

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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

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Men are admitted as subscribing or affiliated members.

We should like to remind our men friends of the rapidly spreading influence of our Men's League: *Secretary*, MR. F. W. RAFFETY; *Address*, Westminster Palace Chambers, S.W.

ANARCHY IN POLITICS.

DECIDEDLY the Suffragettes are learning. On the 29th of June they were still slapping policemen's faces and knocking off their helmets in the middle of a crowd of all the hooligans in London. By July 5th they had decided to adopt the rôle of patient Griselda, and to sit meekly at the door of Parliament till Parliament should hear them. We are inclined to echo the words of the leader of the latest deputation and to admit that the Women's Freedom League "do all the clever things." This display of sweet patience and feminine gentleness is far more likely to melt the hearts of susceptible legislators than a hundred crusades led by Boadiceas on horseback. We confess that we trembled when we read of it. But we looked north and we took heart. Up at Middlesbrough and throughout the Cleveland division of Yorkshire Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers are pursuing their accustomed tactics, and are struggling by might and main to prevent the return to Parliament of the member to whom the children of England owe what has been justly called "The Children's Charter." And this in the sacred name of women's freedom!

It is characteristic of this whole agitation that throughout we hear much of rights and little of duties. The duty of women to protect the children's interests might, one would have thought, have prevailed in this particular instance to prevent meaningless obstruction to the machinery of government, just as the duty of

law-abiding citizens to preserve the freedom of Parliament might have prevailed to prevent tumultuous assemblies from urging their right to present petitions. As the Appeal Court have yet to decide the question, it would be premature to do more than chronicle the claim put forward on behalf of the women by their advocate at Bow Street and by Mr. Keir Hardie in Parliament. It is urged that an Act of Charles II., dealing with the presenting of petitions, expressly stated that it did "not debar or hinder any person or persons not exceeding the number of ten to present any public or private grievance or complaint to any member or members." The magistrate held that this Common Law right to petition did exist, but that the Home Secretary, not the Prime Minister, was the proper channel. We may, moreover, note in passing that that same Act of Charles II. definitely deprecates "tumultuous and other disorderly soliciting," and the "presenting or delivering any petition . . . accompanied with excessive number of people." If wholesale invitations chalked on all the pavements of London to "come to Parliament Square" is not an attempt to bring together "an excessive number of people," we do not know what other meaning to attach to such words.

But for a definition of anarchy in politics we need go no further than a recent utterance of the hon. secretary of the Brighton Branch of the W.S.P.U. In answering the unanswerable charge that getting into public meetings under false pretences

is scarcely honourable conduct, this lady writes: "We consider that in fighting for the sacred right of the individual, all so-called codes of right and wrong mean nothing, and less than nothing." Could a bomb-thrower say more? Could any creed more surely undermine the very foundations of the State? When women preach anarchy under the guise of upholding "sacred rights," it is indeed time for a new prophet to teach this generation its duties.

MEETING OF COUNCIL.

THE first Annual Meeting of the Council was held at Caxton Hall on June 28th, 1909. Lady Jersey took the chair, and was supported on the platform by the Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurers, and the members of the Executive Committee. There was a large attendance of members of Council and Branch delegates.

In opening the proceedings, Lady Jersey said:—

At a meeting for discussion, it is unnecessary to talk about the desirability or otherwise of extending the franchise to women, but it may be permitted to me to call your attention to two points in regard to our own League and the justification for its existence. This is the first time in history that any large body of persons have joined to resist the conferment upon them of the franchise. Secondly, those who argue that we are selfish and acting as dogs in the manger because we wish to keep others from exercising this privilege seem to know nothing about what is meant by the franchise, which is neither food, nor money, nor jewelry, nor any tangible commodity, but a power which might be exercised by all women of this country should it be conferred, and while not desiring it for ourselves, neither do we desire to hand over ourselves, our families, and our country to the control of other women who do desire this power. I have lately met several Australian ladies who have told me that while they strongly disapprove of the vote granted in Australia, yet as so many other women exercise it in ways and for objects of which they also disapprove, they feel compelled to exercise it also and to vote at elections there.

Mrs. ARTHUR SOMERVELL (Hon. Secretary) then read the Report:—

The Committee has much pleasure in reporting on the first year's work, in that our League has so far achieved its first object, by giving a distinct

check to the Woman Suffrage movement. We held our initial meeting on July 21st last year at Westminster Palace Hotel, and the applications for admission far exceeded the seating capacity of the hall, a very large number of people having to be sent away. At this meeting the Executive was elected, consisting of the Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Simon, Miss Janet Hogarth, Lady Haversham, Mrs. Burgwin, Lady Weardale, Ellen, Countess of Desart, Hon. Nina Kay-Shuttleworth, Miss Low, Lady George Hamilton, Miss Lonsdale, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, Miss Ermine Taylor, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, with the Countess of Jersey as Chairman, Mrs. Massie as Vice-Chairman, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell as Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Guest as Hon. Treasurer. The response to Mr. Guest's appeal was so overwhelming that it took practically the whole of August and part of September to get the preliminary work done, and we have most gratefully to acknowledge the invaluable services of Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell and Miss Ivy Pretious, who gave up a large part of the summer holidays to this most necessary, but not very interesting, work. It is the pleasant duty of the Executive to acknowledge the special work of Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, who undertook for us the office of Hon. Secretary for the first six months of our existence. We have to report that she was, to our great regret, compelled to resign this post in January last.

When people began to come back in September, it was seen that the response which had been elicited was no spasmodic outburst of indignation at the excesses of the fighting "Suffragettes," but indicated a steady determination to organise resistance to the claim of the Suffragist women who for so many years have asserted that they represent the best and most advanced opinion of the women of England. During the year the following ladies and gentlemen were co-opted to the Executive Committee:—Mr. Heber Hart, Miss Pretious, Mr. Massie, Mrs. Godfrey Benson, Lady Robson, Lady Biddulph of Ledbury, Mr. Allard. At the present time the League numbers, roughly, about 9,000 members. It has formed ninety-five Branches in Great Britain and Ireland, and has held at least 400 meetings, which have been reported at headquarters, apart from other meetings, organised by indi-

viduals, of which we hear only by chance.

The first Branch of the League started was that of Hawkhurst, in Kent, under the presidency of Mrs. F. Harrison. The practical unanimity of women of all classes in this district was the first real proof we had that our belief that women, as a whole, are against the Suffrage was well founded. The first London Branch organised was that of S. Kensington, of which the President is Mary, Countess of Ilchester, and the able and energetic Secretary Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun. Here, again, all calculations were upset by the overwhelming demands for tickets for the inaugural meeting on November 5th, 1908. A hall with seating capacity for 350 had been engaged, with the option of a second hall in the same building with the same seating capacity for an overflow meeting, but both buildings were crowded out, and 200 people sent away unable to obtain admission. This beginning proved to be indicative of the response to our appeal throughout the country wherever any energetic and business-like organisation was attempted. S. Kensington is still our largest London Branch, with a membership of upwards of 600, and the League is specially indebted to this Branch for the holding of fortnightly meetings at the Kensington Town Hall, as these have given a regular rallying ground for our supporters. Bristol is our largest Branch in the provinces, having a total membership of over 1,500. Miss Long Fox, the Hon. Secretary there, has been untiring in her efforts.

Our larger Branches are Edinburgh, Epsom, Hampstead, Manchester, Oxford, West Sussex, Worcester, Bournemouth, North and South Berks, and Birmingham. We are much encouraged regarding the work in the North of England, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. We had neither speakers, organisers, nor funds to start the work in the enormous industrial towns in the North in anything like an adequate manner during this first year of the life of our infant League, but one lady was sent to organise for a few weeks, and some small meetings were held in Manchester during the week succeeding our great London meeting on March 26th. The result of this very small effort has been that Manchester has started an active, energetic Branch, and Liverpool, which also began in a very small way, is now combining with Manchester to organise a Northern Union of

Branches, which we hope may be formed, with Manchester as a centre. Negotiations with the other Branches in the North to obtain their opinion on this proposal are now proceeding, and we hope soon to see a steady growth of our work in the great industrial districts where, in spite of the perpetual assertions of the Suffragists that all the working women are with them, we anticipate, from present experience, very much the same results that we have found everywhere else. The position in Scotland is also satisfactory, seeing that no work was done there at all till the beginning of the year. Edinburgh sent in 11,000 signatures, all collected within four weeks, and the work there is going gradually forward. Scotland has also become self-dependent. From Dublin we received most urgent requests to send speakers to hold meetings, and it was impossible to turn a deaf ear in spite of the overwhelming demands nearer home. Successful meetings were held, and a strong Branch formed under the presidency of Mrs. Bernard, wife of the Dean of St. Patrick's, supported by a very influential committee. Through the energetic work of Lady Haversham, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, Miss Gladys Pott, and Mrs. Benyon, all the constituencies in Berkshire have been organised and a series of excellent meetings held. Among the larger meetings which we have to record are the great meeting at the Guildhall at Cambridge, where we carried our resolution by a large majority; the meeting attended by 1,600 people at Newport (Mon.), where, again, the overwhelming majority was with us; those at Bristol and Birmingham, where Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Colquhoun were the principal speakers; and last, but not least, of course, our most striking meeting on March 26th last at Queen's Hall, when Lord Cromer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Weardale, and Sir Edward Clarke were the men speakers. Mrs. Humphry Ward, in the chair, and the Hon. Secretary of the League were the women speakers, and the platform was crowded with a brilliant array of the most influential men and women, statesmen, members of both Houses, ex-Cabinet Ministers, eminent lawyers, sailors, soldiers, and women workers of all kinds. We could hardly desire the presence of Cabinet Ministers themselves owing to the determination of the Suffragettes to stop free speech at any sacrifice of dignity and decency, but Mrs. Harcourt, Lady Robson, and

Lady Evans asked for reserved places on the platform. During the autumn months six organisers were engaged by the League, and were sent on tours throughout the South, West, and Eastern counties, and to a small extent to the North, with the results stated above.

Our work has been much hampered by the difficulties, always incidental to a new movement, of finding enough speakers and organisers of the right kind, but in spite of this the League goes on increasing, and it is one of the most encouraging signs that it is to a great extent spreading itself, as new districts are constantly putting themselves into relation with the Central organisation without any initial action from us. The extraordinary success of our petition is only one of the many indications of the real opinion on this question now that the tactics of the Suffragettes have forced the matter to an issue. During the five months from October to February, without any organised canvassing, except in four constituencies, our petition ran up to 254,620 signatures, well over the quarter of a million. We also have a great many thousand signatures at the office. The largest single petition presented to the House by the Suffrage side contained only 39,000 names, and the largest number of names was in 1874, when 1,404 petitions totalled 430,000 (though the same persons may have signed over and over again on the separate petitions). It is as well for our members to realise these facts, because the Suffragists are very fond of quoting their great petition of 1896, containing 257,000 signatures. It should be noted that this was not a petition, and was never presented to Parliament, nor did it pass the scrutiny of the Petition Office. It was a collection of names gathered in different constituencies in books, which were placed upon the table in Westminster Hall, and there is no guarantee whatever that the same people did not sign in these over and over again. Our original report of our petition was 243,000, as, in counting the names in the office, we deducted every name as to the genuineness of which there could be any shadow of doubt; but the Petition Office allowed 11,000 names as to which we were doubtful, so that the gibes of the Suffragists because the Petition Office reported that there were a certain number of names which looked as if they were in the same handwriting have very little significance. We believe that the sheets to

which the Office referred are those that came from a working woman with more zeal than discretion in an outlying suburb of one of the large towns of Scotland. She appears to have written the names for the women of her neighbourhood instead of making them write them for themselves, which of course invalidates those names. The petition was presented by Mr. Massie on March 19th, when Mr. G. Howard brought in his Bill for granting adult suffrage, and the success attending our efforts and the magnitude of the petition has caused a very marked change in the attitude of a large number of politicians as to this question. In Mr. Massie's own words:—

"That day" he had "presented a petition with over 254,000 signatures, and it had been suggested that it was the petition of titled ladies of position and their housemaids, but an analysis of the first page showed that it contained the signatures of two married women living with their husbands, one a commoner and one a peeress, one peeress, a widow, and a large landowner, one head mistress of a high school with a Cambridge degree, one highly educated working woman, a *Times* librarian, one woman author, one woman wage-earner; and the trades represented in the whole petition were authors, journalists, secretaries, school-mistresses, from the Universities to elementary schools, farmers, shopkeepers, typists, clerks, domestic servants, mill hands, shop assistants, fishwives, coastguards' wives, soldiers' and sailors' wives, charwomen, caretakers, and many others."

It is often urged that petitions are valueless in affecting legislation, but no indication of opinion is valueless to the politician, and we hope that our members will always bear in mind that our petition is unique in one respect: there is absolutely no precedent in the history of the extension of the franchise of a largely signed protest from those to whom it is proposed to give the vote. This fact, and the significance of it, has been noted by a large number of speakers and writers, the latest of whom, Mr. Haldane, recently pointed out to the Suffragists that Ministers, whatever their private opinion on this matter, could not act without having the nation behind them. Mr. Harold Cox, writing in favour of the Suffragists in the first number of the *Englishwoman*, also points out that this objection of women themselves to the granting of the vote is a feature which it is quite impossible

to ignore. We claim that our action, assisted by the vagaries of the militants and the division of opinion as to what they really want in all sections of the Suffrage party, has entirely changed the political situation since this time last year. In confirmation of this view, it is interesting to note the difference between the treatment by the Press of Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage now and at this time last year. At that time column after column was given to reporting Suffrage correspondence and discussion; now the matter is generally dismissed in a few words. This is an unflinching indication of what the public are interested in, as, of course, the newspapers have, like the rest of the world, to submit to the law of supply and demand. There is every indication that the English public is getting bored with the Suffragettes, and is absolutely uninterested in the Suffragists. We cannot hope better for our cause than that this lack of interest should extend also to ourselves, for this will mean that the nation has made up its mind, at any rate for the present, not to take into consideration so momentous a revolution as that urged upon it by our opponents, and is now wisely turning its mind to matters of real and urgent importance. Should this estimate of the political situation be correct, however, we are faced with a difficulty which arises out of the very success of our efforts. It is very easy to raise funds for burning causes, pro and anti, and last year plenty of money was forthcoming to do our work; but as the burning interest dies down we have to recognise that our most arduous task lies before us. This is the steady, quiet organisation throughout every constituency in the country, the securing of a nucleus of opponents to the Suffrage in every Parliamentary division and in every district, so that, at the General Election, or more probably at the election after next, should Woman Suffrage ever become what it has never yet been, an immediate question of practical politics, we may be ready to speak with no uncertain voice. This work needs a certain, though not a very large income. We do not ask for thousands or tens of thousands now; we do not buy coloured muslins by the gross of yards and organise processional pageants through the streets; we do not dress up as Joan of Arc or Brunhilde or fly round in motor cars at by-elections, making ourselves a nuisance in season and out of season. We do not

ask thousands and tens of thousands, but we are asking for modest hundreds, and these are absolutely necessary if our organising work is to be done, and so effectively done that when the time comes there shall be no shadow of doubt as to the opinion of the women of England.

We appeal to all our members of Council, and to the delegates of our Branches and Branch officials, to see to it that the Central organisation shall not be hampered by considerations of finance in its work as a bureau of information and co-ordination of organised effort throughout the country. Some of the expenses which we have had to incur during the first year will not have to be repeated, but, of course, the better we are supplied with the sinews of war the more effectual we can make our campaign, and we can assure you that the money which you entrust to us for this purpose is being most carefully husbanded by our co-Treasurer, Mr. Massie, who has managed to spare from his Parliamentary and other duties very many hours of arduous work to perform that most dreary and thankless of kind offices, the management of other people's money.

We should like also to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Chairman and members of the Literature Committee, who have given much time to work that represents a most important side of the League's labour. We owe a special debt to Miss Ermine Taylor and Miss Manisty, who led the way in systematic organisation of petition work. It is impossible to enumerate the names of our Branch Hon. Secretaries, but we should like to take this opportunity of thanking every one of them for the admirable and loyal support which they have given, and the splendid way in which they have worked all over the country. We owe a very great deal to the originality and enterprise of many of these workers, who, at a time when our Central organisation was overwhelmed with work, found their own money, worked out their own methods, and started excellent, self-supporting Branches of the League, and themselves have contributed to that Central appeal which we issued recently for funds. Oxford, ever to the front as a centre of light and leading, has even surpassed our demands, voluntarily handing back to us 25 per cent. of the Council members' subscriptions to meet the needs of the Central organisation.

Mrs. COLQUHOUN proposed the adoption of the Report just read, and said she

should like to add a few words on the subject in general. Not many of us realise how entirely Women's Suffrage is a shibboleth till we come to work against it ourselves. We are all of us prepared to support from an academical point of view many political theories which we would not put into actual practice. That is the view of many of the Suffragists. To their aid, however, have come the militant Suffragettes, who boast that they have brought Suffrage into the arena of practical politics. They have done more than that. They have certainly introduced a new profession—that of the paid female political agitator. As a profession for women, this agitation is not only a recognised, but a lucrative profession. We have still a great deal of work in front of us; and the more successful we are, the less will be heard of us. That will not encourage the Suffragettes to go on, but it will the Anti-Suffragists. And if I am asked is it worth while, I answer yes! Anything is worth while to preserve for future generations of women the true traditions of womanhood and the true relation of woman to the State.

Miss POTT seconded the Report, which was put to the meeting and adopted.

Mr. MASSIE then read the Treasurer's report, prefacing it with the following remarks:—

We have had to overtake in one year as far as possible forty years of Suffrage agitation. I am here to tell you that for that year we have paid our way; we have had to go at a great pace, and pace is in itself expensive, and the year has been a very expensive one, but nothing like so expensive for us as for our opponents.

We have made ends meet, but the meeting of the ends is due to the generosity of certain individual members and donors of large sums, and last, not least, to the generosity of the Branches. As Treasurer, I acknowledge all this in the warmest way, and recognise it with the greatest gratitude. But we cannot depend on the renewal of large gifts, and we must cut our coat according to our cloth. We have, therefore, begun by reducing our expenses; and the best way for the time being was to reduce the money spent on organising in the country. At first, this was absolutely necessary. Our friends all over the country were inexperienced and reluctant to begin, and we had to bear the initial expenses of forming the Branches.

Miss HOGARTH then said: I wish to make a practical suggestion whereby the REVIEW might pay its way and be a source of profit to the League. We have 9,000 paying members; if half of these were regular subscribers to the REVIEW, we should have £18 15s. per month. Our expenses work out at £18 3s., and we should have 12s. in hand per month. If all the 9,000 took it, we should of course bring out a larger edition, and the expenses would rise to £21 3s. per month; but the receipts would rise to £37 10s., leaving a balance of £16 7s. a month, or, roughly, £200 a year. If all the members of Council and delegates of

Branches will do all in their power to persuade every member of the League that it is their duty to take in the REVIEW, there would be no question of a loss.

The members who were successful in the ballot for the new Executive were then announced:—Lady Haversham, Lady Weardale, Miss Bell, Miss Hogarth, Miss Pretious, Lady Robson, Mr. Heber Hart, and Mr. Allard.

In the discussion of the new Rules for Branches, Miss STRONG proposed, and Miss STOREY seconded, that the number of members of a Branch for which a delegate could be sent be every 100 members, not 25. Miss PEACHEY proposed that every 50 be the number. Mrs. NETTLESHIP seconded. The resolution as to the 100 was put to the meeting, and vetoed. The resolution as to the 50 was put, and carried.

Mrs. BECKETT moved, and Miss MUNDLELLA seconded a resolution that no alterations be proposed by the Executive in the new constitution without notice of at least eight weeks to the Branch.

As an alternative to the 10 per cent. from the Branches, Mrs. MASSIE proposed every Branch should pay an affiliating fee on or before March 31st each year of two guineas to the Central, and 5s. for every additional fifty members over the first hundred.

Mrs. TRAVERS (West Sussex Branch) proposed, and Mrs. BROOKS seconded:—“That Secretaries of Branches be asked to obtain as many signatures from women having the Local Government vote as possible, and to use separate forms for this purpose, with a view to ascertaining what, if any, majority of such women are Anti-Suffrage.”

It was decided that this should be considered by the Executive.

Miss SQUIRE (West Marylebone Branch) proposed, and Mrs. JEVES seconded:—“That the Branches being now so numerous, a more effective local organisation be formed, and we suggest that there should be a committee in each county, consisting of the officials of the various Branches of that county. These committees to be in direct communication with the Central Executive Committee, London being considered as a county in itself.”

This was withdrawn, as already covered. Lady HESTER CAREW (Chelsea Branch) proposed, and Mrs. LEWIS HALL seconded:—“That suggestions be given (1) as to the means of getting really into touch with working people, to educate them, and (2) experiences stated of those who have held small meetings in cottages of from six to twenty women, and the results.”

Miss MARY BACKHOUSE said that in her opinion cottagers were practically all for Anti-Suffrage; and Lady JERSEY suggested that any lady who had any experience would perhaps communicate the same to Miss Manisty.

The Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary were then proposed and seconded, and unanimously re-elected; and a vote of thanks to Lady Jersey for presiding was carried with acclamation.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

JUNE has been a month of most active work amongst our rapidly spreading Branches. In spite of bad weather, garden parties and all fresco fêtes have been a favourite form of meeting. Many kind hostesses, to whom we would like to express gratitude, have carried out most successfully a series of delightfully social and interesting gatherings in their gardens and grounds, or drawing-rooms when the too frequent rain fell. We have encouraging reports from all hands, and even where actual meetings have not taken place excellent progress in the growth of our movement is recorded. Bournemouth is amongst the new Branches which are rapidly going ahead, and many of our older Branches seem to be getting the movement to spread automatically, a splendid sign.

The greatest activity and success is reported from Manchester, where our League has obtained a firm hold among the working women. The work of the Branch during the month of June has been mostly taken up in forming sub-committees. The Executive Committee met on Thursday, June 17th, G. Hamilton, Esq., in the chair. The following sub-committees were appointed:—(1) Organising and finance, (2) committee for managing Free Trade Hall meeting, (3) literary, (4) petition. Sub-committees have also been formed as follows:—(1) Elementary teachers, (2) postal and telegraph committee, (3) nurses. The first-named of these sub-committees held its first meeting on June 12th, A. Gronno, Esq., in the chair. The second, that of the postal and telegraph committee, met on June 18th. The nurses' committee is in process of formation, and has not yet met.

Letters have been sent to all our supporters announcing the great meeting to be held in the Free Trade Hall on October 26th, with the satisfactory result that already 3,000 tickets have been applied for.

The proposal to affiliate all Branches of the North of England, which has been approved by the Central Committee, has been favourably received by seven of the ten Branches consulted. It is suggested that a meeting of delegates of North of England Branches should be convened on or about October 26th, in order that delegates may have the opportunity of attending the Free Trade Hall meeting.

A meeting under the auspices of the Dulwich Branch took place on June 7th, in All Saints' Parish Room, Croxted Road, when a crowded room was evidence of the interest taken in the Anti-Suffrage movement. The chair was taken by Mr. Loudoun Shand, and Mrs. Arthur Somervell was well received.

Mr. F. J. Newman also spoke, dealing specially with the Suffragist argument, that it is necessary for women to have the vote in order that their interests may be safeguarded; pointing out that in many respects women are in a more advantageous position under the law than men. The Rev. James Beby also spoke, and the usual resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

An interesting debate took place at Holloway College on June 10th, arranged by the Suffrage Society within the College. The debater on our side was our Hon. Sec., Mrs. A. Somervell, who opposed Miss Cicely Corbett, a member of the London Society for Woman Suffrage. When Mrs. Somervell arrived, and asked what support she was likely to receive, she was told they believed there were four Anti-Suffragists only, and one member of the staff on our side. But when the motion was put, it was carried in favour of W.S. by a majority of only 34, 82 being for it and 48 against. As usual, the opener treated the whole subject from a point of view of domestic and internal policy, no allusion whatever being made throughout her argument to the effect upon the Empire of so radical a change in the basis of government. Prognostications were indulged in as to the possibility of keeping the vote to the women who possess the present property and residential qualification required from men. Yet a young lady as interested in radical politics as Miss C. Corbett must very well know that it is admitted even by the rankest of Tories that any grant of the Suffrage on the property basis is out of date, and can never take place in this country again.

A splendid meeting was held at the Ladbroke Hall on June 7th under the auspices of the North Kensington Branch, when the chief speakers were Mrs. Arthur Somervell and Mr. Howard D'Egville.

Mrs. Somervell gave a lucid explanation of the Anti-Suffragists' reasons for opposing the grant of the vote to her sex, and her address was full of vivid arguments and well driven home points.

Mr. Howard D'Egville pointed out the danger it would be to the Empire to hand over its political destinies to the weaker sex, who were largely ignorant of politics and of Empire.

It was well known that the capacity for voting and sitting in Parliament could not be separated, as was clearly stated by the late Mr. Gladstone, who said, “For a long time we drew a distinction between competency to vote and competency to sit in Parliament. But long before our electorate had attained to the present popular proportions, this distinction was felt to involve a palpable inconsistency, and accordingly it died away. It surely cannot be revived; and if it cannot be revived then the woman's vote carries with it, whether by the same Bill, or by a consequential Bill, the woman's seat in Parliament.”

Sir Aston Webb, R.A., proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, Mrs. Somervell and Mr. D'Egville. He said if he were a woman he should think whether on this question of the Suffrage he was not trying to grasp the really obvious thing, the vote, and losing something more important, the ideal.

An Executive Committee meeting of the Sheffield and District Branch of the League was held at the house of Mrs. Biggin, Ashdell Cottage, on June 7th. The membership of this Branch is steadily growing.

A drawing-room meeting was held at 10, Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Bond, on June 9th, under the auspices of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. Admiral Sir E. Fremantle presided, and in the course of his address dealt severely with the militant Suffragists. The Anti-Suffragists might be certain that the House of Lords would throw

out any Woman Suffrage Bill that was submitted to it before the electors had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion at the polls. The members of the Radical party, with their Socialist allies, were anxious to swamp the constituencies by means of adult suffrage, but he believed the present electors were too wide awake to their country's interests to allow them to succeed. The militant Suffragists had proved themselves to be a disgrace to womanhood.

Mr. George Calderon, Hon. Sec. of the Men's League, contended that women, if given the vote, would have considerably less political influence than they had at present.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Hon. Sec. of the Kensington Branch, in the course of an eloquent address, pointed out the responsibilities resting upon men, which could not be taken over by women if the vote were given them, one of which was the responsibility of defending their country when called upon. If the women knew the vital issues before us they would not waste their time in contending for fallacious privileges, but would endeavour to use their influence with the men to come forward boldly and throw themselves into the breach to make this country secure from invasion.

On June 25th a meeting was held at Rutland Lodge, Brixton, for the purpose of considering the advisability of the formation of a local Branch of the League.

Mr. J. P. Durrant presided. He stated that some thirty ladies residing in Brixton and its neighbourhood had already joined the League. An address was then given by Miss Fothergill. The result of the meeting was unanimous agreement to form a Branch of the League for Brixton and Streatham.

A well-attended meeting of the League was held on June 7th at the residence of Mrs. Daniel, Fircliff, Portishead, Mrs. H. C. Trapnell presiding. Mr. Harold Norris, of the South Kensington Branch of the League, delivered an address. Names and subscriptions of several new members were, as a result of the meeting, handed in, and a petition with a large number of signatures was subsequently dispatched.

Space being this month devoted to the Council meeting, the Branch News is unavoidably curtailed, and therefore we can only add that among other successful June meetings have been those at Worcester, Lady Sandys presiding; a garden fête, at The Priory, Bridgwater, kindly lent by Miss K. Lovell Marshall; a meeting at Sheffield, where the work is spreading rapidly; one at Brixton, where a strong Branch has been formed; and a very successful one at Epsom, at Hookfield, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Braithwaite, Miss Dickens and Mr. F. G. Newman (barister of the Inner Temple) were the speakers.

IMPORTANT.

BRANCH secretaries are specially requested to let the Central Office know of any meetings arranged in their districts, and the names of speakers, as soon as possible. Country members and sympathisers are constantly writing to know what meetings are going on which they can attend. It also saves waste of time and money if the office knows which speakers are engaged on any given date, as constant requests for speakers come to the Central Office.

BRANCHES.

Will the following subscribing members of Council kindly forward their addresses to the League's head offices, Caxton House, Westminster? Mrs. Gardyne, Mrs. Headlam, Mrs. M. Hepham, Miss Hilbroner, Miss M. F. Moreton, Mrs. M. Pearse, Miss Prikthorne, Mrs. Ross, (Mrs. ?) Margaret Self, Mrs. Charles Smith, (Mrs. ?) Maude Waller, Miss Wilkin. Also the following members of League: F. B. J. Barnett, Esq., — Hardcastle, Esq., Andrew Smith, Esq., A. Lomax Wood, Esq.

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All communications to be addressed to Miss Frost for the present.

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REVIEWS.*

A BOOK on marriage, by the gifted and brilliant authoress of "Diana of Dobson's," who is also one of the editors of the organ of the Constitutional Suffragists, is certain to attract attention. We confess that we had hoped for a serious consideration of a question of such grave import from a sociological as well as an individualistic standpoint. If marriage and motherhood are a crucial test of the women of a nation in any broad historic sense, as one cannot doubt that they are, there is little in these pages to help the married woman of to-day, or to explain why the modern woman fails in married life more often and more completely than her mother and her grandmother before her.

Miss Hamilton tells us of millions of women workers—there are, we believe, about 5½ millions—many of whom marry before they are thirty, in the case of half-timers before they are twenty. To the woman working with her hands marriage is no trade; she is under no illusion as to what it means for her: loss of personal freedom, the willing acceptance of the heaviest of burdens. The club woman may write "Liberty" across her marriage lines, the peasant gives his wife "work" as her dower and device. The famous Breton song, "Chanson de la mariée," is sung by an unmarried girl-friend to the

* "Marriage as a Trade." By Cicely Hamilton. (Chapman and Hall.)

bride, as she sits surrounded by her friends after the ceremony.

"Vous n'irez plus au bal,
Madam' la mariée,
Vous garderez la maison,
A bercer le poupon!"

The two million domestic servants, who mostly end in marriage, defer their wedding, often for years, until an impatient male creature says "To be, or not to be." Marriage with the poor is no trade.

Novelists tell us that in society women, and men too, often marry for money—but Miss Hamilton does not apparently allude to gilded circles.

Who, then, are the women with whom marriage is a trade? Can Miss Hamilton mean the educated working woman? If so, it is a grievous indictment of our boasted system of modern education. But we cannot think that this is her meaning; we have known so many educated working women hard driven by poverty who have scorned to accept anything that was not for them the "best." We believe Miss Hamilton exaggerates the extent to which women fling themselves into a loveless, mercenary marriage. There are doubtless pleasure-loving women whose moral courage is weakened, who degrade themselves by a marriage of pure interest, accepting the privileges, but denying the duties, of married life. Alas! Nemesis awaits them, the Nemesis that overtakes the cold-hearted and treacherous.

There is surely something of the exchange and mart in the suggestion that married women should ask wages of their husbands. Marriage—a matter of business, is not far removed from marriage—a trade, and very subtle and complicated questions must arise. Deterioration of stock caused by the lapse of years and ill-health, might be insured against or covered by a depreciation fund; but there are other considerations: the childless wife would, we imagine, be thrust out in this scheme of payment by results. No! it will not work!

Neither can we accept that women, generally, condone the murder of an illegitimate child by an unhappy mother; they asked for mitigation of punishment. There is a kind of pity which loosens moral fibre and leads to cruelty. Humanity has a right to protect her helpless children.

Miss Hamilton seems to think that trade in marriage is responsible for all ensuing evils; one wishes that she had considered some of the other causes which make for disaster. The barren intellectual egotism which is, perhaps, more dangerous than the egotism of vanity and frivolity; the refusal to accept the duty of motherhood which reduces marriage to the level of the unsanctioned connection, where the refusal is based on mean personal motives of vanity or cowardice; the insistence on what is grandly termed self-development, to be won at others' expense; these are some of the dangers that beset modern marriage from the woman's side. In truth, Miss Hamilton argues from first to last as if marriage were a purely individual act, and did not concern society at

large; but it is the family which is the unit in the State, not the individual; we are all of us living on the unearned increment of the past. To speak in terms of physiology, the family is the living cell in the human organism. If the cell decay and perish, gangrene or cancer ensues, which infects other cells, and is a danger to the whole body. It is as wife and mother that woman most naturally manifests herself as citizen, and serves the Commonwealth. She needs all her courage and endurance, for she risks life and health many times over in the discharge of her functions. So we end as we began, that as these services are unique, so the women of any nation or historic period, will be judged by the steadfastness and devotion which they have brought to those noble duties.

It follows that marriage should not be "lightly undertaken," and that the women who are not married, but who all of them belong to some family, may find a compensation for loss, in their freedom to devote themselves to pursuits which are not possible to wives and mothers. All honour to them! but we do them no service by belittling family life. In the words of the motto written over the Leaden Casket, "Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath." E. B. H.

We do not review our own publications, and therefore we do no more than draw attention in this column to the valuable pamphlet (Number J) recently published by an able member both of our Executive Committee and of the Men's League. Professor Dicey's pamphlet (Number I) we must single out for special mention, though we need not describe its contents because we summarised the article, from which it is reprinted, in our February issue. But we should like to point out that no Anti-Suffragist should be without it, and that the League is under a special debt of gratitude to the distinguished jurist, who has spent both time and money upon this convenient reprint for the League's benefit.

A CORRECTION.

We owe it to Lady Maclaren to mention her objection to an editorial note affixed to a letter in our May number. We there stated that at the Albert Hall blows "were inflicted upon the male stewards, who acted under Suffragist orders." Lady Maclaren points out that the stewards were specially instructed in the Official Orders of the Day to use no violence, and to defend and protect all with courtesy.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

July 20th, 8.30: Great Portman Rooms (W. Marylebone Branch). Chairman, Lord George Hamilton. Speakers, Mr. Comyns Carr, Mrs. A. Colquhoun. Tickets at Central Offices.

July 26th: Epsom (Surrey) Branch. Garden meeting at Stoke D'Abernon Manor.

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3. Mrs. Ward's Speech. Price ½d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman's Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
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21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
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29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. Price 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. Price 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. Price 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.

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