

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

IN some Conservative circles it appears to be thought that the Conservative party ought to advocate the policy of giving votes to women of property. It is assumed that such women must necessarily be Conservatives and that their votes would be a valuable addition to the strength of the party. Now, the first remark to be made is that a calculation of this kind is utterly opposed to the spirit of genuine Conservatism. To make a great change in our institutions on the ground that it will give a party advantage to one party in the State savours of political immorality. Even in politics honesty is the best policy, and calculations of the kind in question generally meet, sooner or later, with their appropriate punishment. In addition, this particular calculation is shortsighted. Women of property would generally vote for religion as they conceive it; but many of them are Nonconformists, and would not vote for religion as the Church of England conceives it. They would generally be upon the side of private property, as they understand it, but they are liable to be swayed by many forms of sentiment, and as attacks upon property are made nowadays chiefly through appeals to sentiment, such women would by no means be found invariably on the side of a Conservative party. Speaking more generally, it is a mistake to assume that women are more Conservative than men. Women who are contented with things as they are recognise

more slowly than men the need for alteration. But women who want a change are more Radical than men in their pursuit of it. The thing they desire fills their minds much more completely, to the exclusion of everything else, and they pay less heed alike to the immediate cost and to the remoter results. If a woman wants the topmost spray upon the tree, she will think far less than a man would of the damage done to the tree in getting it, or of the loss to be sustained in after years.

It seems to be supposed by the Conservative advocates of woman suffrage that women of property endowed with a vote would form a barrier to the extension of the suffrage to women in general. This shows curious ignorance of human nature, as well as of the working of political arrangements. Half of the women of property endowed with votes would shortly become the eager advocates of the extension of their privilege to all women—a sense of justice would make this inevitable. It is the height of absurdity to regard them as a class whose actions can be surely predicted. They would at once be plied, like male voters, with every conceivable argument and sentimental consideration. They would speedily show the same differences of opinion that exist among men, and the chances are that, if not an actual majority, at any rate a majority of the most active, ardent and energetic would be found on the side of the wholesale enfranchisement of their sex.

Let us suppose, for the sake of

argument, that the foregoing remarks are all wrong. Let us suppose that all women of property would vote for the Conservative party, and that they would all oppose extension of the franchise to women without property. How long would the beautiful arrangement endure? The Conservative party would have made its little *coup*, and secured a certain accession of strength. The Radicals would be furious, and would denounce the trick. It would at once become one of their main objects to redress the balance by calling to their aid the votes of working women. On what grounds could Conservatives resist the demand for the general enfranchisement of women? The property argument would not hold water for a moment. Property is no longer the basis of our electoral system. Such vestiges of property qualification as remain are already the object of resolute attack. The workman in his cottage, or even the lodger with his latch-key, has the same voting power as his master who spends £20,000 a year in Belgrave Square. The woman of property with a vote would be an absolute anomaly, whose existence would only add bitterness to the attack upon everything that stands in the way of universal adult suffrage. By their own act the Conservatives would have destroyed the argument from sex. Women would be cited by the thousand who have no property, but who are just as intelligent and just as capable of exercising the franchise as the mass of the women possessing property. At present Conservatives have a logical position when they resist woman suffrage. Women with property have no more voting power than women without. But men with property have no more voting power—with the trivial exception of a little plural voting—than men without property. The sex distinction stands out clear and unmistakable. If, however, votes are given to women with property, the sex distinction is aban-

doned, the property distinction cannot be maintained, and the Radicals will be obliged to swell the registers with a new class of voters, more ignorant of politics and more incapable of looking beyond the impulse of the moment than the least fit of those who now exercise the franchise.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE General Election of January, 1910, is now a thing of the past. Though less dramatic than its immediate predecessor, it has abounded in exciting incidents, and has produced a state of parties for which we believe there is no precise parallel in our political history. But the question with which we are concerned in these columns is limited to the part which the new Parliament and the new members may most reasonably be expected to play in the struggle for female suffrage. Has the agitation for "votes for women" advanced or receded in the domain of practical politics? We think no candid observer who has followed the trend of public opinion during the contest which has just closed can be at a loss for the answer. In spite of the most indefatigable personal efforts, in spite of an expenditure of money which might almost be termed profligate, in spite of campaigning methods which for variety and ingenuity are the despair of the most accomplished advertising agents, the Parliamentary franchise is further off than ever. On the morrow of the General Election of 1906 it was open to the Suffragists to point to four hundred and twenty members of Parliament pledged to break down the barriers of sex, and to admit women to a complete electoral equality with men. And the division lists of the sessions of 1908 and 1909 showed that the Suffragists could count upon an overwhelming majority in the division lobbies—so long as the proposition was of a purely Platonic character. The march of events, and more particularly the mad outrages of the last eighteen months, have changed all that, and woman suffrage is, in the language

of political meteorology, "back to 1900." * * *

We had hoped to present the readers of the REVIEW with a fully tabulated statement of the result of the polls, showing at a glance the attitude of the members of Parliament, new and old, towards the suffrage. But to ensure absolute accuracy we have found it necessary to hold it over to our March number. Part of our difficulty has arisen from the extreme coyness on the subject displayed by a large number of the candidates, and their very natural reluctance to give embarrassing pledges. "Once bit, twice shy," and a goodly number of the famous four hundred and twenty refused to renew the vows into which they had so rashly entered. The proportion of candidates who placed woman's suffrage in their election addresses was comparatively small, and neither "heckling" nor deputations were effectual in overcoming the cautious reserve which was maintained. But a Suffragist organ gives the significant admission that out of 211 candidates who did in one shape or form allude to the question in their addresses only 85 secured election. The fact is that the issues before the constituencies were too urgent, and touched too deeply the daily life of the individual and the stability of the Empire, to be superseded by a topic which the vast majority of the working classes has not yet begun to take seriously. And the indifference displayed towards the whole movement was the more remarkable that the polling in every part of the United Kingdom was heavy beyond all precedent, and the number of abstentions, even in scattered county divisions, was almost infinitesimal.

THE failure of Mr. John Massie to obtain re-election for the Cricklade Division of Wiltshire must be a source of especial regret to the readers of this REVIEW and to his colleagues on the Executive Committee of our League. Both in the House of Commons and on the platform he has been an indefatigable exponent of the fallacies of the Suffragist movement, and it was he who undertook the duty last session of presenting the giant petition which the women of England had organised against the proposed alteration in the law. We can only wish him a speedy return to the scene of his activities. Another loss we have to lament is that of the Hon. Ivor Guest, who did not seek election to the present Parliament;

while Mr. Heber Hart, also a member of the Executive Committee, was an unsuccessful candidate at Windsor. Needless to say that his defeat, as well as that of Mr. Massie, are claimed by the Suffragists as a tribute to their influence. Any electioneer who knows the conditions under which the battle was lost and won, both in Wiltshire and at Windsor, will realise the ridiculous nature of the claim. The statement is on a par with the assumption that the return of seven Unionists in such a Conservative stronghold as Liverpool is a victory for the Women's Social and Political Union. In Liverpool, by the way, a dead set against Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P., by a section of the Suffragettes resulted in ignominious failure.

THE reason why Mr. Smith was selected for this attention is given by the Executive of the Women's Freedom League in a manifesto signed by Mrs. Despard on the eve of the General Election. In that document the "National Executive Committee" explain their policy. Assuming, by a curious illusion—which, however, is by no means confined to the Women's Freedom League—that during a General Election there is no Government in power, they cannot be "agin" it. "We cannot attack what does not exist. But there is a retiring Government, and a possible Cabinet of the opposing party. The retiring Cabinet has had the opportunity of doing justice to women, and has refused it; not only so, but the refusal has been accompanied by cowardice and brutality. We have therefore decided to oppose members of the retiring Cabinet. But the result of the fight may be to place the Conservative party in power. There are certain strong anti-suffragists who would be members of a Conservative ministry. To attack the Liberal merely would therefore be bad policy, and would leave us at the mercy of the Conservative enemy for another Parliament. Therefore our second line of opposition is to be concentrated upon those Conservatives or Unionist opponents who are likely to be members of the next Cabinet." This is very flattering to Mr. F. E. Smith, but the policy, if extended and popularised, must resolve our party system into its primordial elements; and the calculation as to who is or who is not going to be a member of a hypothetical Cabinet in a non-existent administration can never be free from the

element of uncertainty. We still believe that Englishmen like an election to be fought on clear, intelligent lines; and the adoption of these fancy tactics does not augur well for the existence of that sense of responsibility which is the basis of the right to exercise the franchise.

IN recounting her recent adventures as a canvasser for the petition in favour of "Votes for Women," a correspondent of "The Common Cause" writes from personal experience of "the intense dislike and disgust for the methods of the militants, quite as pronounced with the women as with the men. Not a sign of gratitude for their championship or admiration for their courage; not a word of indignation or sympathy for their sufferings in prison." This is attributed, characteristically enough, to the sway of "Mrs. Grundy," a much-maligned lady who, in this instance, commands the respect of many people who are not usually associated with her. Mrs. Grundy's abode is here located "in an old country-town in the South-East Midlands." But the same "prejudice," if we are to call it so, is found again by another canvasser in a rural constituency in Somersetshire. "In many cases," we are told, "we had to disclaim any connection with the Suffragettes before a voter would sign the petition." The task of this lady must have been considerably lightened by the discursive forms which the bucolic answers would from time to time assume. "They got votes already." "They got power enough without votes." "I shan't sign for 'em to have votes, and I shan't sign for 'em not to have 'em." "I'm very sorry for the 'sufferings' of women, but I can't sign nothing." An old man was asked if he would not like his widow to have a vote in the sad event of his departure. "Well, but *she* might be took *first*," quite cheerfully disposed of the question.

IT is possibly the conviction that their militant excesses have been altogether a mistake in tactics which has induced the Women's Social and Political Union to give a rather qualified parole to desist for the moment from acts of violence. "Although the unsettled state of the political situation," runs the manifesto, "makes it difficult at this moment to formulate definite plans for the future, it has been decided that the

Union shall use nothing but peaceful and constitutional methods, unless the Government adopt an attitude which compels it to use more drastic ones." We can only say with the sentinel in Hamlet, "For this relief much thanks." But the Government are put very rigorously on their good behaviour, and Miss Pankhurst adopts a tone towards them which is a model of dignified condescension. "If it should happen," she is reported as saying in the *Daily Sketch*, "that the resumption of militant methods becomes necessary, the restraint and moderation which have prompted a temporary cessation of these methods will have great effect in increasing the popular support which the Union commands." It does not seem, however, that the Women's Freedom League will allow the unfortunate Ministry even this measure of grace, for Mrs. Despard says darkly, "We know we can bring pressure to bear on the Government of 1910, and we must make it fear us." Cannot some restraining influence be brought to bear on those who would renew the sickening policy which has degraded British womanhood, and has gone far towards stirring up a feeling of animosity between the sexes which is fraught with the certainty of social disaster? It was no thanks to any chivalrous feeling on the part of the Carnarvon mob that the misguided women who chose to "demonstrate" in Mr. Lloyd George's constituency were saved from disgraceful outrage. The police, whom they slap and kick, are as necessary to them as to any old woman who quails before a London crossing.

AND a Canadian lady, writing in a Montreal paper, gives a very pointed illustration of what women stand to lose by the attitude of antagonism to those whom nature has cast in a different mould:—

"A prominent Suffragist said the other day that 'all men ever did for women was occasionally to open a door or take off their hats to them, and that she, for one, was quite ready to forgo such empty courtesies for the sake of a tangible gain.' On the day this gracious speech was reported, there was also reported the wreck of a steamer on the high seas. As the boats were manned came the usual order, 'Women and children first,' and it was obeyed as a matter of course. But why? Why should women and children go first? Their lives are not more valuable than

men's lives; quite the contrary. The unwritten law which decrees this procedure may be courtesy, but it is hardly an empty one, because men are undeniably stronger physically than women, and are also invariably in a majority on board ship. So that except by their noble self-sacrifice and their instinct of protection few women or children would ever likely be saved in great dangers common to both.

* * *

It is with regret and with a sense of humiliation that we read of the scanty number of women candidates who are seeking election at the forthcoming election to the London County Council. At the time of writing these lines, only six have come forward, and the nomination day is not far distant. The Qualification Act of 1907 restored to women a privilege which, so the Courts of Law found, had been withheld from them in 1889. The London County Council presents a large and ever-widening sphere for woman's work, and were it not for the co-opted members on the Education Committee, a concession which was made a couple of years ago for the first time, women would have no voice in those duties of administration for which they are especially qualified. It is, we are afraid, beyond dispute that many highly eligible women, who have sought to be adopted as candidates by the local party organisations, have failed solely from the resentment which the Suffragette methods have provoked. Happily this feeling was not sufficiently strong in West Marylebone to prevent the adoption of Miss Susan Lawrence, who had represented that district on the now defunct London School Board. Miss Lawrence is a woman of exceptional capacity, and of great power of work, and should she be elected she will have a grand opportunity of usefulness before her in departments which have suffered badly in the past from the want of feminine co-operation.

* * *

THE *American Pictorial Review* for February contains a paper, unhappily too long for reproduction in our pages, which is, so we believe, a faithful picture of American opinion on the English Suffragette campaign of the last eighteen months. The writer has the special qualification that she "was one of those who worked humbly, but faithfully, to secure 'votes for women' in the State of Colorado fifteen years ago." After casting her vote at several

elections she felt, so she says, "a distinct sense of relief when my husband and I decided to move into another State where women do not vote. . . . The woman with the ballot as she has existed in Colorado during the last fifteen years is not a picture which a woman may view with pride, nor do I see anything better for her in the immediate future." From the conditions which govern the darker side of public life in the United States, we are happily preserved, and there is much in the article which is scarcely intelligible to the reader who has never crossed the Atlantic. But there is one painful passage which we are constrained to quote because it touches an aspect of the woman's franchise question which the members of our "People's Suffrage Federation" leave studiously alone.

"Last in the strata of Suffragettes come those poor driven creatures, whose massed vote has built up a political machine more daring and more subtle than Tammany. Ten thousand of these women were enfranchised in Denver alone when the ballot was given to their sheltered and protected sisters. They held the balance of power in city and county elections. . . . All day long liquor had flowed freely in the district where their miserable life was led. What mattered it that their vote represented only so much more power to the masters of their wretched destinies? For a few moments they felt a sense of power, false but diverting, and so they chanted in maudlin tones this soul-sickening ditty:—

"I ain't so much, but my vote will kill
The vote of the Queen of Capitol Hill."

"And it does kill the vote of earnest
thinking women."

* * *

WE are glad to announce to our readers that it is proposed to enlarge the scope of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, so as to make it of greater general interest. Some well-known writers, whose names will be announced in our next number, have promised to become contributors. The Anti-Suffrage societies in different parts of the United States and Canada have been invited to seek hospitality in our columns, and Miss Seeley has been asked to undertake the duty of Honorary International Secretary of our League, to keep us informed of the progress which the Anti-Suffrage movement is making in foreign countries.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

VERY encouraging reports come from all our Branches, and the prospect of a most successful year lies before us. The inauguration of some new and important Branches is not the least item in the League's rapidly growing record of work. A strong Branch, which has an excellent future before it, has been formed at Liverpool. The inaugural meeting was a large and enthusiastic one, and next month we will publish the names of president, committee, and officials.

Throughout the election the Branches accomplished a good deal of quiet work. The way has certainly been paved for the steps which we hope to take to lay before the newly elected members the views of the women whom they represent. The following letter from our chairman, Lady Jersey, which appeared in the press, explains our attitude during the election campaign. We reproduce it, in case it escaped the notice of some of our members living in more remote districts:—

"DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to state, in reply to many inquiries, that the central office and Branches of the Anti-Suffrage League have approached the Parliamentary candidates on both sides with representations of the strong reluctance of many hundreds of thousands of women to assume the burden of the franchise? They believe that these representations have had great weight in inducing candidates to refrain from pledging themselves to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. When the elections are decided they hope to take further steps to lay the views of the women whom they represent before the newly elected members and the country at large.

"They earnestly invite the adherence of fresh members to their League, as, though their work is well begun, they cannot regard it as fully accomplished until they have clearly shown what they believe to be the truth—that the vast majority of the women of the United Kingdom repudiate the claim which a small and noisy minority assume to make on their behalf.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) "M. E. JERSEY.

"Chairman of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League."

Amongst Branch meetings of importance which have been held during the past month was the first annual meeting of the South-East Surrey Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League at St. Mark's Reading Room, Reigate, on January 12th.

Mr. A. F. Mott presided, and there was a good attendance of members and associates. The annual report, with financial statement, was adopted, and will be put in circulation as soon as printed; the election of officers and committee took place, and on the motion of Mr. Temple Newell, seconded by Mr. George Rundall, it was agreed that a resolution against Women's Franchise be sent to the local Parliamentary candidates.

On the motion of Mr. F. C. Pawle, a

hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman.

There was a brisk sale of rosettes composed of the colours of the League.

During the fifteen months of its existence a great deal of good has been done by the Reigate Branch, and its annual report is a capital record of progressive work.

A vigorous campaign for February is being planned by the Cheltenham Branch, where the membership is a large and rapidly increasing one. A great many influential electors in this borough signed a petition from our Men's League, and our own petition forms contain a very encouraging list of names of Cheltenham women who are heartily opposed to the suffrage.

Our Bristol Branch has enrolled a goodly number of new members lately, and work goes well there.

Our Irish League is doing well. The first annual general meeting of the Dublin Branch for members and their friends was held in the Molesworth Hall on January 25th. The committee provided tea, and the hall was very tastefully decorated with palms and flowers sent by Mrs. Andrew Jameson and Mrs. Goodbody and some two hundred people accepted the committee's invitations. The chair was taken by Mrs. Bernard, wife of the Dean of S. Patrick's, who gave an inspiring address, and announced that Professor Dicey, of Oxford, was coming over early in May to hold a meeting in Dublin.

The hon. secretary, Mrs. A. E. Murray, delivered the report of the year's work locally, and also of its progress in England. She then read a most interesting letter received from a doctor in large practice in New Zealand, answering several leading questions put to him on the subject of woman suffrage in New Zealand, his concluding words being, "on the whole, my opinion is that the effect is for evil, rather than for good." Short and most interesting papers were then read by Mrs. Starkie, Miss Orpin, Mrs. F. H. Pim, Miss Kirkpatrick, and Miss Morton. Many new members joined as a result of this meeting, and of a drawing-room meeting held on the 18th at 24, Elgin Road, the residence of Mrs. Orpin. Lady Drogheda took the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. F. H. Pim and Mrs. A. E. Murray. It is hoped that another big public meeting will be arranged soon.

From our Manchester Branch we have received the following report:—

"During the early part of January we sent out letters and pamphlets to all members of Parliament and candidates in the Lancashire and Cheshire constituencies. In return we had many encouraging replies, in two or three instances inviting us to send a deputation to further enlighten the writers as to our views.

On January 14th, the Anti-Suffrage Debating Society met to hear a paper read by Mr. Arthur Herbert, of Hale, on "Woman Suffrage, a Retrograde Movement." It was followed by a very spirited debate, and the audience, which was a large one, enthusiastically voted against the suffrage.

It was suggested at one of our committee meetings that the women municipal voters in many of the wards should be canvassed, to see if they are in favour of having yet greater responsibilities thrust upon them by having

the Parliamentary vote. This work, which is a large one, will take up a great deal of time in the future; as yet it is only beginning. We find that in one ward nearly 80 per cent. are against any such infliction. The secretary reports, after canvassing one of the poorer districts, that while obtaining ninety signatures against, only eight of the inhabitants positively declared themselves in favour of the vote. In many cases she was met with very distinct opposition until she explained she was working for the Anti-Suffrage League.

The following interesting letter has been received from Mrs. Harold Norris:—

"It would perhaps interest your readers to hear what was done by the Chiswick Sub-Branch of the League on the day of the Parliamentary election in this Division.

"It was known that members of one of the suffrage societies intended to be present at the various polling stations to obtain signatures to their petition from actual voters. The committee therefore arranged that members of the Branch should attend in relays at the polling stations to see what occurred. As the day was bitterly cold, it was found impossible to watch all the stations for the whole time, but four of them were kept well under observation. At three of these the suffrage ladies met with very little success. I watched one booth for over an hour, in which time only one signature was obtained, and at another station in an hour and three-quarters only five men could be induced to sign.

"One very energetic Suffragist adopted the method of asking each voter, 'Are you in favour of giving a vote to widows and spinners who pay taxes?' If the reply were in the affirmative, she asked his name and address, and herself wrote them on her petition. In this way she obtained twenty-four signatures, whilst twenty-eight refused.

"The net result for the four polling stations shows that under 25 per cent. of those addressed signed the petition. At one polling station, which was under observation from 3 to 8 p.m. without a break, the percentage was only fourteen, so that the result was most satisfactory to us. Probably many of those who signed would not have done so had they understood that it is impracticable to limit the franchise to 'widows and spinners who pay taxes,' and in some cases voters gave this as their reason for refusing to sign."

Amongst successful debates which have been held was one at the Hereford City Men's Parliament on February 1st, when the motion suggesting the advisability of granting the suffrage to women was overwhelmingly defeated. One hundred and ten votes were "against," and only thirty "for."

At Ealing the growth of our movement is marked, and many new members have joined lately. With reference to a report which appeared in the January review of a meeting in Girton Hall, Mr. Handel Gear has drawn our attention to a regrettable error which was made in the report of his speech.

Mr. Gear writes:—"In the current issue of your paper, I am reported to have said that with regard to New South Wales and New Zealand, 'Never had I been in countries where there were so many wife desertions.' I must ask you to kindly correct this statement in your next issue. I was speaking at the Girton Hall (2nd December), having been invited to give some of my experiences in

the colonies by the Ealing Anti-Suffrage League.

"During the course of my remarks, I pointed out that in the Dominions, since the franchise had been extended to women, in the majority of cases the opposite had taken place from what was anticipated, and with reference to the marriage state, the number of wife desertions had not lessened, but had increased (similarly, I fear, as in other countries). I likewise said that I did not attribute the above-mentioned fact to women having the vote, but I merely stated it as a fact. I believe the men and women of Australia and of New Zealand possess as much common sense, and are as moral as those of the Home Country."

At Sheffield three drawing-room meetings were held in the last week in January by Mrs. Charles Clifford, Whirlow; Mrs. Beal, Leavy Greave; and Mrs. Douthwaite, Endcliffe Rise Road.

Miss Fothergill gave convincing addresses, after which questions were asked, and several influential names were added to our steadily growing members' list.

Next month is the anniversary of the formation of the Sheffield Branch, and during the past year eleven drawing-room and two members' meetings have been held, besides the large evening meeting, at which Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Arthur Somervell, and Mr. A. Maconachie spoke, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

An interesting debate, which was not a League fixture, but resulted in good seed being sown for our cause, took place on January 24th, at the Royal Free Hospital. Mrs. Arthur Somervell, by invitation, addressed the medical students, and some of the staff, and Dr. Wylie took the suffrage side. The debate was an animated and enthusiastic one, and the audience was much impressed.

At a debate in Kentish Town, opened by Mr. A. Savage Cooper, where the audience consisted largely of the active Suffragists of the district, a triumph was scored on our side. The Anti-Suffragist resolution was carried, and several in the audience, previously "on the wall," declared themselves quite "converted" to Anti-Suffrage principles. Miss Fothergill gave an interesting address, and Miss Murphy, of the "People's Suffrage Federation," opposed.

In his opening speech, Mr. Cooper argued that the franchise claim by a minute and restless section of the female community rested on no solid and convincing basis. First of all, it was utterly untenable to allege that the laws of this country were in any sort of way hostile to the protection and conservation of the legitimate rights of women. On the contrary, there was not a single piece of legislation which dealt with the popular rights and liberties for men which did not equally maintain and safeguard the position of women. There was at the present day a tendency among women of a certain type to abuse the advantages of the higher education now so freely placed within their reach, and that instead of applying the results of this education to the improvement of their own domestic affairs, they sought to invade man's domain. He failed to find anywhere a single trace of those cruel and repressive laws so freely deplored by these female champions, and as to their being denied an equal position with men, could anybody deny that in commercial business,

medicine, and many other activities, the weaker sex was fully represented. One effect of this painful agitation was to induce women to contemn their most sacred privilege, that of motherhood, and to aim instead at the pursuit of notoriety hurtful to her sex, and to the best interests of woman as a whole. If woman desired to retain her dignity, and the reverence with which all good men regarded her, she would be content with the place which Providence, nature, and the highest wisdom had assigned to her.

The first annual general meeting of the Bournemouth Branch was held at the Cairns Hall on February 1st, when Mrs. Roberts Thomson, Vice-President, occupied the chair in the place of Lady Abinger, President, who although present, was suffering from severe neuralgia.

In the absence of the Assistant Honorary Secretary, Miss Muriel Frost, the annual report was read by Mrs. Roberts Thomson. This reviewed the work of the past year, and showed that a series of successful meetings had been held, whilst the membership numbered 408. The balance-sheet showed a balance in hand.

Mrs. Dering White said the local branch had grown steadily and strongly, and at headquarters their branch was regarded with admiration. She urged every member to an increased interest in the League, and to secure new members, especially men, who would be of great strength. She thought the country was to be congratulated in having passed through the crisis of a General Election without any help or hindrance from the Suffragettes.

A largely attended drawing-room meeting was held in Glasgow at 4, Park Circus Place, on February 3rd, Mrs. J. M. Macleod in the chair. Mrs. Macleod submitted the annual report, which was approved, and a most interesting address was given by Miss Dick Peddie, of Edinburgh, and Miss Horne answered effectively a number of questions.

The Editor has received the following letter from Bristol:—

DEAR MADAM,—I write on behalf of the committee and members of the Bristol Branch to express our deep regret at the retirement of Mrs. Arthur Somervell from the post of Hon. Secretary of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. We should like her to know how greatly her ever-ready sympathy and unfailing patience and courtesy have been appreciated. Our only consolation in our loss lies in the assurance that she will now have more time for public speaking.—Believe me, faithfully yours,

EDITH LONG FOX,
Hon. Secretary, Bristol Branch.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun presided at a meeting of the South Kensington Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League at the Kensington Town Hall on January 26th. Mrs. Arthur Somervell said that nearly 10,000 women had been enrolled members of the League during thirteen months, and over 100 branches had been established. The women suffragists of the extreme section, she remarked, were bringing unhappiness into a great many homes. Mrs. Mortimer also addressed the meeting.

It is to be regretted that as Mrs. Maurice Bear, Hon. Secretary of the Manchester Branch, is going to India, her connection with this branch, where she has done such

splendid work for the League, will be severed.

The first annual meeting of members of the Leicester and Leicestershire Branch will be held on Tuesday, February 22nd, at the Co-operative Hall, High Street, at seven o'clock, to be followed by a public meeting in the same hall at eight o'clock. Speaker: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

SOME AMERICAN NOTES.

THE success and widely growing interest of the anti-suffrage movement in America is so striking that we cull this month a few most interesting notes from some matter which has reached us from that country. A review of a book, "Equal Suffrage," in that bright little journal, the *Remonstrance*, the organ of the Boston anti-suffragists, gives some valuable excerpts. Miss Helen L. Sumner, Ph.D., has been making investigations in Colorado for a Suffrage League, and is, of course, a suffragist, but she is very fair, so her evidence is doubly valuable.

"Regarding public employments in this State, where women vote, although there are more women in such employments than formerly, Miss Sumner concludes that 'taking public employment as a whole, women receive considerably lower remuneration than men.'"

"If the possession of the ballot by women were to affect women's wages in any form of employment, such effect might naturally be expected in the pay of school teachers," says our contemporary.

"In Colorado, if anywhere, it might be thought would be realised the ideal of 'equal pay for equal work,' which figures so prominently in suffrage arguments. But Miss Sumner not only concedes that 'as teachers, also, women receive lower salaries than men,' but she adds what, from the suffragist point of view, is the most depressing conclusion, 'the difference in the salaries of men and women teachers in Colorado, instead of being unusually small, is unusually large.' 'Women have been slack, even more so than men, in the fulfilment of political duties,' says Miss Sumner."

Referring to Mrs. Pankhurst's recent visit to America, the *Remonstrance* says: "If Mrs. Pankhurst could have devoted a part of her time, on her return voyage, to reading the comments of American newspapers upon the suffragette demonstrations in England, which she initiated and for which she appeared as an apologist, she would have gained a realising sense of the extent to which the suffrage cause in this country had been set back thereby."

International relations between English and American anti-suffragists are very cordial. The anti-suffrage organisation, the National League for the Civic Education of Women, has made an international alliance with us, Mrs. Humphry Ward having accepted the office of vice-president of the league.

The Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Miss Ermine Taylor have also been elected honorary members of the New York State Association opposed to Woman Suffrage. The *Anti-Suffragist*, the magazine of this New York Association, has some excellent things in a number which we have just received.

Regarding an interview with Mrs. Belmont, the suffrage leader, which appeared in *Pearson's*, our contemporary says: "Mrs. Belmont's astounding challenge, 'Until you give us the ballot we will not marry you; we will not work in your places of business; we will have nothing to do with you socially, industrially, any way,' would frighten men more if it came from something more than a noisy and eccentric minority. If such a situation were thinkable, as Mrs. Belmont predicts, of nurses letting the sick die, cooks seeing the hungry starve, women refusing to marry where they love—a general strike for a vote stopping in fact woman's vital power of service to the race, to get the shadow of unreal political power—then might the whole subject cease to trouble us; for that unselfish womanhood that is the anti-suffrage ideal would have died out already." This is indeed the clear cold light of day upon suffragism; such language is needed!

L. V. M.

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All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Forbes for the present.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

MADAM,—It is doubtful whether the Birmingham Branch would have taken any active part in the Election beyond addressing a circular to the candidates (pointing out the small number of our opponents, and the fact that for the first time in the political history of the country on the initiation of a movement for the extension of the Franchise to a class did you find members of that very class organising themselves to resist the proposal), but one open-air meeting was held at Saltley on the night before the poll, and a little literature was distributed in East Birmingham. Our opponents, both extremists and moderates, however, were active, but working on opposite lines, which brought them apparently into conflict with each other in more than one constituency. The militant party were not much in evidence, and no headlines in the local press announced "outrages" or "scenes" to a bored public. The constitutional party, on the other hand, did a good deal of work in a quiet way in East Birmingham in favour of the Labour candidate, Mr. Stephenson, presumably because he had replied favourably to all the questions put to him by the W.N.U.S.S., whereas his

opponent, Mr. Steel-Maitland, had declared himself to be an avowed opponent of Women's Suffrage. The only apparent result upon the election was that Mr. Steel-Maitland increased the Unionist majority in the division from 583 in 1906 to 4,502 in 1910, but no doubt our opponents will comfort themselves by, and take what credit they can for, some of the 3,958 votes obtained by the loser. We do not grudge them any satisfaction they can get out of the figures, for they certainly worked with their accustomed zeal and held open-air meetings in most dreadful weather. Perhaps a still more convincing proof of the little attention paid to the whole question during the election, and of our contention that the Suffrage cause as a whole is losing ground in the country, can be adduced from the fact that at 91 out of the 159 polling stations 140 of our opponents were present, obtaining signatures to their petition, and, taking the average attendance of only 120 of these workers at but ten hours each (and many of them were there for longer periods), the total number of signatures obtained to date amount to approximately 6,000, or 5 signatures per worker per hour on the reduced figures taken above, in order that we may not be charged with overstating the case! Or—looking at it in another way—6,000 signatures were obtained out of a total electorate *who polled* in the six local contests of 58,893, or only about 10.3 per cent. How *can* our opponents in face of these figures possibly contend that the electorate were anything but very mildly interested in the question? We might point out that we obtained during last year and the last three months of 1908, over 8,000 men's signatures, in addition to the 25,000 women's signatures in Birmingham alone. Nor should it be overlooked that out of the 1,115 candidates for seats in England, Scotland, and Wales only 21 (see "Our Common Cause," January 6th, 13th, and 20th) would appear to have answered the three questions put to them by the W.N.U.S.S. to the perfect satisfaction of that body, and only 173 more are stated to have replied in any way favourably, or a percentage of about 17 in all. "Our Common Cause" naturally does not state the number of replies which they received in the negative. Nor do the faithful twenty-one appear to have been particularly successful, as only five of them were elected.—Yours, etc.,

MURRAY N. PHELPS.

19, New Street, Birmingham.
January 28th, 1910.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Ward's Speech. Price 3d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.

7. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Woman's Suffrage and National Welfare. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. Women of Great Britain. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
11. The Latest Phase of the Women's Suffrage Movement. Price 5s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
14. (1) The Franchise for Women of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
14. (2) Women and the Representation of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
17. Why the Women's Enfranchisement Bill (1908) is unfair to Women. Price 5s. 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 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
23. Anti-Suffragist's Letter. Price 6s. 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 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
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.
- L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. Price 1s.
- M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. Price 2d.
- N. "The Woman M.P." A. C. Gronno. Price 2d., or 1s. 6d. per dozen.
- O. The Red Book (a complete set of our leaflets in handy form). Price 3d.
- P. Plain Truths About Woman Suffrage. T. Dundas Pillans. Price 1d.
- Q. Why Women Should Not Have the Vote. Price 1d.