But she soon found she was not in the Queen's Hall, protected by a pre-arranged veto against ejection of a woman. The crowd quickly put her in her place by their pointed and satirical comments; and the disturber of July was forced into better behaviour, in the open-air, in August. I have noticed the same thing time after time. Its importance lies in its evidence of the attitude of the public, especially the working-man. He gives very short shrift to either man or woman who disturbs him when he wants to listen to a speech.

Mr. Machonachie has concluded his three weeks' campaign in seaside resorts on the East and South Coast on behalf of the League at Eastbourne, and has held eighteen open-air meetings in all.

[We think our readers will be glad to have before them a reprint of this very important paper by Miss Minnie Bronson, of the Washington Bureau of Labour. It will be seen from it how very misleading were the statements recently made by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell in the "Times."—EDITOR, A.-S. REVIEW.]

### THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN AND THE STATE.

A COMPARISON OF THE LAWS FOR HER PROTECTION IN VARIOUS STATES OF THE UNION.

By MINNIE BRONSON,  
Formerly Special Agent, Bureau of Labour,  
Department of Commerce and Labour,  
Washington, D.C.

ONE of the most forcible arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage is that it would lead to a fairer treatment of women in industry and to better laws for their protection. The claim is made that the laws on our statute books are unjust to the wage-earning women, who for this reason have become this discrimination is in the ballot.

So often has this view been urged that it has come to be accepted by many wage-earn-



ing women, who for this reason have become advocates of a cause otherwise distasteful to them. A study of the laws of the various States of the United States will show that this conclusion is as fallacious as the premises are untrue.

#### FALLACIOUS ARGUMENTS FROM THE SHIRT WAIST STRIKE.

During the shirt waist strike in New York, in the winter of 1909-10, a noted Suffragist, addressing the women strikers at a street meeting, declared that if the women engaged in this industry had had the ballot, such a strike as theirs would have been unnecessary. The speaker doubtless believed what she said, and would have been much surprised to learn that 40 per cent. of the strikers were men, 60 per cent. of the remainder were under twenty-one years of age, and 25 per cent. of all the women workers of voting age had not been in this country long enough to gain a residence. Such statements, unrefuted, go far to impress a credulous people, too busy or too indifferent to investigate their truth.

#### LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN.

Reference to the laws governing the labour of women shows that our law makers, far from enacting laws which discriminate against the wage-earning woman, are constantly enacting new and better laws for her protection; that these laws are constantly improved, not because women have the ballot, or want it, but because women are entering more and more into the industrial life of our country. And, because of her great function to society, because of her physical disadvantage, and, above all, because she is not herself a law maker, public opinion demands that her rights and her interests shall be doubly conserved and safeguarded from any probable injustice by man, and that she shall be given the opportunity to become whatever her abilities, natural or acquired, permit. And in obedience to this demand, the laws enacted for the protection of wage-earning women are more beneficent and far-reaching than the laws for the protection of wage-earning men.

#### COMPARISON OF LAWS IN SUFFRAGE AND NON-SUFFRAGE STATES.

In all but three States, one of which is a suffrage State,\* laws have been passed for the protection of the women who earn, which laws are distinct from and in addition to the laws protecting all wage-earners, men and women alike; that is to say, in forty-five States and three Territories the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning women are better and more comprehensive than the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning men. Moreover, a comparison of the labour laws of the various States shows that there are more and better laws for the protection of women wage-earners in the non-suffrage States than in States where women have the ballot; the inference being that, possessing the ballot, a woman who works must stand on a level with the male worker, and ask no favours; must accept the conditions imposed by the law of supply and demand, and give as many hours of toil per day as he, although no increase in physical vitality will respond to this demand of the "equal privilege."

In twenty-five States of the United States

\* Women vote on equal terms with men in Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming.

laws have been passed limiting the number of hours of labour in which a woman may be employed, and applicable to all wage-earning women. None of the four suffrage States, with the exception of Colorado, has any such law, and in Colorado the law applies only to women who must stand while at work. For all other women workers the hours of labour are not restricted in Colorado.

Thirty-six States compel employers in stores, factories, shops, &c., to provide seats for female employees. Twelve States have no such laws, and one of the twelve States is a suffrage State.

In thirty-nine States, three Territories, and the District of Columbia, the earnings of a married woman are secured to her absolutely, and cannot be required by law, as can the earnings of a married man, for the support of the family, nor are they liable for her husband's debts. Nine States do not so provide, and one is a suffrage State.

Thirteen States prohibit the employment of women at night, and specifically state the hours between which women may not be employed. Women do not vote in any of these States.

Eighteen States, none of which is a suffrage State, restrict the number of hours during which a woman may be employed, both by the day and by the week, thus ensuring one day of rest in seven; while Colorado, the only suffrage State regulating the hours of labour for women, restricts the number of hours out of each twenty-four to eight hours, without prohibiting night work and without placing any limit upon the hours per week, thus making possible the employment of women for eight hours at night and for every night in the week, including Sunday; this slight protection is given only to women who must stand at their occupation.

#### COMPARISON OF LAWS AFFECTING WAGE-EARNING WOMEN IN SUFFRAGE AND WESTERN NON-SUFFRAGE STATES.

If we eliminate from this comparison the manufacturing States of the East, which, for obvious reasons, have the most and perhaps the best remedial laws for wage-earning women, and consider only those States which have practically similar conditions, we are able to determine more definitely what woman suffrage has accomplished for wage-earning women in the States where women have the franchise.

Three of the four suffrage States place no restriction upon the number of hours a woman may be employed, while the neighbouring States of Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, as well as Oregon and Washington, regulate the hours by law. As before stated, the law limiting the hours of labour in Colorado applies only to women in standing occupations, and renders them helpless against a seven-day or a seven-night week. But Nebraska, on the east, prohibits the employment of women at night in all manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments and in hotels and restaurants, and limits the number of hours per week, thereby ensuring one day of rest.

The clause in the Colorado law restricting its operation to women who must stand at their work renders it practically ineffective in the factories of that State, where the manufacturing is largely in what is termed "seated" trades—ready-made clothing, dress-making, millinery and like occupations, and in candy making, box making and cigar making. The great manufacturing establishments, where women must stand at work, like

cotton and woollen manufacturing, carpet weaving, &c., are not located in Colorado.

There are a half-dozen laws pertaining to the work of women in two or three States; as, for instance, a law in Massachusetts prohibiting employers from deducting the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down; or a law in Delaware and Louisiana, exempting the wages of women from execution; or laws in California, Illinois and Washington, providing that no person shall, on account of sex, be disqualified from entering upon or pursuing any lawful business, vocation, or profession; but none of these laws are found in either of the suffrage States.

#### WAGES OF TEACHERS.

With reference to the wages of teachers, a Suffragist writer says: "Woman needs the ballot because it leads to fair treatment of women in public service. In Massachusetts the average pay of a female teacher is only one-third that of a male teacher, and in almost all of the States it is unequal; but in Wyoming and Utah the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work."

This statement is misleading. Where teachers are doing the same grade of work, it will be found that no such percentage as three to one obtains in Massachusetts. It may be that the sum of the salaries of female teachers in the State, divided by the number of such teachers, is only one-third of the average pay of male teachers; but the majority of male teachers are principals, supervisors, superintendents, and college presidents or college professors, while the country school teachers, the kindergarten and under-teachers, are women.

Among the principals of city schools, like Boston, for example, the women principals receive, in some instances at least, as much as men, and the average pay is not far below that of men. It is customary to pay a stipulated salary to principals of schools having a specified number of rooms, and these salaries are graded by the number of rooms, and not by the sex of the teachers. This is responsible for a great divergence in principals' salaries generally, and this divergence is found in the men's salaries as well as in the salaries of women.

It is true that few women are found in the highest-paid positions of a teaching force, but this is due to other causes than political. In four hundred and seventy-five colleges of various grades and attendance in the United States only eight have women presidents, yet it will scarcely be claimed that this is due to woman's political status.

There seems to be a growing sentiment, not only among fathers but mothers as well, that their sons, whose training at home is so largely in the hands of the mothers, should be brought under the influence of men in their school life; that, since the grown boy's life of affairs will be spent with men, it should be from men that he learns to meet it and its obligations; that he should not receive his impressions of life entirely from a sex to which he does not belong, and to which, if he is normal, he has no wish to belong.

It is not denied that female teachers do not in the majority of cases receive the same pay as men for work of equal grade; but here the law of supply and demand is paramount, and legislation cannot affect it.

#### TEACHERS' WAGES IN SUFFRAGE AND NON-SUFFRAGE STATES.

The States of Wyoming and Utah are confirmatory of this fact, in spite of the law on

their statute books to the contrary. The average monthly wage of female teachers in Utah is 53.60 dol., while the average wage of male teachers is 77.32 dol.; that is, the average of the female teacher's is a little less than 70 per cent. of the average male teacher's wage. This at first seems very satisfactory, and a partial confirmation of the suffragist argument; but we find that in Maine women teachers receive 75 per cent. of the wages of men; in Virginia, 80 per cent.; in Indiana and Missouri, 90 per cent.; and in New Mexico, 99 per cent. Also in Wyoming the average monthly wage of men teachers is 85.26 dol., as compared with 53.05 dol., the average monthly wage of female teachers, or a difference of 32.21 dol. per month, as compared with a difference in Iowa of 21.81 dol.; Illinois, 21.36 dol.; South Dakota, 20.44 dol.; Washington, 16.66 dol.; Oregon, 15.48 dol.; Ohio, 14.50 dol.; Pennsylvania, 14.38 dol.; 9.85 dol. in Kansas; in Oklahoma, 8.61 dol.; and in North Dakota, 8.24 dol.; while in the southern States the difference ranges from 20.22 dol. in Louisiana to 6.16 dol. in Alabama.

The average monthly salary for all men teachers in the United States is 62.35 dol., and of women teachers 51.61 dol., a difference of 10.74 dol., which is less than one-third the difference found in Wyoming and less than one-half the difference found in Utah.

As a matter of fact, there are twenty-nine States in which the ratio between the salaries of men and women teachers is less than in Wyoming, and twenty-five States in which it is less than in Utah; twenty-seven States in which it is less than in Idaho, and twenty-one States in which it is less than in Colorado.

Eleven States, California, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Illinois, Colorado, Montana, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Washington, and Indiana, in the order named, pay higher monthly wages to women than Wyoming and Utah, the excess over Wyoming running from 24 dol. in California to 2.75 dol. in Indiana.†

#### LABOR LEGISLATION SHOWS CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT.

The history of labor legislation thus shows conclusively that laws for the wage-earning woman are constantly improving, in accord with her increasing employment in the industrial world; that her rights and interests are best safeguarded in those States where her numbers and opportunities for work are greatest; and that each year sees new and better laws enacted by legislators who are bitterly denounced, by the advocates for woman suffrage, as unjustly discriminating against the wage-earning women.

#### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

WORK of a general nature and vigorous organising has been proceeding steadily amongst our Branches during September, and many successful meetings have been held.

**A New Branch.**—A new Branch has been formed at Woking, under the presidency of Lady Arundel, and at a Committee meeting held on September 19th the officials and Com-

† Statistics taken from chapter XVI. of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1909.

mittee were appointed as follows:—Hon. Sec., Miss Peregrine, and Lady Walker, Mrs. Grosvenor, and Miss Onslow as Executive Committee.

**Manchester.**—During September the energies of the Manchester Branch have been devoted to making preparations for the great demonstration to be held in the Free Trade Hall on October 28th, when the Earl of Cromer has kindly consented to speak. Mr. Maconachie, one of our organisers, is engaged in helping the officials of the Branch to hold minor meetings and do propaganda work, with a view to making this meeting a huge success.

In the face of the vigorous campaign begun by our opponents in this, the headquarters of the Northern Suffrage movement, it is hoped that all the members of the Manchester Anti-Suffrage League will use their best endeavours to come to this meeting, and to arouse their friends to an interest in our cause.

**Sheffield.**—The second week in September was an active one in Sheffield. On the 12th the second annual meeting of this Branch was held at the Cutlers' Hall, and the report read. To quote the Press report which appeared in the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" of the next day: "Without waste of words, the annual meeting of the Sheffield and District Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League transacted its business yesterday afternoon inside twenty-five minutes. The meeting was, therefore, characteristic of a movement that does not shout itself hoarse from the house-tops, but prefers to concentrate its energies upon efficient and quiet work." Mr. Arthur Balfour presided, and Miss E. M. Colley presented the financial report, which was most satisfactory; and Mrs. A. Balfour (Hon. Sec.) submitted the annual report, showing that distinct progress has been made during the last year.

Mr. A. Balfour expressed great satisfaction from the chair on the state of Anti-Suffragism in Sheffield, and the Rev. T. Torrens moved the adoption of the report, and Mr. C. Laycock seconded.

The afternoon reception arranged for May, in the Cutlers' Hall, and at which Lady Edmunt Talbot was to have been the hostess, was postponed owing to the lamented death of King Edward. It had also been resolved to give Sheffield the honour of holding the first meeting of the Federated Northern Branches on the same date. Arrangements are now being made to hold the postponed reception and Federation meeting on the evening of November 22nd, after the Palestine Exhibition, when the Cutlers' Feast and the municipal elections will be over. It is much hoped that all the members and friends of the Sheffield Branch will attend and make this evening in the Cutlers' Hall a most enthusiastic one. Invitations will be sent out in due course. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, of London, will speak, and the programme for the evening will be a full and interesting one.

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday afternoons of the second week in September were devoted to drawing-room meetings, kindly given by Mrs. E. J. Beal, at Leavysgreave; Mrs. Colley, at Newstead, Sharrow; and Mrs. Charles Laycock, at Stumperlowe Grange. At each meeting Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun gave an address, which was much appreciated for its clear reasoning, and its just

handling of the views of our opponents. The percentage of new members enrolled was very satisfactory.

**North Berks.**—A meeting of vice-presidents of the North Berks Branch was held at Lockinge House, Wantage, on August 26th. Lady Wantage (President) occupied the chair, and expressed satisfaction at the progress of the Branch, and mentioned that much encouragement was to be felt at the support of Major Henderson, the Member of Parliament for their constituency, having been obtained. Lady Wantage further remarked that the introduction into the House of Commons of the so-called "Conciliation Bill" in June last made it necessary that all those who believed in the enfranchisement of women to be a danger to the State should come forward and declare themselves. Anti-Suffrage was not a party question, but one that went far deeper into the foundations of the Constitution than party differences, and they were fortunate in possessing adherents of all shades of political opinion.

Miss Pott (Hon. Secretary) then gave a report of the work during the past year, mentioning that their membership had increased from 171 in 1909 to 262 at the present date, and that sub-branches had been formed in Wantage and Abingdon. A petition against women suffrage, signed by 1,823 electors in North Berks, had been presented to the House of Commons in June last by Major Henderson, and this, in addition to the fact that 4,844 signatures to the women's petition had also been obtained in the constituency, gave great encouragement to their League. Both petitions were still open for signatures, and it was hoped that further names would be added.

**Basingstoke and District.**—In connection with the Basingstoke and District Branch a very successful and enjoyable garden meeting was held at Minley Manor, through the kindness of Mrs. Laurence Currie, on September 21st. Mrs. Colquhoun spoke, and the large gathering was very enthusiastic and interested. On the previous evening Mrs. Colquhoun also spoke at a village meeting held at "The Alma," Cove, near Farnborough (Mr. G. B. Northcote in the chair), which was equally successful.

**Worcester.**—The annual meeting of the Worcestershire Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was held at the King's Hall on August 31st. The Countess of Coventry presided, and Mr. J. R. Anthony was the principal speaker.

Mrs. Ernest A. Day (Hon. Secretary) presented the annual report, which stated that the result of the first year's establishment of the branch had shown that there were a great number of women who viewed with fear and distaste the efforts made by others of their sex to impose on them the burden of political obligations. Many had enrolled themselves members of the League to resist this additional responsibility. The local canvass made some months since resulted in the return of over 4,000 names collected from all classes of women. Many women householders, owning considerable property, were included in this list, while those who visited the homes of working women found even less inclination for the intrusion of women into the political arena, and considerable fear expressed of the domestic differences which would follow such extension of the franchise.



The Committee thanked the President, the Countess of Coventry, and the Vice-Presidents for the kindness they had shown in supporting them, and they hoped that during the present year many names might be added to the list of members.

Mr J. R. Anthony, in proposing the Anti-Suffrage Resolution, made an interesting and effective speech. He said the voting in Parliament on two Suffrage Bills showed that the Suffrage cause had lost ground, because whereas the second reading of the Strangers' Bill was carried by 179 votes two years ago, the Conciliation Bill recently passed the second reading by only 109 votes. Those in favour of votes for women ought to be able to convince opponents that women laboured under serious grievances which ought to be redressed, but which were not redressed, by male politicians. That they had not done. It was possible that a great preponderance of women's votes on certain questions, such as temperance and war, would go on one side. On those two subjects, at any rate, women would be likely to allow their humanitarian feelings to overcome their common sense and good judgment. In America and Germany, the votes for women movement was losing ground, and there was absolutely no analogy between the conditions in Australia and New Zealand.

Mrs. Elliott Howard seconded the motion, which was carried, and the standing officials and Committee were unanimously re-elected.

The Committee of the Worcester League received with great regret the news of the death of Lady Galton, one of the Vice-Presidents and a most enthusiastic supporter.

**Bristol.**—A series of successful outdoor meetings have been held by the very flourishing Bristol Branch, with excellent results, and many new members have been enrolled. Much good was done by the Anti-Suffrage Demonstration held on Durham Downs on September 17th.

**Harrogate.**—A strong Branch is in course of formation here, as the result of the excellent organisation work done by Mrs. Gilbertson. A large public meeting is to be held shortly.

**Dorking.**—There is much promise for the new Branch which has been formed in Dorking. Already the officials have been elected. Mrs. Maggs, one of our organisers, who is working with such success here, sends a very encouraging report of the sympathy and interest expressed on all sides in Dorking in the Anti-Suffrage movement.

#### ANTI-SUFFRAGE BADGES.

HAVE you bought your Anti-Suffrage Badge yet? Every member of our League ought to possess and wear one of these charming little ornaments. A beautiful badge in solid gold, enamelled in a rose, thistle, and shamrock design, in the League colors of rose, black, and white is 2s., and a similar badge in silver is 2s. 6d.; in white metal 1s., and celluloid button badges are one penny. These can be obtained from the W.N.A.S. League Offices, Caxton House, Westminster, on receipt of postal order (or stamps for the smaller sums).

#### LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. ½d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. 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. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. To the Women of Great Britain. Price 3s. 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.
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.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
20. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- Women and The Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.

#### PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M. E. S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dacey. 1s.

- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dacey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 3d., or 2s. 3d. per dozen.
- O. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- Q. Why Women Should Not Have the Vote, or the Key to the Whole Situation. 1d.
- R. The Man's Case Against 1,000,000 Votes for Women. 1s. each.

#### BOOKS AND LEAFLETS.

Published by the Men's League, also obtainable from The Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, Caxton House.

3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. per 100.
  4. Queen Victoria and Government by Women. 6d. per 100.
  5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage. 9d. per 100.
  6. Is Woman Suffrage a Logical Outcome of Democracy? E. Belfort Bax. 1s. per 100.
  7. Speeches by Lord James of Hereford and Lord Curzon of Kedleston at a Dinner of the Council. 1d.
  8. Woman Suffrage and the Factory Acts. 1s. per 100.
- The Legal Subjection of Men: A Reply to the Suffragettes, by E. Belfort Bax. 6d.
- Ladies' Logic: A Dialogue between a Suffragette and a Mere Man, by Oswald St. Clair. 1s.

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All communications to be addressed to Miss Fraser.

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ESTABLISHED 1873.

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Newspaper.  
Magazine.  
Commercial  
and General

## PRINTERS

Whitefriars House,  
Carmelite Street,  
LONDON, E.C.

Telegram: "TYPO," LONDON.  
Telephone: 1015 HOLBORN.