

66  
16

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

No. 1.

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1908.

PRICE ½d.

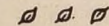
"The Anti-Suffrage Review" is Published by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League at 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. It expresses the views of the Executive Committee of the League, who believe that the large majority of their sex do not want a vote, and that to force it upon them would be a great injustice.

The following are the members of the Executive Committee:—

THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY  
(Chairman),

MRS. MASSIE (Vice-Chairman),

Lady Haversham, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Ermine Taylor, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Miss Lonsdale, Lady George Hamilton, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, Miss Gertrude Bell (Hon. Sec.), Lady Weardale, Miss Janet Hogarth, Hon. Nina Kay Shuttleworth, Ellen Countess of Desart, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Mr. Heber Hart, Mrs. Burgwin, Miss Low, and Mrs. Simon.



The first number of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW seems to demand a fresh though short statement of the aims and hopes of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, of which it is to be the organ; a statement brought up to date, and taking account of recent events.

No moment could be more favourable for the appearance of our little journal. The recent performances of the Women's Social and Political Union; the attempt to 'rush' the House of Commons, with its accompaniments of riot and injury, and its sequel in a mock-heroic trial, and a mock-heroic imprisonment, which could be terminated at any moment by the will of the prisoners; the ludi-

crous, but none the less scandalous, attack by women of the same body on the decency and dignity of the House of Commons itself, have sent a shock of repulsion—a wave of angry laughter—through England, and are bringing recruits from all sides to the Anti-Suffrage League. In the week after the attempted 'rush,' the offices of the League were besieged by visitors and correspondence; the opposition to the Suffrage movement is strengthening throughout the country; branches are being rapidly formed in the provinces; in London whole districts are waking up to the peril at our doors; and in general, as may be seen by the protest at High Wycombe against the Mayoralty of a woman so respected as Miss Dove, and by the defeats of women candidates in the municipal elections, the strong antipathy of our serious, slow-moving middle class has been aroused; and no movement has ever yet been successful in England that had the feeling of our great middle class against it.

But although the omens for our League are good, and the Suffragettes have been rapidly destroying all that generous respect for the cause and the advocates of woman suffrage, which the efforts of Mrs. Fawcett and many others have awakened even among those who could not agree with them, the peril is still great, and the League has its work before it! For in these days of wide publicity, any movement which takes to the streets, and gets something of a hold there—any movement which involves riot and disorder, struggles with the police, and the defiance of the ordinary decencies of life, is sure to obtain—momentarily—far more attention from a democracy than it gives to reformers who are law-abiding and self-controlled. Something is gained—temporarily—by headlines, by arrogance and violence, and

the defiance of all measure and all authority.

*But it is not a gain that lasts.* And it is our business as a League to take full advantage of the present reaction visible in all spheres of life, to make our protests heard.

We protest against the Parliamentary franchise for women, because it involves a kind of activity and responsibility for woman which is not compatible with her nature, and with her proper tasks in the world. Men who have built up the State, and whose physical strength protects it, must govern it, through the rough and ready machinery of party-politics. Women are citizens of the State no less than men, but in a more ideal and spiritual sense. The great advance of women during the last half-century, moral and intellectual, has been made without the vote; and the work now under their hands, for which the nation calls upon them, work with which the Parliamentary vote and party-politics have nothing to do, is already more than they can accomplish. To plunge women into the strife of parties will only hinder that work, and injure their character. Have not the spectacles of the last few weeks shown conclusively that women are not fit for the ordinary struggle of politics, and are degraded by it? Their nerves are of a different tension from men's. Once admit them to the Parliamentary vote, and we shall see many further attempts to 'rush' the House of Commons whenever any strong agitation is at work among the women voters; the violent excitable element in politics will be largely increased; and a sex feeling and sex antagonism will be aroused, rendering the calm and practical discussion of great questions impossible; a feeling and antagonism disastrous to women, disastrous to England.

Meanwhile the members of the new League are no mere advocates of things as they are. They do not deny in the least the existence, both for women and men, of grievances that should be redressed, of wrongs that should be righted. But they believe that many agencies exist, or could be developed out of those that exist, whereby reform could be obtained without the rash and ruinous experiment of the Parliamentary vote for women. Our columns will always be open to the signed advocacy and discussion of reforms concerning the life and work of women. We shall support their present privileges and powers in local government with all our strength. But we shall do all that in us lies to prevent the spread of a movement, the success of which would weaken our country in the eyes of the civilised world, and fatally diminish those stores of English sanity, of English political wisdom, based on political experience, which have gone—through all vicissitude, failure, and error—to the making of England, and the building up of the Empire.

M. A. W.

### Formation of the League.

The first meeting of the Anti-Suffrage League was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, July 21st last, at which Lady Jersey presided over a crowded audience. The meeting adopted a Constitution as proposed by the Provisional Committee, and appointed an Executive Committee to carry on the future work. This committee held their first meeting the next day, and appointed the following officers. Chairman, The Countess of Jersey; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Massie; Hon. Secretary, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell; Hon. Treasurer, The Hon. Ivor Guest, M.P.; Chairman of Literature Committee, Mrs. Humphry Ward. Some two thousand members have now joined the League through the Central Office; and as soon as the regular Branch reports come in month by month it will be possible to estimate the full strength of our membership.

### Formation of Branches.

The formation of a large number of Branches is under consideration, and a good many provincial meetings have already been held. Six Branch Organising Secretaries

are now touring the country, combining the work of helping those engaged in starting Branches with lecturing, taking part in debates, and getting up meetings.

Local Branches have already been formed and officers appointed in:

Cumberland and Westmoreland—  
Miss Howard and Miss Thomson.  
Cambridge—  
Chairman: Mrs. Austin Leigh.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss F. Seeley.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Wardale.  
Cambridge University—  
Hon. Secretary: H. Loewe, Esq.  
Three Towns and District (Plymouth)—  
President: Mrs. Spender.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Yonge.  
Leicester—  
Acting Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Butler.  
Paddington—  
Secretary: Mrs. Thomas.  
Sidmouth—  
Secretary: Miss F. E. Chalmers.  
Torquay—  
Secretary: Mrs. William Ely.  
Miss Mary Philpotts.  
Middlesbrough—  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Hedley and Mrs. Gjers.  
Newcastle-on-Tyne—  
Miss Noble.  
York—  
Miss Milner and Madame di Zanoni.  
Birmingham—  
Mr. Murray N. Phelps.  
North Wales No. 1.—  
President: Mrs. George Cornwallis West.  
Secretary: Miss Ermine Taylor.  
East Berks—  
Lady Haversham.  
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Ryan.  
Oxford—  
Mrs. Massie and Mrs. Max Müller.  
East Surrey—  
Mrs. Rundall and Mrs. Lemon.  
Hawkhurst—  
Mrs. Frederic Harrison.  
Goudhurst—  
Mrs. Fitz Hugh.  
West Herts—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Mitchell-Innes.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Lucas.  
Cranbrook—  
Miss Neve.  
South Kensington—  
Mrs. Arthur Somervell.  
Bristol—  
President: Lady Fry.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Long Fox.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. R. Robinson.  
Exeter—  
President: Lady Acland.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lessey Derry.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Sanders.

West Sussex—  
President: Lady Edmund Talbot.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers.  
Bridlington—  
Mrs. Bosville.  
Kew—  
Miss O'Reilly.

### Meetings.

Although the League was founded towards the end of July, it was not possible, in many parts, to begin serious work till the end of September or beginning of October. The following reports are samples of some of the meetings already held.

#### KENSINGTON.

Mary, Countess of Ilchester, presided at a crowded meeting at Queen's Gate Hall on the afternoon of November 5th, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Kensington Branch. An overflow meeting was held in the large hall downstairs, with Lady Haversham in the chair; but to the great regret of the organisers of the meeting, several hundred people had to be turned away, as both halls were full to overflowing before the hour fixed for its opening. The speakers included Miss Violet Markham, Mr. Charles Mallet, M.P., Mr. George Calderon, Mr. Leo Maxse, and Mrs. Arthur Somervell, to whose indefatigable labours the organisation of this Branch is due. The speeches were of great interest, and were received with enthusiasm. After the meetings, the members of the Council of the Kensington Branch assembled, and proceeded to pass the rules and elect their Executive Committee and Officers. Lady Ilchester was unanimously elected President, the Hon. Secretary being Mrs. Arthur Somervell, with Miss Janet Ross as Assistant, and Colonel Stainforth as Hon. Treasurer.

A Debating Club has been started in the South Kensington Branch, and those who wish for information should apply to Mrs. Arthur Somervell (1, Albert Place, Kensington), or Mrs. Hutchinson (21, West Cornwall Road).

#### BRISTOL.

A largely attended meeting was held at the Royal Hotel, Bristol, on October 21st, for the purpose of forming a Branch of the League, with Mrs. H. C. Trapnell in the chair. After interesting speeches it was resolved that a Bristol Branch of the League be formed, and the Officers and Executive Committee were appointed as follows: President, Lady Fry; Hon. Sec., Miss E. Long Fox; Assist. Hon. Sec., Miss Lillingston; Hon. Treas., Mrs. A. R. Robinson; Executive Committee, Mrs. Stanley Badock, Mrs. H. C. Trapnell, Mrs. Moberly, Miss Green, Mrs. Greenwood, and Miss E. Wills

#### EXETER.

The Exeter Branch was inaugurated, on October 30th, by a large representative meeting of ladies at the New London Hotel, Exeter, among those present being Lady Acland (Killerton), in the chair, Sir Thomas Acland, Lady Gertrude Rolle, Lady Harrison, Lady Alice Ewing, and Lady Ferguson-Davie. Letters were read from many 'supporters unable' to be present, and after speeches by Lady Acland and Miss Mary Angela Dickens, it was resolved to form a branch of the League at Exeter, Lady Acland being elected President, Mrs. Lessey Derry, Hon. Secretary, and Miss Isabel Sanders, Hon. Treasurer. An Executive Committee, consisting of Lady Harrison, Mrs. Ley, Mrs. Depree, Mrs. T. Snow, and Mrs. Arthur Garratt was appointed, with power to add to its members to a total of ten.

#### PLYMOUTH.

A meeting, presided over by the Mayoress (Mrs. Spender), was held at Hoe Mansions, on November 10th, to consider the formation of a Branch of the League in Plymouth. After an address, followed by discussion, it was decided to form a local Branch. Mrs. Spender was elected President, and Mrs. Reginald Yonge, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer. A Committee was formed, with power to add to their number.

#### OXFORD.

A well-attended preliminary meeting of ladies living in Oxford, who are opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, was held at Mrs. Max Müller's house, 7, Norham Gardens, on October 22nd. Mrs. Max Müller presided, and the meeting was addressed by Professor Dicey and Mrs. Massie. A Provisional Committee was appointed, and arrangements made for the formation of a branch of the Anti-Suffrage League in Oxford. Miss Tawney undertook to act as Hon. Secretary of the Provisional Committee, and Mrs. Farnell as Hon. Treasurer.

#### EAST BERKS.

A meeting of the East Berks Branch of the League was held on October 29th, at South Hill Park, Bracknell, by invitation of Lord and Lady Haversham. It was decided to hold a public meeting at the Town Hall, Wokingham, about the end of November, at which several well-known speakers will address the meeting on the objects and work of the League.

#### WEST SUSSEX.

Lady Edmund Talbot (President) presided over a crowded meeting organised by the West Sussex Branch of the League, on

November 11th, at the Church Street Schools, Littlehampton. After addresses by the President, and Miss Fothergill (of London), a resolution opposing the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the ground that it would not be in the true interest of the country was carried with three dissentients.

#### BIRMINGHAM.

On November 18th a meeting was held in Birmingham for the purpose of starting a Birmingham and District Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. The meeting was held at the Midland Hotel. Miss E. E. M. Creak presided, and the attendance included Lady Marshall, Mrs. Simon, Mrs. Maria Lakin-Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Lakin-Smith, Mrs. Whitehorn, Mrs. Saundby, Mrs. George Hookham, Mrs. Elkington, Mrs. Reynolds, Mrs. Brougham, Miss Baker, Mr. Murray N. Phelps, Mr. J. Arthur Kenrick, Mr. J. C. Vaudrey, and Mr. T. Swanwick. Lady Leigh, in the course of a letter, said:—'I so strongly feel the importance of enabling the opponents of women's franchise to make their voices heard that I could not refuse the request to become president. The main considerations which weigh with me are these: Women have their own important work in the world, and cannot justly be called upon to bear the additional burden of political life. If they fulfil their duty in the numerous and daily increasing spheres which lie open to them, it is impossible that they should also devote the time and thought necessary to study those great Imperial problems periodically laid before the voters of this country. It is no answer to say that many ignorant and incompetent men possess the franchise. If it be so, how would matters be improved by the addition of a still larger number of voters, who of necessity mix even less freely with the world at large than men, and therefore know even less of the questions upon which they are required to decide?' Miss Beatrice Chamberlain wrote:—'I wish the gathering every success, and trust that it will inaugurate a widespread and important movement in Birmingham and neighbourhood. I hold it to be at this juncture the duty of all, and particularly of all women who disapprove of the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to all women, to enrol themselves against it, when I believe it will be found that the majority of women in all classes are opposed to it on the ground of principle and public policy.'

### Notes and News.

This little sheet is meant primarily for the purpose of giving some information to the

members of the Anti-Suffrage League as to the progress of the movement to which they are giving their support; and to form a link between the branches and the Central Office. It is not ambitious; and it will not pretend to be exhaustive. Our object will be attained if it shows our members something of what is being done by the League; if it reminds them of some useful arguments and facts, month by month; and if it provides a means by which suggestions can be made and discussed, and opinions ventilated.

We have not attempted any long list of well-wishers. The League itself is a League of women, but it is very glad to welcome the help of men, in what is really a national cause. From outside **LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD** sends a word of encouragement. In combating 'this most perilous movement in favour of Female Suffrage,' he writes to the Hon. Secretary of the League, 'the means at your disposal are limited, for the strength of your creed lies in the repudiation of many of the methods employed by the suffragettes to gain their ends.' But among the means open to us, Lord James of Hereford thinks that the publication of this monthly paper should 'be of the greatest service.'

**LORD CROMER** writes:—'I am very glad to hear that the Anti-Suffrage League is about to start a monthly periodical. You have my fullest sympathy.'

**SIR WILLIAM ROBSON** says:—'Let me send my fervent good wishes for the success of the periodical you are about to start in opposition to the Female Suffrage movement. We all welcome the co-operation in political movements of women who feel any vocation in that direction, and every politician recognises the incalculable benefit he derives in all good work from woman's inspiration, aid, and guidance; but that does not alter the plain fact, undenied and undeniable, that the vast majority of women are at present content with the sphere of action which is peculiarly their own. It is a sphere as noble, as important, and often as difficult as the more combative and controversial sphere of man, and it affords an ample scope for woman's divine gifts.'

That is the view acted on, consciously or unconsciously, by the women who in such great numbers decline to vote even in municipal elections. It is absurd to suppose that they are accepting a position of inferiority or oppression. They are simply declining to become combatants in a fight about matters they prefer to leave to the

fighting sex, and so long as so great a number of women have this feeling, it is both unjust to them and dangerous to the state to force on them a responsibility they do not desire.

And MR. FREDERIC HARRISON sends with his good wishes the following statement—dispatched indeed from an Anti-Suffrage meeting:—“After a series of meetings in this part of Kent, I am convinced that 90 per cent. of the inhabitants, men and women, Conservatives and Liberals, landlords, farmers, tradesmen, workmen, labourers, their wives and daughters, strongly oppose “Votes for Women,” and regard it as mischievous on political, social, and domestic grounds. At crowded open meetings Anti-Suffrage songs are shouted out by all present.

“Any politicians who take up Women’s Suffrage as a party device will meet with a heavy sentence from the good sense of the nation.”

These four opinions, from four of the ablest men of our day, are samples of convictions and beliefs much more widely spread than the supporters of the Suffrage like to realise. The accounts given in another part of the paper of the formation of the Men’s Anti-Suffrage League, with the remarkable list of names attached, show the same forces at work.

A letter signed by Mr. Charles Saunders, the well-known Counsel of the Boston Anti-Suffrage Society, appeared in the *Boston Herald* with regard to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe’s letter to the *Times* on the subject of Women’s Suffrage in America. “Mrs. Howe says,” remarks Mr. Saunders, “that a resolution testifying to the good results of Woman Suffrage passed the Colorado Legislature with only four dissenting voices. This, indeed, was the occasion when a Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association (of which Mrs. Ward Howe is President) appeared in the Gallery of the Colorado House, and such a resolution was passed in their behalf. It appears to have been brought forward for the purpose of testing the question of how far the members were under control, and on which side the mark was to be placed depended on these Gallery witnesses, who control the votes of their sex. One resolute member asserted that “we are voting a lie if we vote yes,” and went on to declare that “nearly half the members of the House, as the result of experience, would vote against Woman Suffrage if they could do so free from the fear of personal supervision.”

In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, November 10th, Mr. P. W. Wilson (St.

Pancras, S., Min.) asked the Chairman of the Select Committee on Public Petitions whether he could say how many signatures on petitions in favour of Women’s Suffrage had been recorded in each of the last ten years. Mr. H. J. Wilson (Yorks, W.R., Holmfirth), replied that the figures were as follows:—1899, 6,157; 1901, 30,178; 1902, 39,079; 1903, 13,990; 1904, 11,946; 1905, 8,153; 1906, 3,199; 1907, 1,538; and 1908 (to November 5th), 1,965.

Mrs. Fawcett spoke at the Oxford Union on Thursday, November 19th, in favour of Women’s Suffrage—the first time, it is believed, that a woman has been invited to address the Union. The Hon. Secretary of the Branch of the Women’s National Anti-Suffrage League recently established in Oxford, Mrs. Max Müller, the widow of the great Professor, addressed a remonstrance to the Union on such a one-sided proceeding. It produced apparently no immediate effect, but the resolution moved by Mrs. Fawcett was defeated, there being a majority against it of 31.

Some weeks ago an invitation was courteously sent to Mrs. Humphry Ward by the St. Pancras Branch of the National Suffrage Society (Mrs. Fawcett’s Society) inviting her to meet the members of the Branch in a debate on the Suffrage question. Mrs. Ward asked that as the debate was to be held in the settlement of which she is the hon. secretary, she should be allowed to open it, and should also be given a right of reply at the end of it. It was arranged that tickets should be sold, and that the proceeds should be given to the New Hospital for Women. We regret, however, that owing to private reasons connected with a case of illness in her family, Mrs. Ward has been obliged to ask Mrs. Fawcett to postpone the debate. Notice of the new date to be agreed upon will be given later.

We learn that it is proposed to hold a small meeting in London early in the New Year, entirely composed of women engaged in social and educational work, to consider the possibility of increasing the number of women on local government bodies, and of devising some means of securing the permanent representation of the opinion of women on questions immediately concerning them.

An important letter appeared in the *Times* of November 9th from four ladies, the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Massachusetts and New York State Association opposed to the further extension of Suffrage to women—Mrs. G. Rowland Shaw and Mrs. Eliot Guild,

of Boston, Mrs. Francis M. Scott and Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, of New York—in answer to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe’s statements on the subject of the Suffrage in America of a few weeks earlier. These four ladies, bearing names widely known in the States, fully corroborate the statements and contentions put forward in our leaflet ‘Is Women’s Suffrage Inevitable?’ Since 1896, they say, ‘no State has adopted full Suffrage for women, although petitions for it have been constantly presented, and as constantly defeated, at the rate of 155 defeats in ten years. Mrs. Humphry Ward needs no better foundation for her statement that the Women’s Suffrage movement in the United States is obviously declining, put down by the common sense of women themselves.’ As Mrs. Ward Howe’s letter has been reprinted by the National Suffrage Society, our members should remember this official contradiction to it, issued by American women.

#### LADY McLAREN v. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

Our readers will find interest in the following contrasted quotations:—

(a) Lady McLaren says in a letter on the Suffrage addressed to the *Daily Mail*:—

‘The most enlightened men in America have given Women’s Suffrage their support, from President Lincoln to President Roosevelt. The latter recommended it when Governor of New York, in his inaugural address to the Legislature.’

(b) President Roosevelt, in a letter to the American advocates of ‘Votes for Women,’ reported in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 19th, 1908, writes:—

‘A petition with a million signatures would not move me to recommend Women’s Suffrage to Congress.’

#### TREASURER’S NOTE.

A large amount of money has been subscribed to the League since its formation, of which an account will be given in due time. Meanwhile Lord Airedale is giving us a £50 subscription, with the promise of £50 more if we can make up £1,000 from ten other people. Sir Hugh Lothian Bell will increase his subscription of £25, previously paid, to £100, under the same conditions. We hope that well-wishers of the League will come forward and help us to claim the fulfilment of these promises.

#### Meeting of Council.

A meeting of the Council was held at the King’s Hall, Covent Garden, on Wednesday, November 25th. The Countess of Jersey presided, and she was supported on the platform by Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Somervell, Lady Evans (wife of the Solicitor-General), Viscountess Lifford, Lady George Hamilton, Lord and Lady Lawrence, Mrs. Godfrey Benson, Lord and Lady Haversham, Hon. Nina Kay-Shuttleworth, Lady Robson (wife of the Attorney-General), Mrs. J. A. Pease, &c., &c.

There was a large attendance, and the speakers were followed with the closest attention and with repeated manifestations of approval.

The Countess of Jersey, after reading the names of those expressing regret at being unavoidably prevented from attending, said:—

The first thing that impresses me is the enormous number of sympathisers with the opponents of Women’s Suffrage. Women have tried to make us believe—and some men also—that the vast majority of women in this country desire the franchise. Our experience tends to show that a vast majority resent the attempt to force such a burden upon them. Our energetic staff have frequently been kept till late hours at night receiving and answering the correspondence which has come to them from sympathisers from all over the country. There is another piece of experience not perhaps altogether so satisfactory as the one I have just mentioned. It is this: There are a vast number of women and men, but chiefly women, in the country, who say it is ridiculous to give women the suffrage, but who will not take any active part in opposing it. This arises, I think, from two causes; the first is indifference, the second I fear I can call by no other name than a little touch of cowardice. First as to those who are indifferent. Many seem to look upon the question of Women’s Suffrage as a joke rather than otherwise; they think it is a silly thing to give the vote, but, if women want it, then by all means give the dear things the vote to play with. Now in our opinion the vote is a serious thing, and by no means a toy. We do not want to give it to those who do not desire it, nor to those who would perhaps be better without it. After you have heard the arguments which will be advanced, I think you may come to the conclusion that, so far from being a joke, the

enfranchisement of women is a step which might end in a national disaster, and if you think this, I will appeal to you to strive with all your might to rouse up those who are indifferent, and bring them to the point of expressing themselves. Now as to the cowardice. I understand it to a great extent; people who have to speak or to take part in meetings do not like to risk the disagreeable scenes which have taken place in many directions. But every woman who joins this League makes the danger less. I know it is more amusing to be a flood than a dyke, but on this occasion we have to be a dyke, and everyone who joins this League helps to make the dyke stronger. I have known women both of the class that are ruled, and of the class that are ruled, women who have had the charge of large properties, and working women in cottages, in trades, in business, in factories, and in occupations of all kinds. I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, that if every one of these women—whether rich or poor, or highly placed or lowly placed—had done all the work within her reach as well as she could possibly do it, she would have had very little time or inclination to mix herself up in politics. I am not saying this in disparagement of women, I think the part women have to play is at least as important as that of men, but as they have to toil for their husbands, and brothers, and their country, and through their country for the Empire, why should they want to take up work they had much better leave to men? The Empire cannot be carried on if you begin by breaking up the homes of the country. Let us all have the courage of our convictions, and resist this effort to break up our homes and families, and thereby place ourselves in the proud position of being able to do the utmost for our homes, for our surroundings, and for the Empire at large.

In the unavoidable absence of Miss Gertrude Bell, the Hon. Nina Kay-Shuttleworth then read the Report.

Mr. Julius Bertram, M.P., in moving the adoption of the Report, said:—

I may say that nothing in my whole political career has given me greater satisfaction than the formation of this League. The Report which has been read shows not only that the formation of the League was a real and pressing necessity, but also that those who have had charge of it in its initial stages have been most admirably qualified for the work, and have neither spared themselves nor those associated with them in putting it upon a sound and wholesome basis. Leaving the male voters out of the question, I am altogether satisfied in my own mind

(of course, one may change) that at present there is no demand whatever on the part of the women of the United Kingdom, for this great constitutional change. Lady Jersey, in the most admirable speech which she has delivered to us this afternoon—(hear, hear)—used two words which are of great importance—indifference and cowardice. As a political person, I value the extension of your movement into each constituency, because I am conscious that the strength of this small and noisy faction, which has discredited the cause of Women’s Suffrage, as it was never discredited before, is due either to the indifference or to the cowardice of those persons who come before constituents as candidates. Nothing to my mind has been more unsatisfactory with regard to this question than the way in which, at the last General Election, promises were made broadcast, by candidates on both sides, that they would support the Bill for conferring the franchise upon women. I have said that I regard this question as of enormous importance, and overshadowing all other questions which divide parties, and I say so because the possibilities of change in our national policy which might come from increasing the number of electors are illimitable. You cannot say where things would stop; you cannot possibly forecast what the result would be. In dealing with the policies and the diplomacy of countries where the Government rests upon a masculine foundation, with all its evils and shortcomings, you will stand a very good chance of being cajoled or terrorised if you stand upon a feminine vote, and the other countries upon a masculine vote. That is one reason why I, speaking for myself, should, in the interests of the country as a whole, resist this change. But I very much doubt at the moment if it is necessary to take that ground. The ground we can safely take is that the women of the country as a whole do not desire it. It is perfectly true that there has been a great deal of public attention fixed upon the proceedings of the body known as the Militant Suffragettes. They have received attention and encouragement from the Press altogether out of all proportion to their deserts, and entirely to be deplored. But what I have been waiting for, and what I think we shall never hear, are those deep notes of great popular movements, without which this movement of the Suffragettes can have no possible chance of succeeding. They tell us—and it is one of those half truths that sometimes deceives more completely than a definite whole untruth—that the working women of this country are supporting the Suffrage movement on the ground that they would be able to get higher wages and better terms of

service if they had a direct vote in the election of Members to Parliament. In regard to that, I want to say two things: First, it is a deception to pretend to these poor women—many of whom are wholly uneducated—that Parliament will deal with wages. Parliament does not deal with wages. When Parliament has dealt with conditions of labour, Parliament has always acted equally for men and women workers. With regard to questions of wages, there is only one way in which the workers of this country can command attention from their employers, and that is by means of those great industrial combinations which we call trades unions. But the working women of this country, if they were given the vote to-morrow, would not be able to alter one iota the terms of service under which they are working. As I said, Parliament, in dealing with conditions of service, has always held an even balance, though I think that the balance has sometimes inclined more favourably to women. The great question which arises is this: Do the men voters, taken section by section, from the richest to the poorest, represent the women? My own belief and conviction is that they do, and that just as the woman of property is represented in Parliament by those who represent the men of property, so those poorer women who have to work for their livelihood, and who live amid sordid and melancholy surroundings, are represented by the men representing the poorer classes in the community. One word with regard to women's capacity for intervening in public affairs. No one values more highly than I do the great capabilities which women have for participating in our local, municipal, and our smaller public activities. And the reason is this—that those matters are essentially parochial, and deal with things which women understand far better than men. I have always supported and voted for motions enabling women to sit upon Local Authorities, and to pursue what I believe to be a beneficent course in matters which are decidedly not national politics. But the moment you touch questions of national politics, then I think the ground is entirely changed. In conclusion, I would beg those who are in sympathy with the argument to use their influence to put plainly before their friends and particularly before their women friends, some of the dangers which are so evident, and which must weigh upon us if we support this proposal to extend the suffrage to a sex in many respects unsuited for it, a sex which would, in many respects, be lowered and debased by actual contact with politics, and which, I believe, has evinced no desire to possess the franchise.

Mr. Comyns Carr, in seconding the Report, said:—

I am perfectly certain that our strength—that is, the strength of those to whom we are going to appeal—will lie in their signatures to the petition to be presented to the Houses of Parliament. All the energies of this Society, and of your Organising Committee, should be directed to getting these signatures, because the feeling of those who are most deeply with us is silent thought and dim feeling, which is not likely to express itself in noisy meetings, but which can be expressed by a signature to the cause which we believe to be right. Women have had Empire, domestic and Imperial; they have influenced the world, and must always influence the world in as great a and at moments in even a greater degree than men can ever hope for, but in choosing particular platforms of competition they choose that which would be their doom, if it were not corrected by the enormous confluence of silent common-sense of the women who stand behind every noisy movement throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) I wonder at the sub-conscious arrogance of those who are constantly trying to inflame their sisters in regard to this particular right of the Parliamentary vote. It always seems to me that they are implying that a change has come over women within a decade, a generation, or a century, which places them on a much higher platform than they stood on before. I resent that suggestion. I do not believe that women have ever stood on any but an equal plane with men throughout the history of the world, and I resent the suggestion that it has been left to this age to discover that women need to be improved. I do not believe in the need of that improvement; I am content with them as they are. But I do say this—if women are to be re-shaped and remodelled in a way which I do not desire, and which I do not anticipate, then, in the course of the re-shaping and re-modelling, I do hope the business originally established in Eden will be carried on as usual during the alteration. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not desire that we should imitate in any sense the tactics of those to whom we are opposed, but I do desire that we should endeavour, by persistent, simple and gentle means, to obtain a roll of names at the foot of the Petition to be presented at the commencement of the next Session, that will embody the silent thought and the silent instinct of the women of England, and will prove to the craven Members of Parliament that they have no need to listen to another voice.

The adoption of the Report, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

Mrs. Frederic Harrison then moved the following resolution:—

That this League pledges itself on National grounds to resist the proposal to admit women to the Parliamentary franchise and to Parliament, by every means in its power, while maintaining the principle that the work of women on Municipal and other bodies concerned with the domestic and social affairs of the community is of great and increasing value.

I think we may congratulate ourselves as a League on the position that we have won in the very few weeks of our existence. No one now will accuse us of 'making much ado about nothing,' for recent events have amply justified our action. Our only apology should be that we did not get ourselves started in 1907, rather than in 1908. The Suffragists have the advantage of us in multiplied organisations, in experience, and in the work of years. They have also the advantage, or the disadvantage, of their methods. I make a distinction between the Constitutional women and the fighting Suffragettes. Instead of raising, these last have lowered, the tone of politics, introducing this new feature—that a woman's word can no longer be relied upon. I am reminded of a witty remark of the late Sir Francis Doyle, 'that a woman may behave in a Quixotic manner, or in a manner the reverse of Quixotic, but she can never behave like a gentleman.' What then should be the policy of the League? It must be to gain time, political time. We need time to collect the opinion of women in all classes; to educate those women who have never thought about political affairs; to strengthen those who are weakening under the subversive arguments of the Suffragists. Happily for us, the militants have taken off the mask, and the country begins to see clearly that it is no mere question of giving the vote to a few or to all women, but of taking women into partnership in the government of this great Empire. There are two grave questions before us, which must occupy our public men for many Parliaments—the question of the national defence, and that other question of the national finance. Well, proud as I am of the abilities of women on many questions, I do not think we can have much to say on Mr. Haldane's scheme for the Territorial Army, or torpedo boats and destroyers; neither do I think we count for much in the markets of the world. And what about India? Can women share in the government of India? We welcome the part women are taking in the reform of the Poor Law, and in educational work, and in municipal affairs, and we hope to see that work strengthened and even extended

in the future. This artificial evolution of the women—for it is an artificial evolution—is not a working-class movement; if it were our task would be *infinitely harder*. It is essentially a movement of professional and of middle-class women; it was originated by them, it is worked and financed by them. At the Westminster Police Court the other day fourteen women were charged with obstructing the police. I took from the *Times* report their ages and occupations. Two only were married, five were of no occupation, there were a journalist, a teacher, a lecturer, an organiser, a private secretary, and a book-keeper, but there were *no bona-fide* working-women. If you examine Suffragist lists you will always find it thus. I know, of course, that certain women-operatives in the North ardently desire the vote; but I do not believe that desire to be universal, or even widely spread. It is the result of a vehement propaganda. An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory, so I beg your permission to give you my own experiences as shortly as I can. I have worked hard at a branch of the League in a large village in Kent of over 3,000 inhabitants, and we have found all the working-women on our side. Farmers' wives and daughters, labourers' wives and daughters, all the domestic servants, lady gardeners, many nurses—district, private, hospital, nurses at Dr. Barnardo's Home, a staff nurse at the London Hospital—all the teachers, school-board and private, dressmakers, shopkeepers, landladies, laundresses in private and steam laundries—all the workers are with us. We have found strange ignorance as to what the vote meant and implied, but a reasoned belief that it was right and just that men should govern, and that it was foolishness for women to interfere. The only opposition has come from a few women of property: some of these we have convinced by showing them that it would be impossible to-day to give the vote to a privileged few, and that any measure of political suffrage to women must end in giving it to all, whereby the adult woman's vote would swamp the adult man's vote. We hope in our little corner to poll 1,000 adult women—that will be practically all the women. I have gone into these details because I believe that similar results can be obtained all over the country. The shrewd country woman is not so easily tempted by the gaudy baits of the Suffragists as her sisters in the town. One woman said to me, speaking of Suffragist promises, that she had read, 'Votes are to give yer good 'usbands—are they?—men aren't made good so easy as that.' I believe, then, in establishing branches all over the country to educate

women. But education needs time. Well, ladies, recent events have helped us here; no Government dare show itself weak enough to yield in so grave a matter to the hysterical clamourings and somewhat feeble agitation of a number of women—Lady Grove says fifty women—who seem to have nothing better to do. If they had the vote to-morrow it would not quiet or appease them. Time must pass before their action can be forgotten or forgiven, and time will enable us to show forth the reasoned conviction of the normal woman, and to present our case to the two great parties in the State. One word as to the position of the Constitutional women. They met in conclave the other day, and now dissociate themselves from the lawlessness of the advertisers. It is a little late in the day. Ill-natured persons might suggest that there are signs that the country is weary of militant gambols, and that lawlessness has ceased to pay. The little boy in *Punch* said to his baby sister: 'You go and drive away the nasty wasps, while I eat the sugar.' It is not a dignified position. As a woman, I protest against the breaking of the sanctity of the given word, the exploitation of the sorrows of the unemployed in any woman's cause. Time, then, and education are what we need, and I would urge all my hearers to start a centre of their own. It is easy and interesting work. I am confident, too, that they will meet with a success that will surprise them. The League has made way in places which we were assured were solid for the franchise. The women on our side, often the best of women, are not used to express their opinions on public questions. They need a little assistance. We sometimes hear that this suffrage is logical and inevitable. But, as the French philosopher said, 'Nothing in life is inevitable save Death,' and, ladies, we are not dead yet. If women are true to themselves, the vote, with all its train of unknown consequences and responsibilities, will not be thrust upon them. It rests with us. We have, then, to collect opinion, and to prove to candidates for Parliament that the mass of women do not want the vote, and strongly object to be represented by the agitating women. If in every village we could prove this, it would immensely strengthen the hands of candidates, and enable them to stand firm and judge the case on its merits. We trust that our present politicians will listen to that great mass of women's opinion which is against the vote. It is our business to bring that opinion to their notice.

Mrs. Burgwin, in seconding the resolution, said:—

As one who for thirty years has per-

sistently asked that women should be allowed to do work which they felt they were fitted to do, I stand here to-day to say that I have been converted to the knowledge that, at any rate at present, I do not consider women fit to become members of the British Government. But the resolution proposes that women should continue the work which mere man has allowed them to do during the past thirty years. Now let us look and see how our slavery, how our chains galled us. I remember the time when we asked that women should sit upon School Boards. It was fought over, and at first it was a hard battle. One woman came forward at the first School Board election; two, three, six, eight followed, and I think the women elected to the School Board showed that they were able to do the work they undertook to do, namely, to look after the interests of the children. If ever there was a work to which a woman can put her hand and do it well, surely that work is to help in the education and training of children. And it will be a bad day for our country when women give up that, their highest duty, to work side by side in competition with men. It is the competition with men which I feel myself is hurting our sex so much. For years I have noticed the kind way—and not only the kind way, but the intelligent way—in which any Member of Parliament I have had to interview has listened to what I have to say. But what is my treatment to-day? I go to the House of Commons, and the sergeant, who knows me, bids me sit outside the barrier; then he gets someone else to go and find the Member; and until that Member comes, and recognises me, I cannot even talk five minutes with him. Who has done this, ladies? It is not the men—it is the women who have caused it. Well, then, I say, there must be a section of women who are setting back our interests and not forwarding them. Can you conceive of any man going to the House of Commons, calling out 'Votes for Men!' and then rushing into the House and making a disturbance? If I am told that it was unpremeditated; that it was done on the spur of the moment, I hang my head and say: 'Can there be greater proof of our incompetence to serve in that way?' Let us look and see. Women can serve upon the L.C.C.—men passed that Act last August. Women can serve upon Borough Councils, upon Boards of Guardians, and they were gaining in numbers in every part of England until this setback came. Now there are two hundred Boards of Guardians without a woman upon them, and this because a few of us—not many, but just a few—have been following the tactics of a certain section of the Irish Party. I know Ireland so well and have

watched the set-back due to the same tactics that are being pursued to-day by our own sex. Lawlessness will never win a movement or convert people. If there is a law which galls I will try my best to alter it, but I will not break one law in order to get another law altered. Therefore I feel to-day that it is the bounden duty of those of us who feel strongly upon this matter to come out and say what is in our hearts; to contradict those others, who say they speak for the whole of our sex—which they certainly do not. You cannot ask for a law which will only be good for a few exceptional women, and you must remember this—that the women you read about and hear about are the few exceptional women. Mrs. Garrett Anderson, who wears the Mayor's robe and chain of office, has not had to call herself a slave in order to get the honour conferred upon her—it was conferred upon her in recognition of her work in the town. It will be so with us. By our work we shall be judged; and I want to see women serving the interests of children, of the home, advancing all sanitary questions which they thoroughly understand, and for which they have had years of training—and surely training is wanted. I myself am always complaining that we train Members on the County Council for Parliament—then Parliament jumps at them and takes them away. What is wanted is that we who are called the Anti-Suffragists should say that, whilst we feel we can work and help our beloved country on County Councils, on the Borough Councils, or in the administration of the Poor Law, we feel the time is not ripe for us to claim to enter the British House of Commons. If we sign the petitions which we have sent out, and let the men know how we feel about the matter, I feel certain we shall be restored. I say 'restored,' because I have known and experienced that I am not treated in the same serious manner that I was two years ago. If we can get back the confidence of the men of both parties, and have also confidence in ourselves, we shall have served our country in our day and generation from our hearts, and in all sincerity and truth.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc, M.P., in an amusing speech, which space unfortunately forbids us to report in full, urged, in support of the resolution,

That man was a political animal, that in dealing with the political animal you had to take him as he was, and that it was his nature to think and act collectively, whereas it was the nature of woman to think and act individually. No doubt this habit of

collective action made men stupid, as the crowd was always stupider than its stupidest member; but it also made them understand the value of compromise, and that was a thing which women never really appreciated.

The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

Mrs. Somervell proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers, which was seconded by Viscountess Lifford and carried unanimously.



### Men's Committee for Opposing Female Suffrage.

It will be seen from the following circular, which has just been issued, that men are at last starting an anti-suffrage movement of their own:—

November 18th, 1908.

Dear Sir,—On Thursday, December 3rd at 4 p.m., a meeting will be held at the Westminster Palace Hotel for the purpose of constituting a Men's Committee for opposing Female Suffrage. We hope that you will see your way to being present, and in any event, that you will allow us to include your name in the list of members.

We do not ask you to pledge yourself to take any active part in the movement. Our desire, at the present stage, is to ascertain the names of those on whom we may rely for sympathy or co-operation.

We are, yours faithfully,

NORTHUMBERLAND  
DUNRAVEN  
CROMER  
GEORGE HAMILTON  
HELMSLEY  
ROTHSCHILD  
JAMES OF HEREFORD  
LISTER  
WEARDALE  
HAVERSHAM  
M. H. HICKS-BEACH  
IVOR C. GUEST  
HENRY CHAPLIN  
J. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN  
WEST RIDGWAY  
W. BRAMPTON GURDON  
EDWARD CLARKE  
HUGH BELL  
WILLIAM RAMSAY

E. RAY LANKESTER  
EDWARD O'MALLEY  
E. BELFORD BAX  
JULIUS BERTRAM  
G. F. S. BOWLES  
A. V. DICEY  
PERCY GARDNER  
HEBER HART  
CHARLES MALLET  
JOHN MASSIE  
L. J. MAXSE  
J. LLOYD MORGAN  
C. W. C. OMAN  
G. W. PROTHERO  
J. D. REES  
ARTHUR SOMERVELL  
J. ST. LOE STRACHEY  
J. CATHCART WASON  
ROWLAND WHITEHEAD

### LIST OF LEAFLETS,

2. Woman's Suffrage and after. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. Price ½d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Women's Rights. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman's Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason Against Women's Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. Shall Women Receive the Vote? Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Women's Suffrage and the National Welfare. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the Best Way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. Women of Great Britain. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
11. Latest Phase of the Woman Suffrage Movement. Price 5s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
14. 1. The Franchise for Women of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
14. 2. Women and the Representation of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. 1. Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. 2. Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
17. Why the Women's Enfranchisement Bill (1908) would be unfair to Women if it became law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.

### PAMPHLETS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. Price 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Miss M. Corelli. Price 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Mrs. Simon. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Mrs. Simon. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Women in Relation to the State. George Calderon. Price 6d. net.

The Editor of 'The Review' proposes to have an 'Answers to Correspondents' column, and invites readers, should there be any point upon which information is desired, to communicate direct to the address given above, marking the envelope of such a communication 'For "The Review."'

Printed by the NATIONAL PRESS AGENCY LIMITED, Whitefriars House, Carmelite Street, London; and Published by the Executive Committee of the WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, London.

