THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE

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LOSS OR GAIN?

THE exciting events of the last three weeks have afforded no opportunity for discovering the attitude of the new Parliament towards the electoral enfranchisement of women. they have shown conclusively that the question is further removed from the sphere of practical politics than it was before the General Election. So far as anything can be certain in so troubled a situation, the third Parliament of King Edward promises to be one of the shortest in history. We have no concern in these pages with Budget or "Veto," but the concentration of all parties in the State upon a great constitutional issue is fatal to the immediate prospects of the social revolution which the Suffragists are desirous of inaugurating. The more level-headed in their ranks are fully conscious of the fact, but among the wilder spirits there is a disposition to kick against unkind fate and to refuse to recognise the heavy barrier which has descended upon their hopes. Mr. Asquith, as we all remember, promised in 1908 that he would bring in a Reform Bill before the close of the then existing Parliament, and that he would leave the admission of women to the franchise an open question among his followers. Circumstances which no one could foresee caused an indefinite postponement of the promised measure. It still stands postponed *sine die*, and when the day comes it is very unlikely that the same amiable latitude will be conceded by the Prime Minister in office.

Meanwhile time is on our side: the defence has been more difficult to organise than the attack, and much still remains to be accomplished. An article in the Nation of February 12th attempts to sum up the loss and gain of the election, and the writer, while expecting to find "the friendly majority" reduced in the new House of Commons, is "slow to believe that it has been extinguished." The data for determining this are still unavailable or unreliable, but we must take strong exception to the assumption made in the following paragraph "that Liberalism is still overwhelmingly favourable." Whatever may be the result of counting heads at Westminster, this is emphatically untrue throughout the country at large. Mr. Stead, no unfriendly critic, makes the chilling remark in last month's Review of Reviews that, "looking at the constituencies as a whole, it would be difficult even for the most ardent friend of women's suffrage to claim that the question of the electoral franchise of women has been before the country at all." And the Liberal electors would be more than human if they can endure without resentment the electoral tactics of the Suffragettes and the assaults, metaphorical and literal, that have been directed against their

leaders. Even since the opening of Parliament the militant women have been illustrating the curious "entente" between them and the Liberal party by furiously opposing the Ministerial candidates at every byelection where a contest has taken place.

The writer in the Nation is convinced that behind the militants "lies a permanent and powerful force of womanhood, with full right to speak for all that is best in the life of their sex. It includes large masses of the manual workers of the country; it speaks for the great body of professional and intellectual women." And we are further asked to admit "that the general intellectual assent of the community to the principle of the suffrage indicates one of the most absolutely finished causes that we know of in politics." We have quoted this amazing sentence because it is a sample of the assertions which do duty for argument on so many suffrage platforms. It is the duty of our League to show that this is a complete travesty of the facts. The community has given no such assent, and the more the real meaning of "Votes for Women" is understood, and the more it is advertised by the tactics of its "advanced" supporters, the deeper grows the national repugnance to entrusting the destinies of the Empire to those who are daily demonstrating their unfitness for the task. The noise and activity of the Suffragists conceal the fact that not 3 per cent. of the women of the United Kingdom have shown their desire for the vote by joining the various Leagues and societies which propagate the cause. And those societies are engaged in an internecine struggle among themselves, WE very much regret that we are still both as to their tactics and as to whether the electorate is to be increased by twelve millions or only by a million and a quarter.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are very glad to see that at least

two women have been returned to the

London County Council by substantial

majorities. Miss Susan Lawrence, who has been elected as a Municipal Reformer for West Marylebone, will make an admirable member of the Council, and we congratulate her sincerely on her return. Her work as a co-opted member of the Education Committee has always been of remarkable quality and value even in the eyes of those who do not agree with her in important points. She is very cautious in action, and alive to all the dangers that the Conservative party on the Council insist on with regard to the piling up of rates, or the interfering with individual responsibility and initiative. At the same time she has a very great knowledge of detail, and a single-minded devotion to the cause of the schools and the children. Miss Nettie Adler, who has been elected in Hackney as a Progressive, is also an admirable and zealous worker, who has done excellent work, both on the Education Committee of the last Council, and also outside the Council in connection with the Children's Act, with the street trading of school children, and many other matters. Miss Adler's intelligence and courage, Miss Lawrence's judgment and caution, will both be very valuable to the new Council. But how small a women! Three other women candidates were defeated at the poll, but this only brings the total of those who stood in the election up to five. How far this is due to the hostile state of public opinion on the subject of woman suffrage just now we have no means of knowing precisely. But it is at any rate clear that women candidatures are not popular, and that the supply of women candidates is small. An unhappy agitation has both chilled the electors who should be sending women into the Councils, and diverted the energies of women themselves from the very fields of work where their the nation. 雅 雅 班

compelled to hold over the tabulated statement of the "assurances" given by the members of the new Parliament | tion of the assistance of women in his on the question of the suffrage. Unless | appeal to the electors, or declared that absolute accuracy is assured the he had not received it. As a matter of

analysis is misleading and useless, and the silence maintained by so many candidates renders the classification no easy task. The need for caution is emphasised by the list contained in the "Common Cause" for February 17th. No less than 373 names are there given of members "who have expressed themselves in favour of Women's Suffrage." No information is supplied as to the form which this "expression" took, or the manner in which it was given. We are left in the dark as to which members follow Mr. Stanger and which Mr. Geoffrey Howard. We do not know in what terms the pledge was framed, or at what date, and the inclusion of some of the names has filled us, to say the least, with considerable suspicion. Out of the total of 373, the Unionists contribute 113 names, the Labour party 39, the Nationalists 21, and the Liberals 200. When it is remembered that the Liberal party in the House of Commons only comprises 274 members, this is a very remarkable list, and by no means in harmony with the information which has reached us from other quarters.

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WE can well understand that the suffragists should be exultant over the temporary absence from Westminster of so redoubtable an opponent as Dr. Massie, but we can see no excuse for the misrepresentations of his attitude before, during, and after the election result numerically of the Act which in which some of them are now in-has opened these important bodies to dulging. The "Common Cause" for the 10th of February speaks of him as 'another opponent who has fallen from the high standard of consistency expressed in his letters to the Times. Dr. Massie," continues the writer, "like Mr. Asquith, prided himself on never having recognised the help of women at a Parliamentary election; indeed, Dr. Massie went as far as to say that he had not the assistance of women in his appeals to the electors of the Cricklade Division." As regards the Prime Minister we believe this statement to be utterly untrue; as regards Dr. Massie we know it to be. We have looked through his letters to help is indispensable to the welfare of | the Times, and there is nothing whatever in them relating to women's help at elections. We defy the "Common Cause" to produce a scintilla of evidence that on any occasion Dr. Massie 'prided himself' on his non-recogni-

fact, Dr. Massie made the most public to 1,893. The spade work of the women were enfranchised in his city acknowledgment, after the declaration summer had been completely when "the ballot" was given to the of the poll in 1906, of the invaluable service which the women had rendered him, and he did the same after his defeat in January last. The whole thing is an invention, and, we regret to add, a characteristic one.

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Election are still fresh, there is one little moral which we do not think has been pointed out, certainly not in any conspicuous fashion. It is one of the few accepted principles in political meteorology that seats lost at a by-election are almost invariably regained when the general verdict of the constituencies is taken. The reasons for this are obvious: militant organisations and eloquent speakers cannot multiply themselves indefinitely, and the forces and enthusiasm which are concentrated in such a struggle, to give a simple illustration as the Bermondsey election of October last, are dissipated when every borough or county division has its own little battle going on. During the years 1908 and 1909, from the moment when the "forward" policy was adopted by the suffragists, their activity was displayed in every sticken field; and every defeat of a Ministerial candidate, or reduction in a Ministerial majority was hailed as a triumph for the cause. In North-West Manchester, in Mid-Devon, in South Herefordshire, in Haggerston, in Bermondsey, in Peckham, to name the first that come to mind, the cry of "Keep the Liberal out" was raised in its shrillest notes, and the practised electioneerers among the suffragettes were whirled from constituency to constituency. At the time we ventured to doubt whether these good ladies had really played quite so determining a part as was claimed for them. But in fact. Such disqualification does not any case the effect they produced must have been most transient, for in every one of the cases quoted above, with the exception of Peckham, the byelection verdict was reversed, and in and airy language, is once conceded, Peckham the Conservative majority fell our League may put up its shutters. from 2,494 in March, 1908, to 83 in January, 1910. The suffragist seed appears to have fallen on remarkably stony ground. The Cleveland division of Yorkshire, again, when Mr. H. L. Samuel's re-election was opposed last August, was said to have given a complete moral victory for the franchise,

obliterated.

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN is, undeniably, one of the ablest and most persuasive of the suffragist speakers, and her arguments always demand attention, if only for the interest of detecting the fallacies which underlie them. In addressing the Bournemouth Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, on the 10th of February, she indulged in one of the most familiar and most useful devices of the skilful advocate, that of "begging the question "-petitio principii is the term in the old logic books. "They felt they were on safe ground in demanding that where a woman fulfilled the qualification which at present was considered necessary to enfranchise a man, she should not be deprived of her vote simply because she happened to have been born a female instead of a male." On safe ground! Why, that is the very key to our position, the fact that man is man, and woman is woman, and that the difference between them, physical and mental, is one which no Act of Parliament, no chain of reasoning can ever bridge. On this bedrock, apart from all other considerations, our opposition to female suffrage is based, and we are asked in a pretty sentence to abandon our profoundest convictions as a mere matter of course. The same audience was told in the same quiet way that the suffragists are only asking "that to be born female should cease to be a political crime." This is picturesque, and we believe it is only too often effective, but it is intensely ridiculous. Nature has imposed its own disqualification, and the vast majority of women acknowledge the imply inferiority; it imposes no stigma; it is a recognition of what has existed since man and woman began to be. If this position, put forward in such light

THE secretary of the Windsor and Eton Branch of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, Miss Florence Gibbs, writes to complain of the extract

citizen of Colorado, irrespective of sex. We are not prepared to decide between the Judge and the writer of the article, and we are prepared to admit that round numbers are rarely accurate. But the picture of these poor creatures being driven to the poll like sheep, singing their maudlin ditties, is drawn from the life, and has received ample corroboration, e.g., from the wellknown pamphlet by Mr. Laurence Lewis, "How Women's Suffrage Works in Colorado." And whether they be ten thousand or five hundred, the fact remains that their votes were able to neutralise an equivalent number cast by "their sheltered and protected sisters.' Judge Lindsey is also quoted as pointing to a long and admirable series of laws which have been enacted in the State of Colorado for the protection of women and children, and which he says would never have come into being without the women's vote. This is one of those negative propositions which are, proverbially, so hard to establish. We can only say that with scarcely an exception these enactments are to be found in our own Statute Book, placed there by a Parliament elected by men. Miss Gibbs also takes exception to our statement that a suffragist lady, collecting signatures for the Elector's Petition at Chiswick, wrote some of these in her own handwriting. "Your informant must be mistaken, for the strictest instructions were issued by the Head Office that each voter must himself sign the petition." Strict instructions are not always carried out, especially under the trying climatic conditions which prevailed on the day of the Chiswick election. We have no doubt that our informant, Mrs. Harold Norris, reported exactly what she saw.

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THE persons who rely on the experience of Colorado and Utah, and of those Britains beyond the seas" which have accepted female suffrage, must suffer from the defects of a limited vision. Between the franchise in a state of the American Union and in an English Parliamentary constituency there is no real analogy, as the most elementary acquaintance with the congiven in our February number from stitution of the United States will the American Pictorial Review. It show. And Australia and New because the Liberal majority, thanks appears that Judge Lindsey, of Denver, Zealand have, so far, been happily to the ladies, sank from 2,036 to has denied in very strong language the exempt from the graver problems of 971; but in January it had risen again statement that ten thousand dissolute Empire. We are not disparaging MARCH, 1910.]

these questions which affect the home addressing a meeting at Sheffield was and its daily life when we say that the equally emphatic in "denying the and help of women and children. The government of a world-wide power is a very different matter from regulating the conditions of labour or the rate of wages; and, above all, the test of time has never been applied. The admission of women to the franchise in our colonies is an affair of yesterday, it has undergone no strain, and it has been worked in regions where women are as much out-numbered as men in a London ballroom.

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SIR CHARLES DILKE has re-introduced the Bill he laid before Parliament last session the object of which is to establish a single franchise at all elections, and thereby to abolish University representation and to remove the disabilities of women. The main provisions are as follows: -Every man and woman of full age, whether married or single, shall be qualified to vote at a Parliamentary or local election, who resides in the area for which the election is held, and is duly registered, unless disqualified (for a reason other than sex or marriage) by common law or Act of Parliament. No person shall be returned as a member to serve in Parliament by any university or combination of universities. No person shall be disqualified by sex or marriage from being elected or being a member of either House of Parliament, or of a borough or county council, or from exercising any public functions what-

Considering that this Bill is backed by a Liberal member, Mr. Byles; by a Nationalist; and by three Labour M.P.'s, including so vehement a champion of the militant suffragettes as Mr. Keir Hardie, its reception in that camp is the reverse of sympathetic. "One or two correspondents," says an editorial note in Votes for Women, "have asked us for information with regard to Sir Charles Dilke's Suffrage Bill. This is one of these measures for electoral reform immediately recognised by every real suffragist as only calculated to complicate and injure the question of Woman Suffrage by reason of its sweeping constitutional changes. No serious effort has ever been made by Sir Charles Dilke to introduce this measure himself, or to secure its discussion in the House of Commons, and the Woman's Social and Political Union regards its introduction as unworthy of consideration." Mrs. Fawcett, we notice, in

allegation so repeatedly hurled at the members of the Women's Suffrage Society that they were seeking adult suffrage ultimately," or had any intention of swamping the men. We would point in reply to the programme of the People's Suffrage Federation, a society founded in October of last year with the object of obtaining the vote for all adult citizens, men and women, on a short residential qualification. The certainty that the vote cannot be restricted to the million and a quarter women who would have been enfranchised by Mr. Stanger is one of the weakest corners in the Suffragist position, and members of our League are exhorted to make a note of the point, and to neglect no opportunity of driving it home.

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It is becoming apparent, we are afraid, that the self-denying ordinance of the militant suffragettes is to have a very short trial. On the opening of Parliament an ultimatum was sent to Mr. Asquith by the Women's Freedom League, which demanded "that a Government declaration shall be made at once to the effect that women's suffrage legislation shall be undertaken by the Government itself in the coming session of Parliament." Until the Government has had "a fair opportunity of stating its intentions the members of the Women's Freedom League have decided to refrain from militant tactics," but not a moment longer. We have surveyed the political situation in another column, and it is obvious that these good ladies might as well ask for the moon as for a Women's Franchise Bill in the present session, or indeed in the present Parliament. The muchvaunted "Petition from the Polling Booths" is not likely to soften the hearts of a much harassed administration, and we are assured that the experiment is not to be repeated. The electors who signed the petition had in a large number of cases recorded their votes for a candidate who was utterly opposed to the concession of the suffrage to women. The party instinct in Englishmen is not to be eradicated in so summary a fashion.

Women Workers is a nice little quarterly publication, emanating from Birmingham, the avowed object of which is to form a centre for all work | buted to the peccant paragraph than

subscribers must have been considerably astonished when they came to read the following paragraph, which appeared in the issue of last September :-

"It is impossible to study the part

played by women in the French Revolution without being reminded of the crisis through which we, in England. are passing to-day. After forty years of patient and more or less fruitless propaganda, the Women's Suffrage movement has of late assumed an almost revolutionary aspect, and English statesmen must be strangely ignorant of human nature and of the teaching of history if they expect to crush this movement by treating its legitimate demands with contempt and punishing its militant leaders as ordinary criminals. 'There is no fury like a woman scorned.' Mr. Asquith will only have himself to blame if his arrogant attitude towards women produces a formidable number of furies in the near future. Signs are not wanting that the militant Suffragists are beginning to regard their 'policy of pinpricks' as inadequate, and to adopt tactics which may sooner or later lead to an insurrection of women as momentous in its results as that which marked the first stage of the French Revolution."

SEPTEMBER, it will be remembered, was the month of Mr. Asquith's visit to Birmingham, at which some of the worst incidents of the campaign of outrage took place. We are not surprised to find the following editorial note in the December number of Women Workers :-

"We very much regret that a paragraph in an article in our last issue conveyed to some of our readers an impression of sympathy with the lawlessness of the militant Suffragists. We are assured that nothing was further from the writer's intentions than to express sympathy with lawlessness in any form, but it was obviously an error of judgment on our part to allow a criticism of the Government's policy in relation to Women's Suffrage to appear in a magazine whose main purpose is to promote unity among women workers of all shades of opinion."

So frank a confession disarms criticism, but we must express our surprise that any other meaning could be attriorder. We doubt whether the writer had any idea of the part actually played by women in the French Revolution, save a hazy recollection of the march on Versailles, as described by Carlyle. But the innuendo is unmistakable, and is thoroughly characteristic of the reckless licence in speech, as well as in action, which the more hysterical section of the Suffragists have come to

OUR BRANCH NEWS= LETTER.

THE month of February has been full of

activities amongst our Branches, and there is every indication that the year of work before us is to fulfil the promise of this most enterprising spring. Annual meetings and debates | sixty were against. follow one another in quick succession, and a particularly striking feature of a large proportion of public debates just now is the so frequent defeat of the Suffrage resolution. We carried our point by a splendid majority," is a frequent message from Branches where debates have been held. There can be no clearer indication of the waning popularity of our opponents' cause. We hear news, too, of Suffragist failures in the provinces. From our Sheffield Branch we have received a letter dated February 24th, from which we take the folowing extract : - "The large Suffrage meeting here last week, at which Mrs. H. Fawcett spoke, was not a very enthusiastic one. It was stated that our opposition vote was 'about eight,' whereas it was well over thirty, and a very large number of the working people did not vote either way. They told me they were nearly all on our side, but did not like to make themselves conspicuous. They were also offended at the references to divorce and children's laws, which they characterised as 'most unseemly.' We sent up a good many written and signed questions, but the answers, though very courteously given, were evasive, and in one or two cases untrue." A significant sentence from a Bridlington letter says: "At a recent Suffragist meeting at Bridlington hardly anyne turned up, and this was commented on the local press. The Suffragists are really ng yeoman service towards the objects of the Anti-Suffrage League.'

One of the most interesting debates of February was held in Newport on the 14th, when the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried

by a large majority.

Mrs. Biddle, of our Newport Branch, deated with Miss Barrett, of Cardiff, a speaker for the Women's Social and Political Union. Mrs. Percy Phillips was in the chair. Mrs. Biddle ridiculed the idea that the vote was ecessary for women to receive fair treatment law, disputed the claim that the vote ould be instrumental in raising the wages women workers, and argued that upon of two to one in favour of Anti-Suffrage.

that of incitement to crime and dis-was highly undesirable. There was no general desire of women themselves for the change. An animated discussion followed. and the result of the voting occasioned much surprise, in view of the long and active campaign which has been waged by the Suffragists in Newport.

In connection with our rapidly growing Sidmouth Branch, a particularly successful meeting was held at Ottery St. Mary on February 24th. Sir Ernest Satow was in the chair, and speeches by Miss Lindsay and Mrs. Derry (of Exeter) were enthusiastically received. A tribute was paid to the excellent work done by Miss Purcell in this district.

A brilliant success was scored at Wendover on February 16th, when Miss Lindsay de-bated with Mrs. Rackham, of the National Union of Women Suffrage Society, Dr. L. H. West in the chair. Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mr. Ian Walton, Miss Strong and Mr. Landon poke, and Mrs. Rackham's Suffrage resolu ion was defeated by an overwhelming majority, only fourteen voting for it, while

At Bristol, Mrs. Trapnell, of our Branch there, delivered an excellent speech on Anti-Suffrage principles in connection with the Bristol Central Y.M.C.A. Literary Society, and, after a very animated debate, the audience decided against the suffrage being granted to women. Our membership at Bristol is increasing very rapidly lately.

The annual meeting of the Leicester and Leicestershire Branch, on February 22nd, created a good deal of interest. Mr. A. Maconachie occupied the chair, and was suported by a number of influential people The Chairman, in opening the meeting, said the Government were not going to introduce a Bill in favour of women's suffrage during the present session, and they could now think about the matter on its merits, whether they were Liberals, Radicals, or Socialists. Mrs. Colquhoun, in moving the Anti-Suffrage resolution, said that enormous success had been met with wherever the League went. Their work was more difficult than the propaganda work of the other side, but there were two opinions to most political questions. The first danger, if the vote was granted to women on the present basis, was that it would be unfair. It would not enfranchise vomen who lived at home with their husbands. She was led to understand that it was one of the great objects of some of her friends to get the economic independence of women. The economic independence of women meant that a woman must be paid for every bit of work she did. Suppose a woman was a bad wife and a bad mother, would the husband dock her wages, like a housekeeper? Then women would not be able to enforce the laws they made. As to the proper qualification, it would be an injustice to poor women. There would be an aristocratic qualification for women and a democratic qualification for men. Mr. Herbert Ellis supported the resolution, which was carried.

At the end of last month one of the members of the Manchester Debating Society took part in a debate at Cheetham Hill, her ponent being a member of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. A prolonged discussion followed the debate, and the result of the voting showed a majority

Early in February, on the invitation of St. James' Debating Society, an address entitled "Why Women should not have the Vote" was given by Mr. Hamilton, chairman of the Manchester Executive Committee, in St. James' School, Higher Broughton. The members spoke in appreciative terms of the address, the various points being taken up and discussed by them.

Yet another very successful debate was one at a Hornsey Rise debating society, when Miss Lindsay very ably argued with Miss H. D. Cockle, of the London Society of Women's Suffrage.

Miss Fothergill is now in Leeds very busy with organising work, and of the various meetings which will be held in connection with her visit, full reports will appear in

On March 3rd a most enthusiastic drawingoom meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Edwards, at Watford, and as a consequence a debate was fixed to take place with the West Herts Suffrage Society at a

Two debates held recently in Avr are of especial interest at the present moment, as the organising secretary for Scotland is working there with a view to forming a branch of the Scottish Women's Natio Anti-Suffrage League, which promises to be very well supported by the people of Ayr, Largs and district

"There seems to be no doubt," says a representative of our Glasgow Branch, "that the local Suffragists are feeling the influence of our League. The mere fact of the Anti-Suffrage movement being in existence, and quietly and unostentatiously doing good work, is stimulating them to redouble their efforts.

At a Beccles debate on March 2nd Miss Broadwood delivered a capital address on Anti-Suffrage ideals. Miss Broadwood spoke as an active worker for social reform, and her arguments were clear and decisive.

A great number of important meetings and debates are fixed for March, so that our April News-Letter will contain plenty of interesting news from our Branches. A debate is to take place at University College on the evening of March 11th, between Mrs. Arthur Somervell and Mr. Laurence Hausman, Professor Karl Pearson in the chair. After a rest, which was necessitated by her vigorous work for the League all last year, Mrs. Somervell is now, we are delighted to say, able to resume public speaking. She is also speaking at the West Marylebone annual meeting on the same afternoon for us.

If the voting at a February meeting of the Teignmouth Literary Society may be taken as a standpoint, Teignmouth certainly does not favour the extension of the Parliamer tary franchise to women. Mr. T. Somerville presided over a very large audience, and the claim for women's suffrage was advocated by Mr. J. A. Gray, and resisted by Mr. C. E. Gowings. On no occasion in the history of the society has such genuine interest been evinced in a debate. The whole subject was keenly thrashed out; it was looked at and approached from every point of view, with the result that an overwhelming majority decided that it was unwise and impolitic to extend the franchise to women This debate plainly showed the vital need of publicly discussing this question. It re

moves misapprehension, it stirs up interest, and teaches men and women what they are both certain to lose, should such a change in our electoral laws ever be accomplished.

Arranged by Mrs. R. H. Cheetham, of St. Normans, Ewell, a well-attended meeting was held in the Parochial Hall, Ewell, on February 25th. Mrs. Reichardt presided. Miss Pott and Mr. Pembroke Wicks, in in teresting addresses, explained the attitude of the League towards women's suffrage, and the reasons for opposition to the demand

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVE-MENT IN AMERICA.

A NEW YORK Senator, Senator Brackett has introduced into the New York State Legislature a Bill providing for a special election to be held next autumn on the day before the regular election, in which women only should vote, and in which the question should be submitted to them whether or not they desire the ballot.

The Executive Committee of the New York State Association opposed to woman suffrage have passed a resolution that they will neither oppose nor advocate this Bill, as they believe that the burden of proof as to the desire for woman suffrage lies with the Suffragists, and the American Anti-Suffragists are ready, if the Bill should pass, to meet the issue. The New York Outlook pithily comments regarding Senator Brackett's Bill, "The newspapers report expressions of opposition o the Bill by some prominent advocates of woman suffrage, but we have not seen any report of any official action by any

woman suffrage association. The Outlook further asks, "Do the woman Suffragists who every year go before the State Legislature asking that the suffrage be extended to women really represent a great body of patient women who are eager for a right of suffrage now denied them? Or are they a small minority of women who desire to force upon reluctant women a task which is irksome to them? It is important that the present voters should get an answer to this question, and we can conceive no better way to ascertain the wish of the silent women than to give them a free opportunity to express their wish. If in such an election the great majority of the women qualified to vote should refuse to register and to cast a ballot, that fact would be a demonstration that they are either opposed to woman suffrage or indifferent to it. A brief and perhaps heated canvass would probably precede the special election which Senator Brackett proposes, but it voted if the question had appealed to would be followed by a welcome rest. If majority of the women expressed their desire for the suffrage, and it was granted. as in that case it would be, of course the agitation would cease. If, on the other hand, the great majority of the women the proposal was actually smaller than has stem the tide of Socialism.'

by their abstention from voting indicated that they did not desire the ballot, however little the woman suffragists might be satisfied with the result, and however desirous they might be to continue the agitation, they would find it impossible to get any further general public attention. The question would be closed by the silent vote of the women."

This situation should be compared with the story of the so-called "Referendum" in Massachusetts in 1895, a full account of which was given by Mr. Frank Foxcroft, of Boston, in the Nineteenth Century for November, 1904, and as the incident is probably forgotten on this side of the Atlantic, we make no apology for quoting liberally from his article.

"A Municipal Suffrage Bill narrowly missed passing in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1894. It was acted on favourably by the House, and defeated in the Senate. The effort to secure its passage was renewed the next year; and the Legislature, after first rejecting the Bill, conceived the idea of getting a mandate from the people, or at least some light as to public sentiment. It therefore passed a Bill providing for the submission to the men voters of the State at the election in November, and also to women possessed of the qualifications necessary to entitle them to vote for school committees, the question: 'Is it expedient that municipal suffrage be granted to women?' It was further provided that the vote of the sexes should be recorded separately. The Bill was opposed by leading Suffragists, who seemed to shrink from such a test of public sentiment, and even after it had been passed, several of them waited upon the Governor and asked him to veto it. The Suffragists, however, made an energetic campaign. They formed local organisations and made a thorough canvass, and several weeks before the election their spirits were so far revived that the Woman's Journal of Boston, the suffrage organ, declared hopefully, 'after next November Suffragists will probably have a right to claim that they speak for a majority of the women.' On the other hand, the women represented by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women did not recommend women holding this view to go to the polls, but urged them to use their influence to increase the vote of

men against the proposition. "The result of the vote was startling in the extreme. Of the men who voted, 86,970 expressed themselves in favour of giving the municipal ballot to women, and 186,976 against it—an adverse majority of 100,006. But the vote of the women was more surprising. There were, in round them; but of these only 22,204 went to the polls and recorded themselves in favour of municipal suffrage, and 864

sometimes been polled at school elections. There were forty-seven towns in which no woman voted 'Yes,' and in 138 other towns the women who voted 'Yes' numbered

Mr. Foxcroft proceeded to point out that the situation before the American legislator, when he is asked to extend the frage to women, is now very different from what it was in 1894. "Then the claim for suffrage was put forward in a general way for 'the women,' and legislators who did not give it respectful consideration were charged with lack of chivalry and generosity. When hearings were given upon proposed suffrage measures ordinarily only the petitioners appeared and legislative committees were justified in concluding that they expressed the desire of practically all women. But now legis lative hearings upon this question resolve themselves into a kind of joint debate between women who want the ballot and women who do not want it; and the women who appear to remonstrate against the extension of suffrage to their sex, are not only as intelligent, as sincere, and as earnest as those who seek the ballot, but they are able to point to evidence, the nature of which has been already indicated to justify their claim to speak for an overwhelming, though hitherto silent majority of their sex."

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON AND OUR KENSINGTON BRANCH.

THE following cutting from the Times of February 26th is of particular interest to our readers :-

"Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., received last evening at Harrington House, 13, Kensington Palace Gardens (the residence of Lady Anna Chandos-Pole), an address from the Ken sington branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. The address, which was originally intended for the late Lord Percy, was, as a letter signed by Mary Lady Ilchester (the president) pointed out, intended to convey to the member of Parliament for South Kensington the feelings of a number of his constituents, men and women, on the question of woman suffrage. No attempt was made at a house-to-house canvass t collect signatures, but the papers were pri vately circulated among the members of the League through the post. After the death of Lord Percy the circulation of the paper ceased, but as 702 signatures had been col lected in the course of a few weeks, it was felt that they should be presented to the new member. Sir Alfred Lyall, one of the signatories, presented the address, which expressed the earnest hope that Lord Claud Hamilton might be relied upon to oppose steadily and unconditionally any measure that may be brought forward in the Hous of Commons for the extension of the Parlia mentary franchise to women. Lord Clau Hamilton, in reply, said that he had for thirty-five years been an opponent of woman suffrage, and they might rely upon him to do what they wished. He differed from those of his colleagues who believed that the

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MARCH, 1910.]

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So convinced are we that the merits of Oatine Toilet Soap will ensure its universal adoption that we have decided, for a limited period, to distribute absolutely free to all taking advantage of our offer, a tablet of this delightful Soap.

All you have to do is to send the attached Coupon, together with 3d. in stamps (halfpenny stamps preferred) to pay the cost of postage and packing, and you will receive by return of posta parcel containing a full-size Visitors' Tablet of this delightful Soap together with a copy of our booklet, "Beauty Hints," and samples of the following Preparations, all packed in a dainty box—Oatine Cream, Balm, Face Powder, Talcum Powder, Tooth Paste, Soap in tubes, and Kylets.

THE OATINE CO., 490, OATINE BUILDINGS, MERMAID LONDON, S.E.