

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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

THE EARL OF CROMER. President of the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage.

OUR League is justly proud of one of its most distinguished members of Council, Lord Cromer, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., O.M., LL.D., and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Diplomatic Service, who is the President of the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage. Soldier, diplomatist, and ruler, brilliant writer and orator, the Earl of Cromer is an enthusiastic supporter of the Woman's National Anti-Suffrage League, and, with his ripe judgment and keen intellect, probably no man of to-day is better able to grasp the great principles on which our League has its foundation. Lord Cromer, who is a member of the great financial family of Baring, began his long and splendid career by entering the Royal Artillery in 1858, he was A.D.C. to Sir Henry Storks in the Ionian Islands in 1861, and from 1872 to 1876 was private secretary to the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy of India during that period. From 1877 to 1879 Commissioner of Egyptian Public Debt, in 1879 Controller-General in Egypt, and from 1883 to 1907 Egyptian Agent and Consul-General, Lord

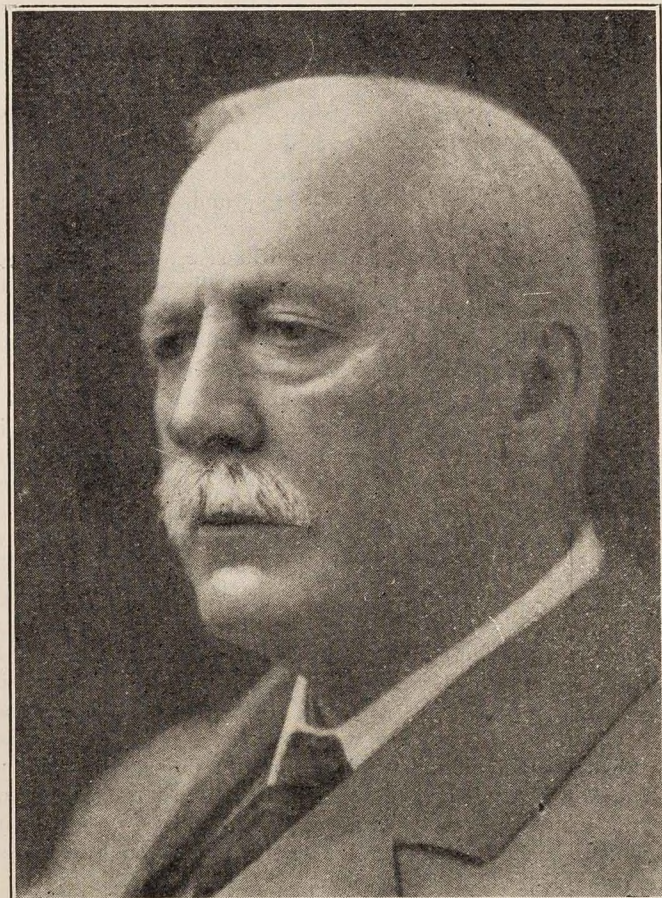


Photo by G. C. Beresford.

Cromer's progress up the ladder of fame was swift and steady. It was for his services in India that he was chosen for Egypt and to the promotion of its welfare he devoted years of toil. He is called "The Maker of Modern Egypt," and the qualities of "strength of will, solid sense, and steady humanity," to quote a well-known writer, characterised his twenty years of rule in that country. Egypt owes its present prosperity to his magnificent financial work out there, and his book "Modern Egypt," published in 1908, stands alone amongst recent works of historical value. Lord Cromer is now, at nearly seventy years of age, with this brilliant career behind him, and decorations that show his country's estimate of him, as vigorous a politician and as great an authority in the land as ever, and when he speaks in public on the subject of Woman Suffrage his opinions carry weight as those of a man with exceptional right of judgment.

L.V.M.

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

Cromer

WHY WOMEN WORK.

It is always interesting to see ourselves as others see us; it is additionally interesting when the writer, who is dealing with problems of economics, brings to the task the imaginative gifts which have already won her fame in the field of fiction. Miss Elizabeth Robins may always be relied on for a certain impassioned eloquence of statement, which cannot but claim our sympathy, though it fails to convince our understanding. In the current number of the "Fortnightly Review" she asks, "Shall women work?" and in the course of her answer to this very pressing question adduces a greater number of doubtful, if not fallacious, arguments than are usually to be met with in a single article, even an economic article. She tells us that great artists work hard because their work interests them. Quite so; but are most working women great artists? She says women are not incapable of work, because they have always been the "drudges of the world." Quite so; but is the world never to rise beyond that use of them? She says that married women prefer factory work to home work, because then they have easy tasks and fixed pay, instead of unlimited and unpaid household labour. Quite so; but what then becomes of her other statement that married women go out to work solely in the interests of their children? Everyone can sympathise with the "hard-driven women" obliged "to choose between the greater evil of semi-starvation and the lesser evil of confiding their young children to an older child, or, as often happens, to the grandmother." But is that the case of every young mother in Lancashire, who finds the cotton mill more attractive than the cottage? And what have health visitors and sociologists to tell us about the effect on infant mortality of leaving young children to the care of an older child or an aged grandmother? Moreover, if every woman must "be allowed to work (in a factory) in order not to overwork" (in her home), what about the overwork entailed upon that older child in the

growing years when she is least able to bear it? And is there never a careless mother or a selfish wife? Ask the prevention of cruelty inspectors and the police magistrates. Miss Robins says that many of her Suffragist friends find it difficult to speak quite patiently of Mr. Burns' efforts to safeguard the future of the race by imposing restraints upon the work of married women. For our part, we find it difficult indeed to understand those friends of woman who oppose every measure designed for her protection.

But the Anti-Suffrage party is the stupid party. We know it, because Miss Robins has told us so. Anti-Suffragists think, in their ignorance, that votes have no effect upon wages; Miss Robins replies that economics have no prejudices on the subject of sex. They have not, and that is why, if women work, they will be worsted, unless the beneficent action of the law tempers the wintry blast of competition to the weaker sex. But Miss Robins will not have it so. She argues that because wages have risen since 1867, the franchise raised them, and that, therefore, when women are enfranchised, women's wages will rise also. Has she never heard of the fallacy of *petitio principii*, or of that other fallacy which our logic text-books called *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*? Finally, she winds up with a pæan of eulogy upon those women who attained economic independence *without the franchise*, and so pointed the way *not*, as we should have expected, to further fields of work, but to agitation for the suffrage. Out of her own mouth she is convicted. "The happy wives and workers of the future" are to owe their happiness to the Suffragists, but the Suffragists owe their power to the women who worked. It is not only Anti-Suffragists who can see that economic independence and the possession of a vote are two separate, and separable, social conceptions.

Let us, in our ignorant way, try to answer her question. Women work, as men work, sometimes because they wish, and oftener because they must. They still work mainly where they

have always worked, at their *métier de femme*, as "happy wives and mothers." The words are Miss Robins' own, and we gladly adopt them. Women work, then, in the home, because such work is second nature to them. Ask any lonely woman living in lodgings, when girlhood is past, whether she would not gladly exchange her lot for theirs; we have little fear of the answer. But because, at any rate in this England of ours, the sexes are unequal, and the pressure of economic necessity is bound to make itself felt, many women must begin young to assume the rôle of bread-winner. There are others, all honour to them, who enter the ranks of the workers so that they may open up new employments for their weaker sisters, and, by the independent attitude which their gifts, or their economic resources, enable them to adopt, raise the general status of the woman worker and win the employer's respect.

These, then, are the reasons, it seems to us, why women work, first because they wish; secondly, because they must; and, lastly, because they can. The first kind of work is natural, the second regrettable, the third honourable. The third kind of work can greatly help the second; the first is so bound up in the very nature of women that it may well be left to take care of itself. But where the vote comes into the question, we confess we cannot see. Doubtless it is our ingrained stupidity. Women's work, so far as we can judge, will succeed or fail on its economic merits. As the better equipped enter the professions, the general level of work, and therefore of wages, tends to rise up to the point when supply is equal to demand. There is still an unsatisfied demand for good workers in nearly every field of women's labour; to meet it there is an immense supply of candidates for employment, some good, but far too many indifferent, and not a few so hopelessly incompetent as to be the despair of even the philanthropic employer. This is the evil that women have to deal with; it is an evil which no votes can cure. The remedy

lies in their own hands. Educate, educate, educate, not in book-learning, but in thoroughness and common sense. To the economically fit belongs the future, and it is because the suffrage agitation has diverted women's attention from the pressing problem of self-improvement that we Anti-Suffragists deplore a movement which seems to us as wrong-headed as it is assuredly ill-timed.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THERE is a lull in the political world, and the most sagacious students of public affairs are unable to agree as to how and where the storm will break, or, indeed, whether it is going to break at all. The more sanguine spirits among the Suffragists suggest that the interval during which the House of Lords will be discussing Mr. Asquith's Resolutions should be devoted to the "consideration and passing of a Woman's Suffrage Bill by the House of Commons," and friends of "the cause" are invited to concentrate their energies on seeing that this is accomplished. There have been few moments in modern times when the political situation was less propitious for such an enterprise, and it is difficult to believe that the authors of the suggestion are serious. Nevertheless, we are told that the Albert Hall demonstration, fixed for the 28th of this month, to which we refer again in another column, will be a most effective means for influencing the Government to adopt this course. We should have thought that the most undismayed applicant for the Franchise must admit that in the present Parliament her prospects are hopeless. We will not repeat what we have said upon this point in our last two or three numbers, but we will merely ask any rational being whether he or she thinks it likely that a Government with one grave constitutional crisis on its hands should complicate matters by adopting a cause which goes right down to the root of party politics, and would of itself act as a complete solvent of party allegiance.

MEANWHILE, there are plenty of indications that the abandonment by the Suffragettes of militant methods is only temporary, and that before very long the Government of the day,

whether Liberal or Unionist, will have to face a renewal of the lawlessness and childishness which ran riot in 1908 and 1909. It is sufficient to quote the following passage, which occupies a prominent position on the front page of a recent number of "Votes for Women":—

"Speaking on Thursday in last week, Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Solicitor-General, finally disposed of the cant and hypocrisy which Liberal statesmen have meted out to women with a view to discountenancing the blows which they have struck in the cause of freedom. Sir Rufus Isaacs, referring to the anti-Veto campaign, said that 'they did not need to have recourse to bloodshed or violence to carry on their schemes of progress and reform, because they had a fairly good franchise, which was an assurance that the will of the people, in these democratic days, must prevail.' The obvious meaning of these words is that women, who because they are women are outside the franchise, and therefore are not included in the 'people,' may need to have recourse to bloodshed and violence because there are no assurances that otherwise their will will prevail. For our part, we devoutly hope that the slight violence that the women have done will be taken as a symbolic indication of what women are prepared to do if driven to desperation, and that politicians will not force women to serious violence or bloodshed before they are willing to concede their demands."

THE recently published letters of John Stuart Mill contain, as was only to be expected, numerous allusions to the movement for the granting of the Parliamentary suffrage to women, of which he was one of the pioneers. He died at Avington thirty-seven years ago, and, were he living in 1910, he would have had to acknowledge that the "emancipation" of woman had made enormous strides through the action of a Legislature elected by men only. What he would have thought of the extravagances of the Suffragettes we can never know, but the following letter, written to Sir Charles Dilke in May, 1870, is a curious instance of miscalculation in a mind which was not prone to sanguine anticipations:—

"It seems to me that the position of the Women's Suffrage question is immensely improved by what has taken place in Parliament"—where Sir Charles had recently introduced a Suffrage Bill—"You, yourself, a few weeks ago could not count as many as 100 members of Parliament who were known to be in our favour, and there are now, including pairs and absentees, 184, considerably above a fourth part of the House, of whom 29 voted in the second who had not voted in the first division.

The amount even of Tory support was most promising, including some of the most prominent members of the party below Cabinet rank, and, amongst others, both the Whips. The rally is the first proof we have had that the thing is felt to be serious. *I am in great spirits about our prospects, and think we are almost within as many years of victory as I formerly thought decades.*"

It is dangerous, indeed, to prophesy.

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THERE is another passage in the same letter (Vol. II., p. 254), which shows that Mr. Mill was alive to an essential weakness of the Female Suffrage movement:—

"I think it would be a great mistake to merge the women's question in that of universal suffrage. Women's suffrage has quite enemies enough without adding to the number all the enemies of universal suffrage. To combine the questions would practically suspend the fight for women's equality, since universal suffrage is sure to be discussed almost solely as a working-men's question; and when at last victory comes there is sure to be a compromise by which the working-men would be enfranchised without the women and the contest for women's rights would have to be begun again from the beginning, with the working-men inside the House instead of outside, and therefore with their selfish interests against our cause instead of with it. Thus women's enfranchisement would be thrown back for a whole generation, for universal is not likely to be obtained in less time than that; and at the end of the generation we should start again in a more disadvantageous position than we are at present."

The advocates of female suffrage are still as widely divided on this subject as when Mill wrote.

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DURING the existing truce the energies of the militant Suffragists are mainly concentrated on the procession to the Albert Hall, which is to take place on the 28th of May, and is to be followed by a meeting within that building. The associations which connect the Albert Hall with the suffrage movement are durable, if not encouraging. It was there, on the 5th of December, 1908, that the outrageous behaviour of the termagants who made free speech impossible gave the first great impulse to the Anti-Suffrage movement. The success of our League may be said to date from the day when the real character of the suffrage agitation of its advocates was brought home to a public which had hitherto been disinclined to take it seriously. There must be many who will walk in the procession on the last Saturday in May and occupy places on the platform who

will remember sadly that carnival of "lunacy and hysteria." This season is to be one of pageants, and we have no doubt that if the weather is propitious the procession will attract a great concourse. In the language of the circus programme, no expense will be spared, and the Women's Social and Political Union are asking for £1,000 on its behalf. Amongst other ingenious devices, that body has taken a leaf from the Salvation Army, and instituted a Self-Denial Week, with special collecting cards. Without copying their methods, it is permissible to express admiration at their zeal. And it is well that members of our League should realise that anything which money can procure is at the service of the Suffragists.

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ONE of the most popular methods of disseminating Suffragist literature is by means of volunteer agents at street corners and outside public buildings. These missionaries are not always conspicuous for tact, as appears from the following incident, which we take from the pages of a provincial newspaper:—

"At the principal entrance to Olympia on the opening day of the Ideal House Exhibition stood a young woman with papers about 'Votes for Women,' which she thrust in the faces of those entering. A lady gently put them aside with a civil 'No, thank you,' and the young woman shouted rudely after her, 'Did it burn you? It won't hurt.' It is an extraordinary thing that the organisers of the Women's Suffrage movement seem to get hold of quite the wrong persons for the work, as well as entirely the wrong methods for the success of the movement. It would be impossible to compute how many enemies have been made by the antics of the Suffragists, and the young woman I have referred to is a case in point. She was entirely the wrong person to commend the cause, and was in herself a strong argument against giving women the vote. Ill-bred and intemperate, she was injuring the cause she was there to help."

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In the course of the recent General Election in France, a leading exponent of women's suffrage, Madame Marguerite Durand, has introduced an innovation which we sincerely trust will not be adopted on this side of the Channel. A week or two before the polling the walls of the 9th Electoral Division in Paris were placarded with the announcement of the candidature of a certain M. Charles Marest, who, it was announced, would appear at a public meeting in company with

Madame Durand. The hall was packed with a large audience of both sexes, and when the hour for business had sounded the platform was in possession of two occupants, Madame Durand and the candidate. M. Charles Marest smiled sweetly and happily, but said never a word, and his sponsor proceeded to explain: he was an idiot, she said, the son of inebriate parents, perfectly harmless, and absolutely devoid of intelligence, incapable of learning or of acquiring the rudiments of knowledge. As she herself was disqualified by the law from becoming a candidate, she was desirous of exhibiting a citizen who laboured under no such disability, and who was entitled to take his seat in the Legislature if the electors chose to send him. But these are jests, happily, which no public meeting in France or England will tolerate, and the heartless cruelty of this exhibition of the innocent Helot was too much for Madame Durand's meeting. One is glad to record that it was the women who took the initiative, and who indignantly declined to allow Madame Durand to go any further with her speech. The "démonstration expérimentale du féminisme," as the *Matin* styled it, was a dead failure, and forms another example of the lengths to which a certain class of Suffragists are prepared to go in pursuit of their object.

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WE hope in our next number to give some notes on the suffrage question from Sweden. It is a common delusion that because women vote in Norway, the same rule holds good in the Kingdom from which she has recently separated, and the bubble of a "solid" Scandinavia is one that needs pricking. We hope, also at an early date, to deal exhaustively with the fable about women's wages, to which we find that Mrs. Philip Snowden gave fresh currency at Salford the other day, contrasting "the average wage for women of 7s. a week" with "the average wage of 24s. a week for men." Indeed, the sayings and doings of the Suffragist advocates generally require careful watching. Here is a gem culled from a speech by Miss Cicely Corbett at Northampton:—

"The law placed the wife in the most helpless economic condition. She had no right to anything except what would keep her out of the workhouse. She could only claim a pauper's maintenance through the law; and that was abominable. She gave up the possibility of earning her own

living, and in order to encourage women to make such self-sacrifice the law should at least put them on the same level that they would be if they were just their husband's housekeepers. The reason why women were held so cheaply was because they gave their married services for nothing."

It will hardly be asserted, we fancy, that this sort of oratory tends to preserve the sweetness of domestic life, or to improve the relations between wife and husband, between daughter and father.

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It is a favourite argument among Suffragists that women are divided among themselves politically just as much as men; in short, "that every girl who comes into this world alive is either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative." The notion is especially derided that the concession of the vote will alter the balance of parties in the State or confer a permanent advantage upon one party more than upon another. A correspondent, however, writes to point out that in the Australian elections which have just given the Labour Party a sweeping victory in the Legislature of the Commonwealth the women's vote has been cast solidly for the victors, and has wrought a complete revolution in the political world. We have no party politics in this REVIEW, and it would be impertinent on our part to express any opinion on this great transference of power. We only wish to draw attention to the election as a proof of what we have always contended for, that sooner or later, if they gain the Parliamentary franchise, women will organise themselves according to their sex, and will thereby sooner or later develop that sex antagonism which would develop into a national calamity far transcending all the temporary aberrations of politicians and parties. Australia entered lightly into an experiment the results of which no one as yet can foretell.

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MUCH play is being made just now with the beneficial effects which it is alleged have been produced in New Zealand by the concession of the Parliamentary Franchise to women. "It has enlarged woman's outlook," we are told, "deepened her interest in public affairs, discovered to her mind the great and important part that politics and social reform play in the betterment of conditions that directly and indirectly affect her home." That this is the view of politicians in New

Zealand we are prepared to admit, especially of those who have found the female vote cast in their support. But there is a large element, as we happen to know, among the workers of all classes which looks in vain for the golden results that were promised and are so loudly claimed. Inexperience in the discharge of the franchise and the natural impulsiveness of her sex drive the female voter to those short cuts to social reform which often prove such devious and disappointing paths. She can see that an evil is patent and glaring, and her instincts drive her to immediate action, heedless of the consequences; nor is she always alive to the danger of substituting one evil for another. The regulation of the drink traffic, for instance, is one that has been occupying the best endeavours of generations of public men in all civilised countries, and experiments have been tried in a variety of directions. It still remains to be proved whether "prohibition," in its numerous guises, does not involve in the end a number of practices as pernicious as the habit which it aims at suppressing. The present campaign of "No Licence" in New Zealand is the woman's short cut to temperance, though her methods are not so drastic as those of Mrs. Carrie Nation.

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LADY STOUT, indeed, whose husband, Sir Robert, was mainly instrumental in carrying the Enfranchisement Act in the circumstances related in our last number, has an article in the *Englishwoman* for May on the good results which have accrued under it to women and children. She musters an imposing list of measures which ought to make New Zealand a terrestrial Paradise; but, as she candidly points out, the social conditions prevailing in that country are totally different from those in the Motherland. Moreover, many of these reforms have long been in working order in countries where Female Suffrage is non-existent. We should require a good deal more evidence than Lady Stout adduces to be convinced that every Act which has been carried for the benefit of women and children since 1894 has been due to the exercise of the franchise by the women. Here in England, unenlightened though we may be, the interests of women and children are not entirely neglected. And, to take a fairer comparison, we should like to be shown how the progress of social reform in Canada, where women do not

vote, contrasts with that in New Zealand, where they do.

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WE have frequently protested against the reckless campaign of proselytism which is being carried on among schoolgirls by the more violent Suffragists. We make no apology, then, for quoting the following passage from an address given recently by an American clergyman, the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, under the auspices of the National League for the Civic Education of Women:—

"Whether the extension of the privilege of suffrage to women be best or not best, the question, at any rate, touches life on many of its serious sides, and that makes the question itself serious, and, therefore, demands for its treatment a state of mind that is studious and composed, exempt from all taint of the feverish, the jocose, or the hysterical. Going, for example, into our schools and inflaming young girlhood with a passionate interest in this question, or in any other question of moment, is clear indication of a certain interior turbulence which is exclusive of steady or even sane thinking. . . . This statement leaves untouched the matter of female suffrage in itself considered, but it does, perhaps, have some bearing on the question as to whether those who are most voluminously and eruptively advocating it are just the ones best qualified for exercising it."

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In the *Common Cause* for April 28th, 1910, there is published a letter which has been sent by Mrs. Fawcett to Mrs. Balfour, the Hon. Sec. of the Sheffield Branch of our League. Mrs. Fawcett had taken strong exception to a phrase used by Mrs. Balfour in this REVIEW attributing to her evasive and untruthful statements at a Suffrage meeting in Sheffield. Mrs. Balfour's words were not intended for publication, and only appeared in our pages through an inadvertence, which we sincerely regret. On Mrs. Fawcett's letter we make no comment, but we are bound to call attention to the fact that, although requested to do so by Mrs. Balfour, she declines to publish the latter's letter to Dr. Helen Wilson, of Sheffield, to which Mrs. Fawcett's own letter is a reply. Until this is done, a very imperfect view of the controversy is all that is left to the public.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

EVERY day during the past month has brought encouraging news to headquarters of progress and growth throughout our Branches. Membership steadily increases, and active work is everywhere in full swing.

Ireland.—Our Irish Branch held a very successful and largely attended meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin, on April 13th, Captain Neville Wilkinson, Ulster King-at-Arms, being in the chair, and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, of South Kensington, the principal speaker.

Mrs. Colquhoun, after stating very clearly the principal arguments against the granting of Woman's Suffrage, said if women set a proper standard for themselves in their daily lives, and lived them simply, purely, and righteously in the sight of God, they had a power in their hands which no votes could give them. The power they had of influencing men's hearts and making them act up to their best was woman's chief power, and that was one which was of greater price than the right of the vote. A cry of the Suffragists was that women did not enjoy the same economic conditions and were not so well-requited for their work as were men. But men were sweated as well as women. The whole point of the Suffragist argument was that women were underpaid because of man's injustice to women. If that were true they should find it true for all women; but that was not so, because if a woman qualified as a doctor she had a right to claim the same fees as a man. The same held good with the artist and the singer, and, coming down to a lower scale of society, they found that women were paid less wages for their work than men, because the men worked only for a living wage, whereas women, who often worked under domestic conditions, were in a position to undercut each other, and so bring down the rate of remuneration. In conclusion Mrs. Colquhoun claimed that the members of the Anti-Suffrage League and not the Suffragists were the real up-to-date and new-fashioned women of the period.

A number of questions were put to Mrs. Colquhoun and ably answered by her. On the motion of Mrs. Albert Murray, seconded by Miss Martin, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Colquhoun for her address.

Mrs. Colquhoun spoke again on the following afternoon at a crowded drawing-room meeting, arranged by Miss Storey, at 14, Elgin-road, in support of the National Service League.

At the moment of going to press we have no report of the great meeting at the Rotunda, Dublin, at which Professor Dicey, of Oxford, speaks, with the Duchess of Abercorn, President of the Irish League in the chair, but an account will appear in our June issue. Great interest is being aroused in Dublin by this particular meeting.

Birmingham.—A very successful little affair was the operetta given on April 23rd at King's Heath Institute, arranged by the members of the Birmingham Branch of the League, of which Lady Calthorpe and Miss Chamberlain (daughter of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) are vice-presidents. The entertainment was in aid of the funds of the League, and consisted of an Oriental operetta in three

acts entitled "Princess Ju-Ju: or the Golden Amulet." The operetta was preceded by an amusing musical entertainment by Mr. Bertram Evans.

Hereford.—The Hereford Branch had a capital meeting, followed by an entertainment, on April 5th, in the Hereford Town-hall Assembly Room, promoted by Miss M. King-King, Miss Armitage, and Miss M. Capel.

Dr. Paul Chapman, who presided, said from a physiological point of view, and a quite detached point of view, he pictured the stream of life as essentially maternal, flowing in a straight line from what he might term "Eve" downwards. Beside this main stream of life was a lateral male element, employing forces outside of it, and returning to it for refreshment or renewal. But the main stream was a continuous straight line and was female. It was very common to have it said by Suffragists, "Oh! if you want to use the physical force argument—" &c., as if that argument were beneath a noble consideration. But it was not beneath a noble consideration. It was an essential part of the argument, the whole of the executive being male. Mrs. Barrett Browning, the relations between whom and her husband were of the noblest kind, said of the great poet that he could "outstrip her three small footsteps with one stride." Woman's great maternal influence in the world was the noblest possession in the hands of any mortal.

Miss Barter, of the Newport (Monmouthshire) Branch, then delivered an address on the objects and aims of the Anti-Suffrage League. The Suffragists, she said, clamoured for higher things. Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists differed in their estimate of what were higher things. Women were needed in many departments of social life, and men did not desire to exclude women from fulfilling such positions. Lasting and beneficial changes were slow and sure, but revolutionary changes were reactionary. Mrs. Pankhurst had said that men had made a terrible muddle of the cases of starving children and neglected women. But was this the case? Mrs. Pankhurst said she had a policy which would remedy these grievances right away, and when they asked what was the remedy, the only reply was "Votes for Women," and instead of bread they got a stone. They had all heard of the old war cry, "No taxation without representation." If a Suffragist said she had nothing for her money, it must be admitted that her view of taxation was limited. Taxation was the price they paid to ensure safety, peace, and comfort. They looked to the men for protection when the dreaded foe invaded their shores. They must not shut their eyes to the fact that the finality of all imperial matters was force. In conclusion and to sum up the points of her speech, Miss Barter said she had ventured to show that Women's Suffrage would first undermine popular government; secondly, it would endanger the Empire; thirdly, it would impair the vitality of the race; fourthly, it was unnecessary; fifthly, it would be useless; and sixthly, that its effects would be generally bad. Woman was the maker of the home and the preserver of the race.

Mr. J. Saxon Mills said he had always thought as soon as the opinion of the women of this country was canvassed on the question of the Suffrage there would be a very large preponderance of opinion against giving the Suffrage to women. There never was a movement that went so well and successfully as

the Anti-Suffrage movement. It was possible to make out a very excellent logical case against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. John Stuart Mill had a very logical intellect, but was the very last man to whom he should be willing to submit a question of this sort, which was not primarily political but was associated with profound considerations of human nature and common sense. Logic was not always common sense. There were many illogical things in human nature. But nature and common sense were often very much better guides to human action than all the rules of logic. He fancied that the Anti-Suffragists were sometimes a little misrepresented. They did not object to give votes to women because they thought women were fools or inferior in political or moral constitution. As the lecturer had said, it was not a question of inferiority or superiority; it was a question of difference in intellect and natural constitution, which must have its reflection in our political life. Suffragists claimed the vote on the same terms as it is or may be given to men. The "same terms" would mean a new property qualification, not likely to be approved in these democratic days, and also meant the exclusion of the great body of married women. He did not see why the married women—the mothers who had rendered a service to the State by bringing up children—should not have just as much right to the Suffrage as unmarried women. He did not want to see this great nation governed by a majority of women. The Imperial Parliament of this country had vast and unparalleled responsibilities, and could not be submitted to risky and revolutionary experiments.

Dr. Chapman, proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Barter and Mr. Saxon Mills for their addresses, said the Hereford and District Branch, though only started in March last year, had already a large membership.

Our Hereford Branch is doing well. A thousand signatures have been recently secured for the Anti-Suffrage petition in the Hereford district, a good number of these coming from Leominster, which was considered rather as a Suffragist stronghold.

Bristol.—Winscombe was the place selected for a meeting on April 20th of the Bristol Branch, some of whose members have been working in the Cheddar Valley, where their petition to Parliament against granting the franchise to women has been signed freely.

Mrs. Macdonald, of Bower Ashton, presided at a large meeting in Bird's Assembly Rooms. She reminded the audience that the Anti-Suffrage League was formed in answer to a challenge from the Prime Minister to Englishwomen to let their real opinion be known. The League had increased very quickly, and new branches were being constantly formed in different parts of the country, all classes of women being represented on its roll of members.

Mrs. Biddle, of Newport, Mon., said that any measure for the enfranchisement of women must either concede the vote to women on the same terms as men, and thereby in practice involve an unjust and invidious limitation, or, by giving the vote to wives of voters, tend to the introduction of political differences into domestic life. She considered that all reforms put forward as reasons for the vote could be obtained by other means than the vote, as was proved by the general history of the laws relating to women and children during the past century. Speaking of the woman's vote in New Zea-

land, she said the danger which might arise from the concession of Woman Suffrage in the case of a State burdened with such complex and far-reaching responsibilities as England was out of all proportion to the risk run by such a small community.

Mrs. H. C. Trapnell spoke very earnestly of the influence of the home, which would be in many cases diminished by the Parliamentary vote. Women at present stood apart from party politics, and if they were forced to enter into the same arena as men the tone of the home life would be lowered. She begged all women to work now, to make use of their local government vote, and to remember that the admission of women to county and borough councils had opened up a wide sphere of public work and influence to women which was within their powers. She deplored that so few had been found willing to give up their time and thought to this wide field of interesting work waiting to be done. Questions were asked at the close of the meeting, and many of the audience became subscribing members of the League.

Kensington.—The Kensington small Town Hall was well filled on Thursday, April 7th, when Major Frank Johnson and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun were the speakers, and Mr. Arthur Burton took the chair. Mrs. Colquhoun dealt with Lady Maclaren's "Woman's Charter," taking each section in turn with a running comment. She brought out the impracticable nature of many of the "reforms" suggested, and declared that the fact that so able and experienced a woman should put forward such suggestions did not encourage the belief that female legislation would be of a desirable character.

Major Johnson created great amusement by saying that since he first appeared on an Anti-Suffrage platform some months ago he had received at least one hundred letters and many personal visits from Suffragists, and had finally been taken to hear their speakers at the Albert Hall, but that his convictions remained unshaken.

To some of his hearers it was apparent that, while his opposition to Woman Suffrage was at first instinctive rather than reasoned, the attempts at his conversion have enabled him now to give a much better account of the faith that is in him. Anti-Suffragists possess in Mr. Leo Maxse and Major Frank Johnson two of the most eloquent and forceful speakers on the modern political platform, and we can quite understand the anxiety of our friends the enemy to "convert" either of them.

Many questions were asked at the end of the speeches, but the meeting was conducted with entire good humour and order. A vote of thanks to the speakers and chair was proposed by Dr. McClellan.

Surrey.—The first public meeting in connection with the Frimley, Camberley, and Mytchett branch was held in the Drill Hall, Camberley, on April 4th, Mrs. Forwood (President of the Branch) presiding, supported by a number of well-known people of the district.

The President said the branch had already obtained over 800 signatures approving the objects of the society, and none of the signatures were from men, and none from women or girls under twenty-one years of age.

Mr. T. Dundas Pillans, in the course of an interesting address, said the actions of the Suffragists had proved conclusively that woman was absolutely incapable of applying the last argument—physical force—in political agitation. Their agitation was based on

the absolute equality of the sexes, but he denied that the sexes were equal, for it was admitted that women were much superior, especially in the domestic sphere, which of itself unfitted them to take part in the larger spheres of political activity.

Miss Lindsay said with regard to taxation without representation, she considered she always received a good equivalent for the taxes she paid, as she did not have to sit on the juries, or act as special constable, or serve in the Army and Navy, and she was also well represented in Parliament. On the economic question she said from her experience, especially in the North of England, the reason that women's wages were low was because of the amateur worker, who did not have to depend on her work for her livelihood, and employers always went to the cheapest market.

Hampton and District.—The annual meeting of the Hampton and District Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was held, by permission of Dr. and Mrs. Dashwood Howard, at Fairlight, Hampton Hill, on April 14th.

Dr. Dashwood Howard presided over a large and attentive meeting, and said that from the beginning of the movement his sympathies had been with the League, because he thought it existed for the preservation of peace—the peace of the home and the peace of the Empire.

Mrs. Greatbatch, in the course of an eloquent address, said the chairman was wholly right when he stated that the keynote of the movement was peace. It was started and existed to secure for women the peace that they already possessed. The League had for their guidance the hard facts of nature. Nature had given to man the greater physical force and strength, which might be said to adapt him for the building up of the State from without and to woman the instincts and distinctive virtues of gentleness and womanliness, which might be said to adapt her for the building up of the State from within. We were told from platform and street-corner that the ordinary life work of the woman in the home was inferior, her duties degrading, and her position one of slavery. Man had ever been the fighter, the protector, the provider. To return service for service was not slavery but justice.

The effect of the Suffrage on the industrial question as regarded women's wages was often mis-stated. It was again and again thrown out as a tempting bait that the possession of the vote would raise women's wages, but this was without basis when judged in the light of experience. For example, during the twenty-eight years before the extension of the franchise to the working-man the wages of agricultural labourers rose forty-eight per cent. Since the possession of the vote up to the present day they had risen nine per cent. This was due largely to agricultural depression, the development of machinery, and other causes quite outside the influence of the franchise. On the other hand the wages of domestic servants had in the last twenty years risen at least fifty per cent., and that without the possession of the vote.

Cheltenham.—The first annual meeting of members and associates of the Cheltenham Branch was held in the Town Hall on March 31st. The President, Mrs. Hardy, being unable to be present through illness the chair was taken by Mrs. Henley, who, in a short, well-managed speech, introduced the business of the day and voiced the wishes of the President.

The balance sheet, which was read by Miss Plumer, who is giving up the Treasurership, showed a very satisfactory state of finances, and the Hon. Secretary, Miss Geddes, gave a detailed account of the work done during the sixteen months of the existence of the Cheltenham Branch.

Mr. Sexty, who has become a convert to Anti-Suffragist principles as a result of hearing Mrs. Arthur Somervell speak in Cheltenham in November last, gave his reasons for a change of opinion, and impressed on those present the necessity for strenuous effort against the cry of "Votes for Women."

Sutton.—An excellent meeting of the Epsom Division Branch took place in the Masonic Hall, Sutton, on April 26th, the speakers being Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. A. Maconachie. As a result of their convincing arguments, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried enthusiastically.

Ramsgate.—The Isle of Thanet Branch held a public meeting in the Congregational Hall, Ramsgate, on April 27th, Dr. Douglas Cowburn of the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage being in the chair, and the Mayoress of Ramsgate being amongst those on the platform.

Mrs. Colquhoun delivered a characteristic and very interesting address and clearly answered a number of questions which were put to her by some Suffragists in the audience.

Amongst a number of debates which have been held during April a very successful one took place on April 15th in connection with the St. Anne's-on-Sea Junior Debating Society. Mr. J. D. Thompson, Hon. Secretary of the Society, spoke enthusiastically in support of the Anti-Suffrage League, his opponent being Miss Hewitt, of the W.S.P.U. After a warm discussion our resolution was carried by 55 votes to 36.

Mr. W. E. Cross met Miss Helen Ogston, of the Women's Social and Political Union, at the Peterborough Debating Society, and the result of his excellent argument, to which a large audience listened attentively was a victory for us.

Paddington.—Lady Dimsdale, President, and the Executive Committee of the Paddington Branch held an "At Home" in the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, on April 28th, and received a very large number of guests. After the speeches, which testified to the success of this important Branch, tea and coffee were served.

CATHOLICS AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

By MRS. WILFRID WARD.

NOTHING seems more curious to the casual reader of Suffragette literature than its constant condemnation of women in the past. In contrast to the ideal of Woman as she is now to be produced, there is incessant animadversion on the woman of the past. A sad case against the majority of our sex might be compiled from Suffragette literature. We are constantly told that they have been slaves bought by wealth and sluggishly contented with an ignoble luxury, and that their whole aim and object has been to please their

masters. Their love of their own families is contrasted with noble devotion to the Human Race, and is condemned almost as another form of selfishness. Public spirit, candour, good-fellowship, the sense of citizenship with the whole world, to which their womanhood is to give more life and greater purity, are contrasted with concentration on the immediate home and the narrow intensity of sympathy with personal aims.

Now, on this special accusation that woman has hitherto failed in her duty as a world citizen, I should like to suggest a few points for reflection—they cannot be more than merely suggestions in a short article.

First, it must not be forgotten that this sense of world citizenship is of modern growth among men as well as among women, whereas the sense of patriotism has ever been strong among women as well as among men. Nor, again, that the sense of world citizenship and of the rights of man has ever been productive of extraordinarily dangerous and unlooked-for results, and that if this sense is developed to a morbid extent among women, the results may be even more dangerous and startling than in the case of men. It is possible to maintain that concentration on what is immediate and individual may be more productive of good to the human race than any notional ecstasies of fellowship; that the energy of any one woman is limited, and, if expended on the mass, will not have the same power over the individual. It cannot be denied that power over the individual is a strong link in a vast chain of human beings, whereas schemes, views, and notions for the many tend to become less and less actual; and if they are carried out on a large scale and in large combinations, they are apt to change their character altogether.

It is interesting to note that intensity rather than extensivity—the aim at concentrating a man's efforts on one spot, one home, one family, is the latest theory and object of a leading group among French Catholic intellectual men, who have seen the results of a mania for abstract theories among their countrymen. They believe that concentration on the family is the only means of saving the race. Quite apart from the special theories of this school of Catholic thinkers, who claim, according to M. Paul Bourget, as their philosophical ancestors, men as different as Taine, Bonald, Comte, and Joseph de Maistre, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Catholic Church has always in-

sisted, almost to wearisome iteration, on the duty of concentration on the home. For the Christian home, every other consideration must be sacrificed; and recently Pius X., and also the Archbishop of Westminster, in his Lenten Pastoral for the present year, have carried on the incessant warning of every Pontiff and Bishop through past ages that nothing can replace, nothing can be more vital than absolute devotion to the home.

We are convinced that this belief that the whole future of the modern world depends upon the struggle now raging so fiercely round the sanctities of home, is the reason why the majority of Catholics, and especially of Catholic women, are strongly opposed to the Suffrage Movement. Of course, I know that there is, on the other side, a minority among Catholics, and a rather well-known minority, made up of different elements that can be distinguished clearly enough. There are the optimist, idealist, minds who always tend to believe in the reconciliation of contrary ideas, and who are sure that two ends pointing in opposite directions must meet before very long. They have an unlimited belief in human capacity, in unflinching physical strength, in absolutely untiring intellects. A woman can, it seems, have a profession, can attend meetings without number, can study all the political questions of the day, can have a technical knowledge of social questions, can work intelligently among the poor, can hear Mass daily, and can supervise her household, without depriving her children of her society.

Then there are the people whose optimism makes them really believe that the vote will only be given to unmarried women. But there is a third, and, I think, the largest, division of the small minority of Catholics who wish for women's suffrage. These latter would not mind every woman having a vote. "Why should we be so absurdly afraid of a woman strolling out once in seven or five years to take her share in public affairs by writing a cross on a piece of paper? It would not even make her late for the children's tea!" That such a little thing should comprehend so much is incomprehensible to such a type of mind as this. I think these are the people who have been strangely and mercifully preserved from the call of the canvasser, from the necessity of attending political meetings, and who have never felt the unholy allurements of the platform or the hot spirit of the political partisan.

For the majority of Catholic women, as I have said, the intrusion of combative

political aims and interests into the home is the main danger of the movement. They do not mind the accusation that they are indifferent to the advance of humanity, for they believe that in devoting themselves to family life they are working for the human race more intensely, more actually, and with greater results than those citizenesses of the world whose aims are universal, whose theories tend to the abstract, and whose means are chiefly political.

JOSEPHINE WARD.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From Our American Correspondent.)

THE following is the text of the Petition to Congress drawn up by the women leaders of the Anti-Suffrage movement:—

To the Honourable members of Senate and House in Congress now assembled:—

The women of the United States who are opposed to the adoption of universal woman suffrage desire at this time to present their earnest protest against the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States which would confer full suffrage upon all the women in this country. They oppose this amendment on the ground that it is unnecessary. There would seem to be no possible justification for the effort now being made to secure federal interference with the reserved rights of the several States, since the object sought can be accomplished whenever public opinion in the several States shall be pronounced in its favour.

To extend the suffrage to women would be to introduce into the electorate a vast non-combatant party, incapable of enforcing its own rule. Manhood Suffrage is a method adopted for peacefully ascertaining the will of the majority, to which the minority must perforce submit. The majority prevails because it is the majority, and could, if necessary, compel compliance with its wishes. To make possible a majority which a minority could safely defy, would be to overthrow the fundamental idea of Republican Government.

There are limitations and peculiarities belonging to women as a sex which demand at the hands of men corresponding immunities and protections, and, as time has progressed, these have been more and more generally recognised and given. Special legislation, based upon the necessities of sex, has grown to command the support of our most eminent and intelligent statesmen.

To grant the power to make laws to men and women equally, and thereby destroy man's sense of responsibility for women's welfare, would leave the latter to enjoy only such special privileges as she could win by fighting for them, and even if woman had the unrestricted right to vote, any struggle be-

tween man and woman would be most unequal.

It seems only necessary to present this brief statement to convince your Committee that the proposition to give the suffrage to women is not justified by any compensating advantages whatsoever. This change is not desired by a majority of the women of this country, and it is a measure liable to produce intolerable confusion leading to a revolution of the social order.

MRS. G. HOWLAND SHAW, President of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

MRS. FRANCIS M. SCOTT, President of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MRS. CAROLINE F. CORBIN, President of the Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MRS. J. GARDNER CASSATT, President of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MRS. ROWLAND G. HAZARD, President of the Rhode Island Committee Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

April, 1910.

At last we have authoritative information as to the numbers of the woman Suffragists! And what a falling off it is! For several years past we have heard prophecies of a million names, to be taken to Washington in luggage vans.

At Albany, the State capital, on March 9th last, the Suffragists, who appeared before the Joint Judiciary Committee of both houses to present their arguments in favour of the perennial Suffrage Bill, referred to the 500,000 names on their petition in terms which made it appear that they claimed this number of supporters in New York State alone, and lo! the facts are made known. *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!* On Monday, April 18th, the woman Suffrage delegates from forty-five States of the Union, in convention assembled at Washington, deposited in an express cart and conveyed to the Capitol in solemn procession, with forty-five motors in line, that same petition of 500,000 names, rolled neatly in forty-five rolls, representing as many States!

The population of the United States is estimated to be about 96,000,000—and the Suffragists, after sixty years of agitation and the most frantic propaganda for ten or twelve years just past, claim but 500,000 names, and this in spite of the fact that their list includes men, women, and children.

Some time ago the President of the United States accepted the invitation of the National Woman Suffrage Association to address them at the opening session of

their annual convention at Washington; he qualified his acceptance, however, with the distinct proviso that he should not thereby be represented as "favouring Woman Suffrage."

The Suffragists celebrated this event, when for the first time in the history of their movement the President of the Republic appeared on their platform to welcome them to the capital and express his interest in their cause, by *hissing* their eminent guest of honour!

According to the newspaper report, President Taft was on the programme to deliver the formal greeting to the convention, but had been delayed in arriving, so that other speeches preceded his. As he came into the room the audience rose and gave him an enthusiastic reception. His address was as follows:—

"I am not entirely certain that I ought to have come here to-night, but your committee which invited me assured me that I should be welcome even if I did not support all the views which are to be advanced in this convention. But I consider that this movement represents a sufficient part of the intelligence of the community to justify my coming here and welcoming you to Washington."

"When I was sixteen years old and was graduated from the High School in Cincinnati, I took for my graduation subject 'Woman Suffrage,' and at that time I was as strong an advocate of woman suffrage as any delegate to this convention. (Cheers, which ceased abruptly as Mr. Taft continued.)

"So at that time I was orthodox (accentuating 'at that time'), but in the actual experience which I have had, I have modified my views on this subject somewhat. Republican government we approve and support because, on the whole, every intelligent class—that is, every set of individuals similarly situated in a community, intelligent enough to know what their interests are—is better qualified to determine how those interests shall be cared for and preserved than any other class, however altruistic. There are, however, certain qualifications which must be introduced into this statement.

"The theory that Hottentots or any uneducated and altogether unintelligent class is fitted for self-government is a theory that I wholly dissent from, but this qualification is not applicable to the question here. The other qualification to which I call attention is that the class should as a whole care enough to look after its interests, to take part as a whole in the exercises of political power if it is conferred. Now, if it does not care enough for this, then it seems to me that the danger is, if the power is conferred, that it may be exercised by that part of the class least desirable as political constituents and may be neglected by many of those who are intelligent and

patriotic and would be most desirable as members of the electorate. (Hisses.)

"Now, my dear ladies, you must show yourselves equal to self-government by exercising in listening to opposing arguments that degree of restraint without which self-government is impossible.

"If I could be sure that women as a class would exercise the franchise, I would be in favour of it. At present there exists in my mind considerable doubt.

"In certain States which have tried the experiment, States in the Rocky Mountains, where there is no great concentration of population to cope with, equal suffrage has not been a failure. It has not made, I think, any distinct difference, though it is possible to say that it has shown some improvement in the conduct of public affairs. Permit me to say that the task before you in establishing your political rights is not in convincing the men, but in convincing your own class.

"That is my confession of faith on this subject. I am glad to welcome you here and recognise you as a class of women earnest in your desire for political recognition and earnest and high-minded in the cause of good government. Even if I disagree with you, not in principle, but in the application of it to the present situation, I hope you will not deem me ungracious in saying as much as I have. I came here with the understanding by your committee as to what I probably should say. It knew that I would not subscribe to all you advocate. I trust your convention is all you hope for, and I know it cannot but be productive of good."

At the conclusion of the session many of the delegates expressed themselves as humiliated over the hissing incident. At the meeting of the following morning, however, a number of the prominent women of the organisation allowed themselves to be quoted to the effect that no apology was due to the President, and that he deserved the treatment he received!

EQUITY AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

BY DR. MASSIE.

MR. JOHN GALSWORTHY, novelist and dramatist, has recently defended in the "Nation," the movement for the "emancipation of women," in two papers of characteristic literary charm, and of an unusual reasonableness which may be commended to the ordinary run of suffrage advocates. It is something pleasant and almost novel for an opponent of "votes for women" to study a presentment from the other side without finding himself face to face with a blunt charge of monumental crassness and barbarism. Not that Mr. Galsworthy entirely refrains from saying

similar things in a gentler way; for in his opening sentences he somewhat too plainly implies that the anti-suffragist is deficient in the "essential characteristics of a gentleman—the will to put himself in the place of others; the horror of forcing others into positions from which he himself would recoil; the power to do what seems to him right, without considering what others may say or think." And at the close of his first paper he, by implication, imputes to those who resist what is called the "full emancipation of women" that they do not "serve humanity," or "try to be gentle and just." But we may pass by these indications that there is still room for Mr. Galsworthy to out-class such momentary and mechanical reversions to type, and we may be grateful for the general reasonableness with which his case is stated. We acknowledge, in particular, the frankness of his admissions. We have always, for example, contended that, in the "emancipation of women," as it is ambiguously termed, the Parliamentary franchise is but a means to an end, but the first step in a process; and that Woman Suffrage contains within itself a whole social revolution, by which the position of the two sexes in the United Kingdom may be not so much equalised as reversed. We welcome, therefore, the frankness of Mr. Galsworthy's avowal that the political vote is only a "symbol, whose practical importance—though considerable—is as nothing beside the fulfilment of the idea which it symbolises."

Side by side with this recognition of undefined but portentous possibilities behind the vote, he unreservedly accepts the "ground facts of difference" between men and women; (1) that women are, and, in human probability always will be, physically weaker than men; (2) that motherhood is theirs alone; (3) that women are not, and never should be warriors. And these differences entail corresponding consequences which we conclude that he also accepts: (1) that women cannot, in the present state of being, transcend the limitations due to their physical weakness; (2) that they cannot evade the physico-mental disabilities involved in the function of maternity; (3) that they cannot obviate their unfitness, through sex, to enforce the decisions for which, as voters, they would be responsible.

To these "ground facts of difference" Mr. Galsworthy is, for himself, inclined, "speaking generally," to add that woman's political capacity is inferior to man's.

And yet his papers, when boiled down, yield this as their precipitate, that, in spite

of "ground facts of difference," that is, of sex unfitness for specific tasks of government, "Equity" demands that women shall be accorded a political power identical with that of men. Surely equity should recognise fundamental distinctions, and not ignore them.

Equally inconclusive are the subsidiary arguments adduced in support of this appeal to equity.

He takes the inequality of the divorce law as a type of the political and social inferiority of women. This particular inequality is ridden so hard by the Suffragists that it would seem as if they expected an equalisation to prove a practical boon to a considerable number of women. We ourselves hold the inequality to be unfair, though we cannot disregard the special inequality for the husband when the wife's unfaithfulness forces upon him children that are not his. But in Scotland, where also women have not the vote, the law is equal; no revolution, then, in the franchise is requisite to equalise the law in England. In fact, a Royal Commission has the matter already in hand; and, as it was with married women's property, so also in respect of this injustice, redress is sure to come without Woman Suffrage, and with that growth in the sense of fairness and consideration which has evolved so much legislation during recent years in the interest of voteless women and children. Nor can redress for these alone be held sufficient. Even the recently launched "Women's Charter" acknowledges that, in certain serious points of law, especially since the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, men also suffer from inequality.

Mr. Galsworthy contends that, if an idea "can be proved to be holding fast and spreading, it must be an idea emanating from the divinity of things, from the overmastering principle of Equity, and sure of ultimate fulfilment." But how far is such an argument to be allowed to press us? To Islam, to Christian Science, to Socialism?

To meet the argument drawn from the apathy of the mass of women towards the suffrage, Mr. Galsworthy conjures up the apathy of the agricultural labourer before 1885. But those who watched that agitation will deny that there was any apathy comparable to that of the vast majority of women now; and certainly there were no labourers' associations or petitions against endowing the labourer with political power. "Emancipation of women" is a disingenuous term, and (as Professor Dicey points out) there is "cant concealed in the application" of it. It connotes

slavery: it "suggests the notion that to give English women votes is to give them freedom. They cannot be emancipated, because they are born free, are free, and will remain free, whether they obtain Parliamentary votes or not." The so-called "emancipation of women" is not a deliverance of them from slavery, but a bestowal upon them of the power to govern. When many women see a national danger in this bestowal, it is not enough to tell them, with Mr. Galsworthy, that they may "remain inactive" and need not exercise the power.

On one or two minor but related points Mr. Galsworthy's own equity is not transparent. It is not at all a just description of imprisonment for law-breaking to say that "every little outrage committed on men by women is met by a little outrage committed on women by men." Nor is it an adequate picture of the bulk of the outrages committed during four years by the militants to ask, "What would you have but high spirit?" What has struck the outside public most has been, not the high spirit, but the childishness, and the unfair advantage these women have taken of their sex, and of the men's inevitable and natural and costly consideration for it. Nor could the public avoid seeing, in an object lesson, the political insufficiency of those who seemed to want the vote most.

Without doubt, certain things yet remain to be done in equitably adjusting the relations between the sexes; but what Mr. Galsworthy preaches as "the full emancipation of women" ignores his "ground facts of difference"; and the "stone" on which the feminist movement will "fall" is the fundamental fact that "male and female created He them," and that, somehow or other, in the present world at least, this fact is unalterable.

Mr. Galsworthy's pleasant and alluring theme is "gentleness." But gentleness, when degenerate, becomes mere good-nature; and with good nature firmness and courage are often called to be in conflict. Mr. Galsworthy does not seem to be aware that, in these days of feminist atmosphere, it is easier for a politician, and even for a non-political man, to profess sympathy with the feminist movement than openly to stand up against it. But the male anti-suffragist may reap some consolation from the hope that, in his convinced opposition to it, he may possibly be retaining one at least of Mr. Galsworthy's "essential characteristics of a gentleman"—"the power to do what seems to him right, without considering what others may say or think."

J. MASSIE.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

WE have great pleasure in drawing attention to the formation of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, which is intended to work in friendly co-operation with ourselves. Our June number will contain a portrait of the Duchess of Montrose, the President of the League, and a full report of the inaugural proceedings. The objects and ideals of the new League have been admirably set out in the following opening letter, which has been widely circulated north of the Tweed:—

"This League is being formed to meet the earnest desire of a large number of women in Scotland, who are anxious to unite in opposing the enfranchisement of women.

"In Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other Scottish towns, Anti-Suffrage Committees have already been formed, and it is now hoped, by means of a National League, to enable the various Branches to work on uniform lines.

"The chief endeavour of the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League will be to convince women—many of whom have not yet studied this question very deeply—of the danger to the State if votes were given to large numbers of inexperienced women. It is obvious that such are debarred by nature and circumstances from the requisite political knowledge which would enable them to give an intelligent vote on questions that affect our Empire.

"The Militant Suffragists, in their clamour for "votes," view the Suffrage question *only* from the circumscribed standpoint of advantages to be gained by their sex, thus proving how unfitted they are to appreciate the complexity of national and Imperial questions. The argument that many of the present electors are likewise unfitted, can be answered by the query—Will trebling the number of the unfitted improve matters?

"Owing to the fact that the Suffragists are always before the public, and their arguments thrust forward on all occasions, many people only hear *their side* of the Suffrage question, and become imbued with the idea that certain hardships and grievances of the female sex, can only be rectified by granting votes to women. The Scottish Anti-Suffrage League will seek to demonstrate that all such grievances can be remedied and reforms obtained by other means than the vote.

"The League hopes further to prove to many women, who are still undecided in their views on this subject, that the danger to the State, if women were admitted to the Suffrage, would far outweigh any possible advantages that the sex might gain by having votes.

"We appeal, therefore, to those who have sufficient foresight to estimate the serious results likely to ensue from such a social revolution—for no other term can be given it—to join the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League, and support it by every means in their power."

V. MONTROSE, LL.D., President.

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2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
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