

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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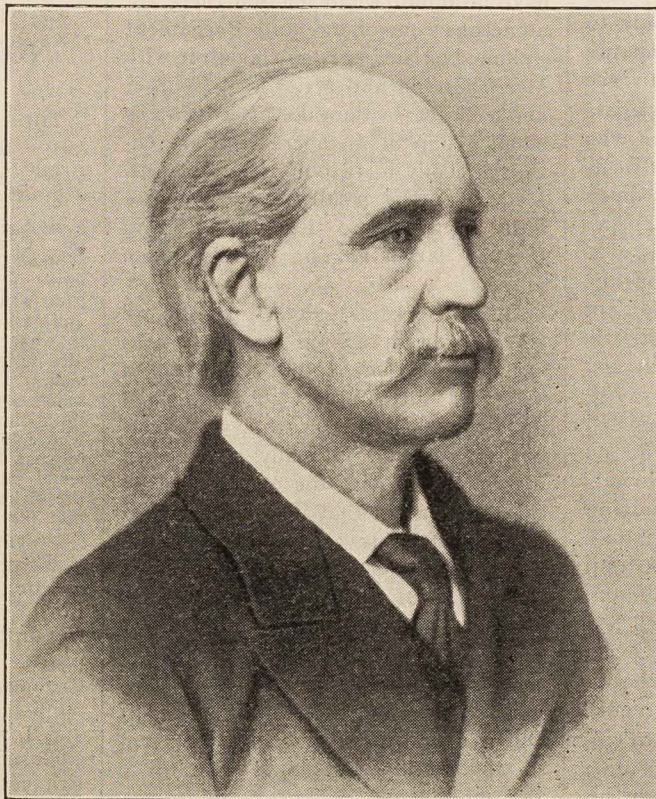
### PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ALFRED COMYN LYALL,  
K.C.B., G.C.I.E.

THE name of Sir Alfred Lyall, is prominent in the long list of distinguished men and women who, since the beginning, have used their influence and ability in the work of our League.

Sir Alfred Lyall is no less renowned in literature than in public service; he is scholar, poet and philosopher as well as statesman. Born in 1835, he was educated at Eton, and began his career in the Bengal Civil Service. The best years of his life were devoted to India. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces in 1882, and in 1888 became Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The Lyalls are one of the Indian families; his brother was Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and his cousins have been high in the service. Sir Alfred Lyall knows the political and religious history of the country through and through, and it was for his notable services there that he received that most coveted Indian order, Knight Grand Commander of the Indian Empire, and was created a Privy Councillor in 1902.

Among Sir Alfred Lyall's well-known books are "Asiatic



*A. C. Lyall*

Studies," "Life of Tennyson" in the "English Men of Letters" Series, "Life of Warren Hastings," "Life of Lord Dufferin," "British Dominion in India," and "Verses Written in India." Everyone who has read the "Verses" will recall the peculiar haunting charm of "The Land of Regrets." It has been said that even the Blue Books of his compiling "sparkle with a brightness and lucidity of phrase." All Sir Alfred Lyall's writings on the life and character of India are safe guides; he appreciates the loyalties and fidelities of the people, even while he understands the indissoluble differences between East and West.

Sir Alfred Lyall is a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and has the honorary degrees of D.C.L. Oxford, LL.D. Cambridge, and Doctor of Letters, Manchester. He was appointed Fellow of the British Academy in 1903, and Ford's Lecturer in English History at Oxford in 1907. His gifts as a speaker have often been used in the service of anti-suffragism, and he was one of the leaders in our deputation to Mr. Asquith last June.

L. V. M.



## THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTLOOK.

The Suffragist papers have been gratifying themselves by examining the composition of the new House of Commons. They find that it contains a satisfactory majority of members pledged to the support of woman suffrage. For our part, though we do not forget that the second reading of the Conciliation Bill was carried by a larger majority than any Government Bill, and that the character of the new House of Commons is exactly similar to that of the last, we believe that the counting of Suffragist heads is of very little worth. Mr. Riley, the auctioneer, in "The Mill on the Floss," had "a general sense of understanding Latin," but his understanding of any particular Latin was not very clear. Just so, we believe that many members of Parliament have "a general sense" of being in sympathy with woman suffrage, but their sympathy with any particular Bill would not be very clear. We have only to look into the nature of the sympathy expressed by many members to see with how little confidence Suffragists can count upon it. The member who expresses his belief in adult suffrage, or even in giving the vote to women on "the same terms as men," appears at first sight to be a more convinced friend of woman suffrage than he who thinks it would not be wise to go beyond a strictly limited suffrage. But is he really so? We very much doubt it.

The man who has assured himself that the limited suffrage can do no harm, precisely because it is strictly limited, will vote for a Bill embodying his views without much hesitation. But with a man who means to commit himself more deeply it is a different matter. He hesitates; he is much less likely to discover in the Bill the exact safeguards or provisions which he requires. We do not ourselves regard the light-heartedness of the limited suffragist as justified; we hold him to be more immediately dangerous than his fellow. But the point is that the motives we have described do influence

members of Parliament, and do make the character of their voting on any conceivable Bill an incalculable quantity. Take the cases of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George as examples. They have said in effect that they believe in the unlimited enfranchisement of women. Yet Mr. Churchill has declared that he will never vote for what he believes in unless he is convinced that the country agrees with him. He can get that information only if a general election is fought on the single issue of woman suffrage, or by a plébiscite or Referendum. But Birnam Wood will come to Dunsinane before the country declares itself by plébiscite in favour of woman suffrage. Those who have watched the results of our canvasses will have no misgiving about that. Mr. Lloyd George has said that the Suffragists must educate women to want the vote before they can hope to get it. So that he too postpones what he professes to desire to the wishes of the people. We have no doubt whatever that there are numerous members of Parliament reckoned as Suffragists, who agree with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, and will act as they do. Between the small group of members who are enthusiastically in favour of woman suffrage and the small group who are flatly opposed to it, there is, in fact, a large floating indeterminate mass.

It is a serious enough thing, we admit, that the answer to a far-reaching question, affecting the course and safety of the Empire, should depend upon the votes of men who, we cannot hesitate to say, in many cases have rather played with the question. We must not forget that if the Parliament Bill became law a Woman Suffrage Bill could be passed over the heads of the House of Lords. But we cannot believe that when the question of woman suffrage or no woman suffrage comes again before the House of Commons the mass of indeterminate members will be guilty of such a betrayal of their trusteeship as to vote for a Bill in face of the fairly well-known opposition of their constituents. Woman suffrage was scarcely discussed at the

general election. We agree with Sir West Ridgeway, who said lately, in a letter to the "Times," on the minute results of the women's campaign:—

"The inference is that in Parliamentary elections the Woman Suffrage Party is a *quantité négligeable*, and that, accordingly, timid members of Parliament may take heart and vote according to their convictions, assured that, though possibly they may be assaulted and have their windows broken, yet there is no fear of their Parliamentary career being prejudiced by the conscientious discharge of their duty."

Yet any member of the new Parliament can call upon Mr. Asquith, sooner or later, for the fulfilment of his pledge, "effectively to proceed with a Woman Suffrage Bill capable of amendment." Our own strong feeling is that Mr. Asquith would not be justified in any sense in taking the risk of leaving the House to go as it pleases. He is Prime Minister; he has very strong opinions against woman suffrage; and it will be his duty to "direct the jury."

## NOTES AND NEWS.

"THE TIMES," of December 31st, 1910, published a letter from Lady Frances Balfour, who has discovered a mare's nest:—

May I (she writes) ask you, on behalf of the Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, to give publicity to the letter of which I enclose a copy? It has been sent to the heads of business firms, and, as will be seen, invites contributions to what appears to be a sort of secret service fund in aid of the Anti-Suffrage agitation. The letter has been placed in our hands by a friend to whom it was given by a director of one of the firms addressed, who felt himself in no way bound by the request for secrecy. . . . The very unusual proposal not to publish any nominal list of subscribers, coupled with the request that the list of contributors enclosed—*pour encourager les autres*—may be considered confidential, speaks for itself.

To this letter is appended a copy of Lord Cromer's appeal to business firms to support the Anti-Suffrage movement. "I may mention," says Lord Cromer, "that it is not proposed to publish any nominal list of subscribers, and I would ask you to consider the enclosed as confidential." Lady Frances Balfour's informant did not choose to regard the appeal as confidential, but we have no reason whatever to complain of that, as it is only in

the interests of the persons themselves to whom such appeals are made that privacy is generally suggested. It is, in fact, the exception, and not the rule, to publish the names of subscribers to funds for political and quasi-political purposes. Lady Frances Balfour appears to be unaware of this. Possibly she has been misled by the use of the word "nominal," which is, however, used in its literal sense. She may safely dismiss from her mind her visions of secret service funds. We fancy that of the Suffragist societies the only one which publishes an open balance-sheet is the Women's Social and Political Union.

We do not wonder that the recent grant of woman suffrage to the State of Washington has caused excessive rejoicings among Suffragists, as the Suffrage cause has won no victory of any importance since 1896. It should be remembered that when Washington voted in favour of Woman Suffrage in November three other States rejected it. These were, Oregon, Oklahoma, and South Dakota. The Boston "Remonstrance," of January, 1911, gives the official figures as:—

	For.	Against.
Oregon ... ..	35,270	59,065
Oklahoma ... ..	88,808	128,928
South Dakota ... ..	35,290	57,709

In the case of Oregon the voters have refused for the fifth time to have woman suffrage. The question was first submitted in 1884. The majority against the proposal was 16,953. In 1900 the proposal was made again, and owing apparently to the lethargy of the Anti-Suffragists the adverse majority was only 2,137. The people of Oregon then became alarmed, and since then the adverse majorities have been heavier. In 1906 the majority was 10,173, and in 1908, 21,812. The recent majority against the suffrage was the heaviest of all—23,795. At this rate the adverse majority in 1912, when the Suffragists mean to defy fate again, should be something quite crushing.

WHILE all the English world mourns the loss of Mr. S. H. Butcher, Anti-Suffragists have as particular a cause as any group of persons to miss his services. He came as nearly as any man could to a perfect fulfilment of the old-fashioned triple qualification of being "a Christian, a scholar, and a

gentleman." His translation of Homer with Mr. Lang is likely to remain a joy as long as the English tongue exists; and his character will long be one of the models and inspirations of the House of Commons. There was not a man in the House who did not acknowledge his scrupulous honesty, his graciousness, and his manliness. At a time when other Unionist landowners were being shot at from behind hedges in Ireland, he walked unafraid and in safety. Our readers may remember that he was to have been one of the speakers at the Croydon Anti-Suffrage meeting, over which Mrs. Humphry Ward presided. The illness which prevented him from being present, ended in his death.

At the meeting of the Liverpool Council on January 4th, Miss Eleanor Rathbone was to have moved a resolution pledging the Corporation to support Woman Suffrage, but after all she decided not to do so. The evidence which she had prepared to lay before the Council is interesting. In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" she explained it as follows:—

The facts are these. Some members of the Liverpool Society for Women's Suffrage—all educated, experienced, and thoroughly trustworthy ladies—recently called upon the women voters with a petition in favour of the Conciliation Committee's Women's Suffrage Bill. The results for seven wards are now complete, and are as follows:—

No. on Register.	Signed.	Refused.	Not seen.
3,185	1,611	471	1,103

That is, 77 per cent. of those seen have petitioned in favour of the bill. The canvass of the Anti-Suffrage Society took the form of cards (distributed largely by unemployed men engaged at a charitable society's chip-yard), resembling a polling card, in which the voters were asked to put their cross to one or other of two alternative statements: "I desire the Parliamentary vote, and so I believe do the majority of women of the country." "I do not desire the Parliamentary vote, nor I believe do the majority of the women of the country." It is scarcely to be wondered at that the majority of the women voters, most of them working women and very shy about putting their hands to paper, declined to commit themselves to either of these sweeping generalisations.

We are grateful for this charmingly naïve confession of how the "experienced and thoroughly trustworthy" personal canvassers obtained signatures, while the simple distribution of cards, without the exercise of any persuasion naturally failed. It only remains to be said that an Anti-Suffrage canvass in other wards of Liver-

pool, which were not subjected to the peculiar treatment that Miss Rathbone thinks proper, produced very different results. We suspect that the vigorous campaign which Mr. J. C. Phillips has been conducting in Liverpool had a good deal to do with the withdrawal of Miss Rathbone's resolution.

MISS GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL'S latest book, "Amurath to Amurath" (W. Heinemann, 16s. net), is a record of wonderful performance. It is not, through its purpose and scope, so easy to read from cover to cover as "The Desert and the Sower," but as a record of exploration in Mesopotamia it is the most valuable and the greatest book Miss Bell has written. One hardly knows whether to admire first her courage or her topographical learning. She went unaccompanied by any man or woman of her own race, and her understanding of her Oriental friends and servants is as penetrating, as humorous, and as kindly as ever. But there is less talk and more science than before. Miss Bell's name must now be joined with those of Chesney and Henry Layard. Her remarks on the progress of the Turkish Constitution help one in some respects to adjust one's opinions. Recent reports have stated that the hold of the Government on Asiatic Turkey was becoming weaker than ever, because it sent men as Governors who could not talk Arabic. But Miss Bell's opinion is that Turkey in Asia can be reformed only by Turkey in Europe. If this be so, the language difficulty is to a great extent inevitable. It can be cured only by training civil servants to serve in the provinces, and that will take time. But it is satisfactory to be told that the Young Turks have not been careless or arrogant in the management of the provinces, but have appointed the best governors they could. Miss Bell is one of the most accomplished women of our day, and Suffragists might do well to ask themselves why she is also one of the strongest Anti-Suffragists of our day. Members of our League hold her services in grateful recollection.

THE result of a plébiscite of the Parliamentary electors of the Hornsey Division on Woman Suffrage was declared at the end of December. Mr. Albert Dawson, in a letter to the "Times," describes the plébiscite as follows:—



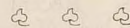
The question put was:—Are you in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women? 8,994 cards were returned as follows:—

Negative (Signed) ... ..	4,972	
" (Unsigned) ... ..	228	5,200
Affirmative (Signed) ... ..	2,154	
" (Unsigned) ... ..	78	2,232

Some voters made qualifications; these analysed and summarised yield the following:—

In favour if ratepayers, tax-payers, widows, or spinsters ... ..	441	
In favour of some women or certain women ... ..	45	
In favour on same terms as municipal vote ... ..	19	
In favour, but against Conciliation Bill ... ..	6	
In favour of same qualification as men ... ..	30	
In favour, but with limited qualifications ... ..	67	
In favour, but not to be eligible for seat in Parliament ... ..	15	
In favour of adult suffrage ... ..	48	671
Blank or spoilt cards ... ..	550	
Gone away or deceased ... ..	272	
"Question insufficient" ... ..	42	
Neutral, or "Too vague" to admit of answer ... ..	25	
Cards returned marked "Socialism" ... ..	2	
Grand total ... ..		8,994
Summary:—		
In favour ... ..	2,903	
Against ... ..	5,200	
Majority against ... ..		2,297

The number of registered voters in the Hornsey Division is 22,350. It will be seen that 40 per cent. of the electorate answered.



At a meeting of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage on January 20th, Miss Margaret Ashton, the President, discussed some of the spokes which women might put in the wheel of government as a protest against being unenfranchised. She thought both the refusal to pay taxes and the refusal to fill in the census papers "perfectly legitimate." The second expedient is we should say an obscurantist one, to which educated people should be ashamed to resort. It is only a faltering epigram, certainly not a reputable argument, to say "We will not be counted, because we do not count in the nation." As for the position of married women as taxpayers, Miss Ashton said, "If the married woman refuses payment, the law can punish only her husband." The suffragist view of the husband as either a usurper or a buffer, according to convenience, is very instructive.

The Editor desires to state that he does not necessarily accept the opinions expressed in signed articles or correspondence.

### THE WORKING WOMAN AND THE SUFFRAGE.

IN the December and January issues of the "Nineteenth Century," there are two articles on "The Married Working Woman," by Miss Anna Martin, which are of considerable interest. Though written from a suffrage point of view, it would be hardly fair to describe the articles as written with a definitely propagandist purpose. The writer's aim seems to be first and foremost to show that the point of view of the mothers of the working class is not only not known, but that nobody seems to care whether it is known or not; and consequently that the greater part of our recent domestic legislation concerning women and children, schools and "young people," has been conceived and carried out in utter disregard of the experience and opinions of that very section of the population who ought to know better than anybody else what should or should not be done.

Well, let us examine a few of Miss Martin's statements, and her inferences from those statements. And let us begin by saying that, quite apart from the question of suffrage or anti-suffrage, we women members of our League must be grateful to her for the sympathetic and forcible way in which she brings before us the hardships and privations of these poor women in our midst. We cannot hear of them too much—we cannot consider them enough. The remedy, or remedies, we in this League would propose, are not the same as Miss Martin would have the country adopt. But do not let Miss Martin and her friends imagine that Anti-Suffragists would acquiesce in a continuance of unjust and preventible hardship any more than they do.

Miss Martin begins by telling us that her beliefs and opinions are founded on an experience of several years amongst the women inhabiting a particular street in one of the waterside districts of South London. A club, or weekly meeting, which for convenience the writer calls "No. 39," has been carried on amongst these women, in which the "attitude of the 'Lady from the West End come to do good,'" was rigidly eschewed.

"The ground taken was that fate had allotted to each individual a different sphere, but that one sphere was in no way inferior to another."

The women found "that they were never preached to on their duties as wives and mothers, but that admiration was openly expressed for the gallant way in which they faced their difficult lives, and that the speakers, so far from inculcating

contentment and resignation, held strong views as to the intolerable burden imposed on working women by the blind forces of society. This method of approach apparently justified itself by its results. The defences by which the poor strive to protect themselves from the well-meant, but inapplicable, advice of their middle-class well-wishers were broken down, and though the leaders of No. 39 make no claim to have edified or elevated the women that throng to their meetings, they believe they have been enabled to know the ordinary workman's ordinary wife as she appears to herself and to her family, and not as she figures in the minds of journalists in search of copy, or of reformers in search of a way to employ their energies. And knowledge was followed by whole-hearted respect and admiration."

The friendly confidence won in course of time from the women by the leader of No. 39 and her helpers is a very great tribute to the spirit in which they must have gone about their undertaking.

Miss Martin maintains that the opinion of working women is adverse to much of the legislation that an anxious Government has recently passed—as it thought—for the benefit of the community at large. But she goes, indeed, far back beyond the present Government, to the days of the raising of the school age to fourteen. She begins with pointing to the fact—if it is a fact—that the compulsory keeping back from wage-earning for twelve months of each successive child was "practically an income-tax of from twenty to twenty-five per cent. levied on the bare subsistence income—a demand on enfranchised class would stand for a moment"—and she seems to think that when this is admitted all is said. Quite the contrary. This indictment of a reform recognised by all schools of politicians and social workers, both men and women, as one of the most undeniably successful ever carried through, seems to us but a poor foundation for a suffrage argument.

We are then shown, in a series of forcible and often curious illustrations, why the working women object to, or at best think slightly of (a) school feeding, (b) medical inspection, (c) domestic economy lessons, (d) the proposed raising of the school age to fifteen, (e) the threatened limitation of the married woman's right to work, (f) the clauses in the Children Act forbidding the taking of children into public-houses—and other measures passed or proposed. Throughout, the writer is intent on proving that these things, or many of them, are wrong, because the mothers of the children find them oppressive and irksome. There is never a hint of the writer's taking a larger view

than the view of "No. 39"—not a sign of recognition that a Government is bound to give, on the whole, more consideration to the interests of the young people who in a few years' time will be the parents of a new England, than to those who are parents now; and no indication that the writer has really studied the effects of that great fabric of legislation for protecting and befriending women and children which has been steadily built up during the last eighty years by a Parliament of men, voted for by men.

The sentences in which Miss Martin dwells on the "mental superiority" of the working woman over her men-kind, fill one with wonder. We are told that,

"The wives are, indeed, without the smattering of newspaper information which their husbands exchange as political wisdom in the public-houses, but they have a fund of common-sense, an intimate knowledge of the workings of male human nature, and an instinctive righteousness of attitude which make them invaluable raw electoral material."

"Invaluable raw electoral material"! Raw indeed!—and a prey to be seized on by any plausible extremist at election times. What can these working women, burdened as they are with home duties and the care of young children, know of politics—especially of politics in the biggest, broadest sense? How admirable they are often in their own sphere! Neither Miss Martin nor anyone else can put it too strongly. But what can they know—and how can we expect that they should know anything—about foreign relations, about the reasons for war or peace—about the pros and cons of armaments, of national arbitration, about the inter-action and inter-dependence of commerce and industry, shipping and locomotion—about finance in its international bearings—about constitutional or legal questions? The ignorance of the male voter on these essential matters is widespread and lamentable enough; although, in the main, he has some knowledge to go upon in the exercise of his vote, even of those things which lie, many of them, worlds apart from his own circumscribed life. It is a rough and ready knowledge—born of his perpetual rubbing up against his fellow-men, engaged in all sorts of different pursuits; born, too, we maintain—in spite of Miss Martin's scorn—of this very "smattering of newspaper information" which he is continually exchanging with his mates. But granted the ignorance of many male voters, why should we add enormously to this ignorance vote? Will England or the Empire be any the better for our doing so?

Meantime, we hold that most of the wrongs which Miss Martin maintains can only be remedied by giving to married women of the Parliamentary vote, could be to a large extent remedied here and now by a proper use of the existing statutory powers of women in local government. No efforts must be spared in the years before us to press home amongst working women themselves the vital importance to them of good local government, and of insisting in any given neighbourhood on the election of a proper proportion of women councillors. In this propaganda we must naturally secure also the sympathy of the men of our big towns. This has only to be properly and judiciously aroused to become effective.

In the hands of the local Councils is centred the control of all those matters pertaining to her home, on which the working-class woman is well qualified to give her opinion—education first and foremost, with all its kindred matters of medical inspection, school meals, compulsory attendance, &c.; sanitation, housing, baths and wash-houses, infectious illness, the suppression of disorderly houses, the limitation of public-houses. When more and more of our best women—and they must be of the nation's best—go to public work as elected Councillors whether County, Town, Borough, or Rural District—when each town and district throughout the country insists on its proper share of women representatives, and when the sense of responsibility in the woman-voter has been truly and thoroughly awakened, then may we not hope to see come to pass many, if not all, of the social reforms that we Anti-Suffragists wish as ardently as Miss Martin and her friends to see established? And more than that: may we not hope that the influence of these women-councillors may be helpful and educative in the best and truest sense, and may guide and lead these women of "mean streets"—at any rate in industrial questions—to think for the future rather than for the immediate present, and to see more wisdom than they do now in much of this preventive legislation.

Another important point should not be overlooked. To quote Mrs. Symons' admirable pamphlet on "Women's Place in Local Government," "If women secure proper representation for themselves on the Councils, they will be able to convey to headquarters their opinions and wishes concerning women's questions, not as an unenfranchised sex, but as a voting body, and as executive government office-holders, in direct communication with the

great departments of State. Representations thus delivered would have more influence with the Government than resolutions pressed by private members of Parliament." In this legitimate and desirable way would the influence of women on great industrial questions become more and more felt and considered. D.

### AUSTRALIA AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

BEFORE the inauguration of the Federal Government, one or two of the Australian States had followed the example of New Zealand, and granted the suffrage to women. The two principal States, New South Wales and Victoria, held aloof from the movement, but their inhabitants watched, with curious eyes, to see how the experiment in South Australia would work. The conclusion at which the majority arrived was, that if Woman Suffrage was not beneficial to the State at least it was doing no harm. Indeed, how could it, when barely five per cent. of the women electors of South Australia took the trouble to record their votes at Parliamentary elections? Their apathy was equal to, if it did not surpass, the apathy of women voters in London, at the County Council elections. It was quite evident that their all but unanimous opinion was that the Parliamentary representation they enjoyed through their fathers and husbands, brothers and sons, was all they required.

When Federation was decided upon, and an Australian Commonwealth had been established, the members of the Federal Parliament appear to have considered that the result of the Woman Suffrage experiment, in those States that had tried it, was such, that votes might safely be granted to women; that the concession, even if it did not benefit the Commonwealth, could not possibly be attended with untoward results. True, there were some legislators, more far-sighted than others, who contended that as Australian women had made it quite evident they did not desire votes, the responsibility of the Suffrage should not be forced on them. Their objections were disregarded. The Federal Government having granted women the vote, those States which had hitherto refused to go beyond manhood suffrage, now followed the example set by legislators belonging to the Commonwealth Parliament.

As had been the case in State elections, so now in the Federal elections, the effect of Woman Suffrage was at first so slight that to a superficial observer it might have seemed microscopic. But those who looked beneath the surface of social and political life in Australia, soon discerned effects, positive and negative, which went far to justify opponents to Woman Suffrage, and acquit them of the charge of pessimism which their fellow men (not



women) had freely levelled against them.

The percentage of women electors who recorded their votes was so small, that the discrepancy between the numbers on the electoral rolls, and the totality of votes recorded in the polling-booths, was so marked that active politicians striving for office, or merely for a salaried seat in State or Federal Legislature, were alarmed. Their alarm gave rise to a very curious proposal. As with the Socialists in Great Britain, so with the Labour members in Australia, Woman Suffrage had always been popular. It is not uncharitable to say they hoped to exploit this new factor in the electorate, in furtherance of the legislation they had at heart. But, politically, the woman elector was coy, with a coyness her grandmother might have considered becoming in relation to affairs of the heart. An advanced section of democratic politicians urged that this coyness should be overcome by a wooing comparable for abruptness with the rape of the Sabine women, or the wooing of William the Conqueror. They seriously proposed that it should be made compulsory on the elector to record his or her vote, with liability to prosecution and fine in the case of defaulters. The consideration that had most weight in demonstrating how impracticable was this proposed interference with the freedom of a people peculiarly tenacious of a most unfettered freedom in all things, was that the coercion contemplated would be nullified by an abnormal increase in the number of spoilt ballot-papers.

So far, the question of Woman Suffrage had been debated and finally settled by men. What of the women of Australia? What was their attitude with regard to votes for themselves? It can safely be described as one of supreme indifference. There were never any militant suffragettes "down under." No Minister was attacked with a dog-whip, or even heckled by women. No deputations waited upon him to demand votes for women. No constable had his face slapped for merely doing his duty, neither was his helmet knocked from his head. There was not even a quiet, self-respecting, ladylike league for the promotion of an extension of the franchise to women. During a residence of ten years in Australia, I never even saw one woman canvasser at an election. The Australian woman left politics to the men, conscious that her influence was just as great, and in some respects even greater, than that of her English or American sister. When the vote was forced upon her, she neglected to use it, confident that her menkind would still, as formerly, represent not only themselves but her also, putting her interests before their own, as surely as, in case of shipwreck, they would surrender to her the first place in a lifeboat.

The arguments with which the advocates of Woman Suffrage had urged this extension of the franchise were such as are usual in the United Kingdom, and America also. (1) Higher wages for women-workers. (2) Improvement in the laws relating to marriage and divorce.

(3) A diminution, perhaps even suppression, of the social evil.

With regard to the first of these arguments, the women workers of Australia had the acumen to recognise that economic laws have more sway over labour conditions, including the rate of wages, than any laws a popularly elected Legislature could possibly pass. They also recognised that the wages they earned were as high as, and in most cases higher, than those paid to women workers in any other part of the world. It may be also they had learned a lesson from the law obtaining in some States with regard to the minimum wage payable for certain kinds of men's work. When employers found themselves compelled to pay the minimum wage, they took care only to employ those who were worth it. The elderly, and the not too skilful found themselves unemployed altogether, because it was no longer legal to pay them precisely what their labour was worth, and no more. Their womenkind naturally suffered.

As regards the social evil, though perhaps no worse throughout Australia than is to be expected, there has been no abatement of the evil since votes were given to women. One argument still remains; the influence of women on laws relating to marriage and divorce. I confess there was once a time when this argument had some weight with me. I hoped that in this respect at least, the influence of the franchise extended to women would tell. I was disappointed. The woman elector seems indifferent to, or acquiescent in, laws that may affect her individual life most profoundly. In order that this aspect of the question may be understood, some reference must be made to such of the Australian divorce laws as differ from those to which we are accustomed in England. The laws differ somewhat in different States, but those which obtain in Victoria may be allowed to serve as a sample.

Besides the grounds on which divorce *a vinculo* is usually granted, divorcees are decreed in Victoria, on the petition of either party, on the following grounds:—For habitual drunkenness; upon one of the parties to a marriage being sentenced to two years' imprisonment and upwards; for desertion extending over a period of three years. It is only just to remark that there are many who would, if they could, throw the wide-open doors of the divorce court still further apart; but the best religious, social, and even political circles throughout the Colonies, are totally opposed to this view. The granting of a divorce for desertion during a period of three consecutive years is especially condemned, owing to the encouragement given to illegal collusion. Many keen students of sociology discern a close connection between the fatal facilities for divorce which obtain throughout Australia, and the scandalously attenuated birth-rate which is the most disquieting symptom of life at the Antipodes to-day. Here, if anywhere, one would think there was a field for the higher moral influence which women can undoubtedly exercise if

they will, but the suffrage has not enabled them to make that influence felt.

Has Woman Suffrage in Australia, one may ask, had a merely negative result? Is it a negligible quantity, that may once for all be disregarded as partaking of the nature of a legal fiction, inoperative, an idle compliment Australian men have paid their women; nothing more? It cannot be so regarded, or disregarded. At the last Federal elections, the womanhood of Australia was appealed to in a way in which it had not been appealed to before. The heart, not the head, was attacked. As a consequence, over twenty per cent. of the women electors went to the poll, with the quite natural result that the Labour party for the first time assumed office. The chief hope for the future of investment and enterprise in Australia, and resultant employment would, in my opinion be that, at the next elections, the women electors may refuse to be roused again from the political lethargy that, until last year, had been their normal condition. Yet the result of their spasm of political activity is by no means so harmful in Australia, as a similar result might be in England. Australia manages its own internal affairs for a sparse population, considerably less than the population of the County of London. It has no questions of peace or war to decide, no India dependent upon it with a population of three hundred millions, entertaining Oriental ideas regarding women. The Australian Labour party differs from our own on the subject of National Defence, for which it is enthusiastic, instead of being apathetic or openly hostile. It must also be remembered that women are in a minority in Australia instead of being in a majority as in this country.

In conclusion, if we turn from the contemplation of Woman Suffrage *in esse*, as in Australia, to Woman Suffrage *in posse*, as in this country, it is impossible not to be struck with some coincidences, which should serve as a warning. It was the Labour party in Australia that was most enthusiastic for Woman Suffrage; and it is the only political party that so far has profited by it. In the United Kingdom, it is a Socialistic Labour party that openly advocates Adult Suffrage, to which any modified concession of Woman Suffrage would inevitably open the door.

POYNTON STRANGER.

### Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN

has kindly consented to give

### A Course of Instruction

for Anti-Suffrage Speakers on  
Monday Afternoons commencing  
on February 6th.

These classes will be held at 5.30 at 47, Courtfield Road, by kind permission of Miss Golding. For particulars please apply to the Secretary, Caxton House.

Fee for Course of Five Lessons, 5s.

## A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS. ASTONISHING RESULTS.

THE very class in whose interests the Conciliation Bill is framed do not desire Woman Suffrage. We have the pleasure of publishing below some figures which prove this extremely important fact. The canvass of Women Municipal Electors by which we have obtained the figures is not yet complete, in the constituencies that have been undertaken, but we have no doubt that the results already obtained are typical of those yet to come. We feel justified, therefore, in urging them most earnestly on the attention of Members of Parliament. The whole case for the Conciliation Bill rests on the assumption that those women who now have the Municipal Vote are those who suffer the most crying injustice in not having the Parliamentary Vote. Those Members who voted for the Conciliation Bill did not hesitate to make this assumption, just as Mr. Balfour makes the wider assumption that women in general want the Suffrage. Mr. Balfour has declared that if his assumption proves to be unfounded, his opinion would be greatly modified. We venture to hope that the figures below will help towards that modification, and that figures yet to be published will complete the process. The figures show that among women householders and women with occupier qualifications, there is no grievance. The vast majority declare that they do not want the Parliamentary Vote:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.*
Bristol	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Croydon	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
Hampstead	3,084	1,288	495	233	1,168
S. Paddington	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
Southampton	2,243	1,361	147	229	496
Bath	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Oxford	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Cambridge	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Reading	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Torquay	1,640	467	210	13	950
Mid Bucks	1,389	248	222	47	872
North Berks	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Central Finsbury	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare	935	380	235	69	251
Reigate	906	338	109	23	346
Guildford	776	428	67	72	209
Sutton	471	133	41	226	71
Epsom	349	183	35	69	62
Hampton	277	92	39	14	132
Thames Ditton					
Long Ditton	187	134	10	8	35
Kew	155	96	21	23	15
Ashbourne	153	107	5	2	39
Haslemere	138	59	34	28	17
East Molesey	136	93	14	20	9
Hersham	105	49	4	20	32
Banstead and Tadworth	96	22	5	9	60
Hawkhurst	95	70	11	0	14
Cobham	88	61	4	15	8
Worcester Park	87	34	7	2	44
Esher	75	52	9	8	6
Midhurst	73	27	15	20	11
Cheam	69	43	11	10	5
Ashted	67	25	7	21	14
Bramshott	63	37	9	7	10
Oaklands Park	56	21	1	5	29
Shottermill	37	16	8	7	6
Walton-on-Hill	33	19	3	6	5
Fernhurst	29	13	3	3	10
Hindhead	28	10	11	3	4
Grayshott	21	4	5	4	8
Lynchmere	19	7	3	5	4
Rogate	18	13	1	2	2

Thus, of those who have answered the questions put to them, out of a total electorate of 41,757 the great number of 18,850 are opposed to Votes for Women, and only 5,579 are in favour of them. But that is not all. Out of those canvassed 12,621 have not answered. It is reasonable to suppose that these mostly—probably almost entirely—are unfavourable to Woman Suffrage. It is not to be supposed that many Woman Suffragists would fail to declare the faith that is in them, well knowing that the results of the Canvass might be used against their cause. We do not pretend, of course, to estimate the exact majority against Woman Suffrage, but it is certain that it is very large, and it is probable that it is enormous.

\* No replies include deceased, removed, and ill.



### A REMARKABLE CANVASS AT HAWKHURST.

We have received the figures of a poll on Woman Suffrage at Hawkhurst, in the Ashford division of Kent, which are the result of what is unquestionably a model method of conducting such an inquiry. Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists were both anxious to inform themselves as to the state of opinion in the district, and both, perhaps, believed that they had nothing to fear from the result. The Suffragists were taken into the confidence of the Anti-Suffragists, and the poll was practically organised in conjunction. There was to be no possibility of charges and counter-charges that improper questions had been put, or that the people polled had been "convinced against their will," by personal canvassers. The figures were checked by auditors drawn from both sides. The chief collector was a Suffragist. We give the form of the questions asked:—

#### WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

(HAWKHURST BRANCH.)

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,—We are anxious to ascertain, as far as possible, the wishes of the Parliamentary voters and their wives, on the much-debated question of Woman Suffrage. That we may do this with complete fairness, we beg of you to kindly put the word "yes" opposite one of these questions.

Chairman (Mrs.) FREDERIC HARRISON.  
Hon. Treasurer (Mrs.) BEAUCHAMP TOWER.  
HUSBAND'S OPINION.

- I. Are you *against* giving Women the Parliamentary Vote? .....
- II. Are you in favour of giving Women the Parliamentary Vote? .....

WIFE'S OPINION.

- I. Are you *against* giving Women the Parliamentary Vote? .....
- II. Are you in favour of giving Women the Parliamentary Vote? .....

This paper will be left on one day and called for the next.

The votes will be counted by representatives of both sides.

The figures issued after the poll were as follow:—

Electorate 618—	Anti.	Pro.	No reply,	
			gone away,	&c.
Voters	396	37	52	133
Voters' wives	357	40	—	—
Total	753	77	52	133

#### MUNICIPAL ELECTORS (WOMEN).

Electorate 95—	Anti.	Pro.	No reply,	
			gone away,	&c.
League for Opposing Women's Suffrage.	70	11	—	13

Chairman, Ethel B. Harrison.  
Hon. Treasurer, Mary A. Tower.  
We certify that these figures are correct.  
Theresa Ready.  
Geo. M. Newman.

If Suffragists would co-operate with Anti-Suffragists in polls of this kind elsewhere, the cause of truth would be served a good deal better than now. After all, the introduction of woman suffrage is a very grave matter indeed, from every one's point of view. Why should we desire to be deceived? We are all Englishmen and Englishwomen, and the basis of all right judgments is a knowledge of facts.

### MR. JAMES BRYCE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA.

The new edition of Mr. Bryce's great work, "The American Commonwealth" (The Macmillan Co., 2 vols., 21s. net), has a chapter of reflections on Woman Suffrage. It is written with the detachment which is, perhaps, only seemly and natural in an Ambassador who criticises the country to which he is accredited; but, reading between the lines, we think we are right in saying that Mr. Bryce is distinctly more impressed by the disadvantages of Woman Suffrage than by its alleged advantages. He has collected opinions for and against the Suffrage from competent witnesses, but even those who are in favour of it are not prepared to quote the experience of the four Western States which have Woman Suffrage—since Mr. Bryce wrote the four States have become five—as a guide to older or more closely populated countries. One of Mr. Bryce's friends writes:—

"After the first excitement is over it is impossible to get respectable women out to vote except every two or three years on some purely emotional question, like Prohibition or other temperance legislation. The effect on family life seems to be nil; certainly not bad." Another writes:—"Woman Suffrage so far seems to work well, but the field of its operations is one presenting singular immunity from the evils which elsewhere might attach to it, the population being sparse and women in the minority." Mr. Bryce himself says:—"No evidence has come in any way tending to show that politics are in Wyoming, Idaho, or Utah substantially purer than in the adjoining States, though it is said that the polls are quieter. . . . The conditions of the small and scattered populations of these States—Utah being, moreover, exceptional as still largely Mormon—render their experience of slight value for such communities as the Eastern and Middle States." This conclusion surely withholds any justification for urging Woman Suffrage in Great Britain on the American analogy.

Another of Mr. Bryce's comments is applicable to the Conciliation Bill. He says:—"No one dreams of drawing any distinction between the claims of the single and the married, or of making marriage entail disfranchisement. To do so would involve a much grosser anomaly or in-

justice than the exclusion of all women alike from political functions.

Similarly Americans always assume that wherever women receive the right of voting at the election to any office, they become as a matter of course, eligible for the office itself." So far as it is excusable to transfer the argument to Great Britain we may say that since under the Conciliation Bill unmarried women on the municipal register would lose their votes on being married, their disfranchisement would be instantly denounced as a gross injustice and anomaly. And so, logically, it would be. Therefore another step in the enfranchisement of women would soon have to be taken for very shame. So it would go on. It is impossible to find a halting-place short of adult suffrage for both sexes when once Woman Suffrage, in however moderate a form, has been granted.

In America the law governing women's property is full and generous; these laws would lapse if women obtained complete political equality with men. We do not wonder that Mr. Bryce writes:—"Although, therefore, the advocates of Woman Suffrage claim that some tangible legislative benefits will accrue to woman from her admission to the franchise, especially in the way of obtaining better protection for her and for children, the case on this side seems weak and excites little feeling. No one who observes America can doubt that whatever is deemed to be for the real benefit of women in the social and industrial sphere will be obtained for them from the good-will and sympathy of men, without the agency of the political vote."

Of all the questions which have attracted the attention of women in America none has aroused so much emotion and such vehement support as prohibitive drink legislation. Mr. Bryce says on this subject:—"Even those who desire to see the sale of intoxicants restricted doubt the expediency of attaining their object by the votes of women, because the difficulty of enforcing prohibitory legislation, already serious where the drinking minority is strong, would be much greater if a majority of men in favour of keeping bars and saloons were overborne by a minority of men turned into a majority by the votes of women." Here is the "physical force argument" which the Suffragists have agreed to ridicule since they have no sort of answer to it. A writer of Mr. Bryce's wide learning and sure historical judgment knows that the argument expresses a reality. It is true that in England drink legislation has never excited such anger as in the United States. "Local Option" was received jocularly rather than hailed with the cracking of skulls; but there is no certainty that some question in England would not arouse just such bitterness and pugnacity as is caused by drink legislation in America. Suppose some highly unpopular law drew its sanction from a majority which was a majority only by virtue of the female vote, and suppose that the law was defied, where would the stability of the State be? What happens to Law and Order when insur-

gents do not feel themselves obliged to yield to what they know is superior physical force held in reserve?

Mr. Bryce sums up by saying that just because the Woman Suffrage movement in the first instance drew authority from the noble part played by women as abolitionists, so it now tends to lose authority from a contemplation of the negro suffrage in the South. "Is not that which may be called, in no disparaging sense, the sentimental tendency in politics a declining and not a growing force?" An impartial observer, according to Mr. Bryce, must doubt "whether full political suffrage, as distinguished from school or municipal suffrage, is likely to be granted to women in many States of the Union within the next twenty years."

### A "SUFFRAGETTE" REVOLT.

The bitter, contemptuous, and stinging denunciation of the militant suffragists by Mrs. Billington-Greig in the "New Age" has been received in silence by the Women's Social and Political Union, and almost in silence by the Women's Freedom League, but it cannot fail to have its effect, and we daresay it will end some delusions. Mrs. Billington-Greig, as Miss Billington, was one of the pioneers of militant suffragism. We have heard it said that she was the first to strike a policeman. However that may be, she was one of the chief forces—perhaps the foremost in point of intellect—in the Women's Social and Political Union. But she seceded from the W.S.P.U. in 1907, together with Mrs. Despard and other leaders, on the ground that Mrs. Pankhurst had torn up the constitution of the Union and had established a personal domination. The result of the secession was the formation of the Women's Freedom League, which has a constitution. From this League, of which she was the Organising Secretary, Mrs. Billington-Greig has now, in turn, seceded, asserting that she must be free to tell the truth about the motives of militancy, since the W.F.L. has succumbed to the false inspirations which direct the Women's Social and Political Union.

In the "New Age" of January 12th Mrs. Billington-Greig says:—

"For the experience of the last five years goes to prove that this Suffragist militancy is not revolution; it is the exploitation of the natural forces of sex revolt for the purposes of advertisement. Militant machinery is put into action purely for its advertising values. It is a bold method of advertising what is now a quite commonplace and conventional movement—a movement as conventional as Liberalism and Conservatism, and every other 'ism' which to-day goes uncensored. In these days of great hurry even the old and strong and wealthy conventional things find themselves in need of the fillip of occasional new attractions, and the organisers of the Social and Political Union recognised from the beginning this

modern need. They knew that there were forces of rebellion seething in the women around them. They knew that these forces could be directed in any chosen channel by those who were courageous enough to make a beginning. They made the beginning, but they dared not make the movement the mouthpiece of revolt. They chose to indulge only in so much militancy as would attract attention and keep the public and the politician aware of them. They coquetted with rebellion. They made revolution into a political red herring. They started in the political world a gigantic game of bluff to which every other consideration has been sacrificed. Many of those who came into the militant movement were already engaged in other fields of feminist effort, and to all of these the leaders preached the doctrine of withdrawal. Their cry was ever "Give it up. Give it up. The vote is the key to all the rest. Other things can wait."

Of the Women's Social and Political Union Mrs. Billington-Greig says:—

"It has suppressed free speech on fundamental issues. It has gradually edged the working-class element out of the ranks. It has become socially exclusive, punctiliously correct, gracefully fashionable, ultra-respectable, and narrowly religious. It pays for its one breach of decorum with additional circumspection in all other directions. 'I do interrupt meetings, but I am a perfect lady,' expresses the present poverty of spirit; 'I knocked off a policeman's helmet, but I only want a little thing—a quite respectable little thing—a vote.' This is banal. One loathes to hear it. One loathes to write it. But it is true.

"The Women's Social and Political Union now depends upon personal dominance for its existence. The leaders impose a yoke of emotional control by which the very virtues of the members are exploited; they produce a system of mental and spiritual slavery. The women who succumb to it exhibit a type of self-subjection not less objectionable than the more ordinary self-subjection of women to men, to which it bears a close relation. The yoke is imposed by a mingling of elements of deliberately worked-up emotion, by the exercise of affectional and personal charm, by an all-pervading system of mutual glorification, in which each of the three leaders by turn sounds the praises of the others, by the deliberate exclusion of other women from all positions of prominence, by a policy of shameless boasting and boomer, by an ingenious system of clever special pleading through which everything the Political Union does is chronicled and magnified and everything that other Suffragists do is belittled or ignored, and by that undoubted financial and political stage-management which caters for all the elements of snobbery and narrowness and intolerance, while employing the language of outlaws in revolt. This obsession is one of the most remarkable manifestations to be seen in the political life of to-day. As with all emotional degradation its victims glory in it."

Continuing her attack in the "New Age" of January 19th, 1911, Mrs. Billington-Greig examines the theory that women will necessarily impart a higher moral standard into politics and gives it but half-hearted support. The militants, she thinks, have even tended to disprove it altogether:—

"There are Suffragists who claim that women have a higher moral nature than men, and who will accept any statement, however extreme, based upon that assumption. But while these premises are ridiculous and inadequate there is something to be said for the theory that if a sex has been kept cleaning and scrubbing, and scouring and sweeping for a long series of generations, there will be a tendency for the habit to assert itself when that sex secures a wider sphere of existence. . . . The woman with money, the woman with courage, the woman with talent, the woman with leisure, the woman with warm life-forces pulsing through her, arresting and attractive, the woman who has made her name, the lady with relatives in high places, the lady with a title—all these have been made use of as pawns in the game. They are all means to an end; tools to be used and forgotten; agencies to serve their purpose and drop out of sight. They regard themselves as patrons, heroines, rebels, and emancipators; they are really the instruments of advertisement used by a great machine of boom. These are some of the strange manifestations of the great purification which women have brought into politics!"

The net result of the operations of the W.S.P.U., in Mrs. Billington-Greig's opinion, is that "a cult of woman-worship" has been inaugurated—"a pose of superiority to the male as ridiculous as the man's pose of superiority to the woman."

### A CORRECTION.

In the December number of the REVIEW we quoted from an article which appeared in the "Republican," of South Dakota, and attributed the article to Mrs. Kiliani, the well-known American Anti-Suffragist. We are informed that the article was not written by Mrs. Kiliani.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

#### WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—I have read with interest Miss Violet Markham's spirited "Call for Service" in this month's ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW. I note with regret, however, that it is made the opportunity for an attack on Suffragists, who are accused of showing "too little desire to assume the burdens and responsibilities of a citizenship rightfully theirs." "Where," Miss Markham demands, "are the signs of that willing apprenticeship in local affairs which would be the best of all possible credentials as regards any further demand for the Parliamentary franchise?" She adds that whilst municipal work offers the means to create a new heaven and earth, "the Suffrage Party as such has done little to promote either."

This is a heavy indictment; and as Miss Markham brings forward no evidence whatever in support of her charges, I trust you will, in common fairness, permit me, as a subscriber to your paper, to meet it by a few facts.



On the Birmingham Board of Guardians we have six women, and on the adjoining King's Norton Board four, nine of these ten being members of the Women's Suffrage Society. Leicester also has six women guardians, all Suffragists. It would be a long task to ascertain the views of the 1,200 women guardians throughout the country; but of the twenty women on town and county councils, I happen to know of eleven (including the two lady Mayors) who are Suffragists, and think it probable there are many more. We have not yet succeeded here in putting a woman on the city council, but have made one attempt, with the creditable result that our candidate polled (in round numbers) 600 against her opponent's 800 votes. She was supported by a band of workers almost to a woman active Suffragists, and when an appeal for co-operation was addressed (by the Local Government Society) to the Anti-Suffrage League, the reply was returned that they were too busy to assist. Take another field of municipal work. Many years ago an active campaign was carried on by lady lecturers on hygiene, who year after year delivered free courses of well-attended public lectures in all parts of our city. I can recall the names of nine of these voluntary missionaries, of whom seven were well-known as Suffragists.

In lamenting the small number of women candidates for councils, Miss Markham ignores the great difficulty that only burgesses are at present qualified for these bodies; whereas, for guardians, a year's residential qualification suffices. Parliament refuses to pass this short and simple Bill, which would remove this stumbling-block to Miss Markham's (and my own) desires, yet she would deny that we need any direct voice in legislation.

Thanking you in anticipation.—I am, Sir, &c.,

CATHERINE C. OSLER.

Birmingham, January 13th, 1911.

[As Mrs. Osler's letter puts some direct questions to Miss Violet Markham, we showed it to Miss Markham, who replies as follows:—

"Mrs. Osler states that I bring forward no evidence whatever in support of my charge that the Suffrage Party, as a party, has paid little attention to the affairs of local government. Can any evidence be more eloquent than that of the figures quoted which prove that throughout England, Scotland, and Wales only sixty-five women are serving on county, town, metropolitan, borough, urban, and parish councils, and that there are no less than 226 unions on which no woman guardian sits at all? These figures speak for themselves. I stated expressly in the article that the activities of individual Suffragists had been admirable in this field. The point on which I insisted, and still insist, is that had the Suffragists, as a party, devoted a fraction of the money and effort they lavish on the Suffrage cause to extending the work and influence of women in local government, they would have carried women to victory in local elections throughout the length and breadth of the land. Regarding local government as I do as the keystone of social reform, I deplore the fact that relatively so few women have come forward to share its responsibilities.

"I am absolutely at one with Mrs. Osler in wishing to see a residential qualification substituted for the present burgess qualification

for borough and county council candidates. I must point out, however, that there is no 'sex discrimination' in the present system, which operates as hardly against intelligent sons living at home as against intelligent daughters. The system is a bad one, and should be abolished, but I am not aware that the urging of this most useful reform figures prominently in Suffrage propaganda.

"One of the most disastrous consequences of militant Suffragism has been the hardening of public opinion against the work of women in local government. Recent elections have proved unmistakable hostility and resentment on the part of electors to women candidates, and the public service has suffered proportionately. Very probably, as Mrs. Osler suggests, there are many Suffragists among the 1,200 women guardians, but, as it happens, the four women members of the Board on which I sit are all opposed to the franchise."—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

#### THE MUNICIPAL CANVASS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—I am writing to ask you to publish this letter, as your article entitled "The Anti-Suffrage Canvass and Misrepresentation" in the January number of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW (which has only just been brought to my notice) contains several mis-statements of fact, which I feel sure you will wish to correct.

It is perhaps too much to ask you to see that your astonishment at Sir William Chance's not expressing regret for having been wrongly reported is somewhat peculiar. I will therefore confine myself to the facts concerning the "misrepresentation" you consider you have to complain of. You guard yourself by saying that the statement that "most improper question-begging appeals" were printed on your postcards was "attributed to Sir William Chance, and that he thereupon corrected this statement and told you what he had said. You remark that this is the only public correction you "have had the pleasure of reading."

I would ask what more do you wish Sir William Chance to do?

You then proceed in your article to make a distinct mis-statement. You say: "It will be noted that Sir William Chance attributed the objectionable questions to personal canvassers of our League in his own district—Godalming . . . and did our League a new injustice by making it appear that we had conducted a canvass of municipal electors at Godalming" (a district you say you have not canvassed). So far from "making it appear" that your League had conducted a canvass at Godalming, Sir William Chance took pains to point out that the "Godalming district" canvassed by Suffragists was a very large one, and by no means confined to the borough of Godalming.

As a matter of fact, "Godalming and district" overlapped at more than one point localities where your League has conducted canvasses.

I shall be glad if you will therefore correct your statement that Sir William Chance's "information referred to a district in which the League has not organised a canvass," the implication being that his statements could not be true. Farther, I must remark that the questions which you yourself stigmatise as "most improper" are to be found (slightly paraphrased) on leaflets

circulated by you with your canvass cards. Are we therefore to take it as your opinion that these questions are only to be considered improper if printed on the cards, but when accompanying the cards cease to be so? If, as you state, you consider a postcard canvass more desirable than a personal one, because the latter introduces the "human element," and "persuasion may easily render the results quite valueless," why do you enclose literature, some of which frankly uses a most questionable form of persuasion, viz., an appeal to prejudice, passion, and sex antagonism?

With regard to Mr. Massie, I consider myself justified in holding him to have committed "an error in taste" (see his letter to "The Times") in implying, indeed almost saying openly, that any information he can get from the Godalming Suffrage Society was not likely to be reliable. I think the regret which you say I "did not express," would have come better from Mr. Massie, for the tone of this particular letter of his was little less than insulting.

I hope, indeed, I am sure, that the majority of Anti-Suffragists, do not consider "this sort of thing" (to quote your article) "good sport or good tactics."

One more word. I should like to correct two more (no doubt unintentional) errors into which you have fallen.

(1) I did not "conduct," or initiate, or organise, the Godalming canvass. It was undertaken by the Committee of the Godalming Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. My share in it was less than that of many other members.

(2) I am in no way connected with the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, beyond that I am in sympathy with the object for which it was formed.

Trusting to your fairness to insert these corrections.—I am, Sir, &c.,

J. C. CHANCE.

Orchards, Godalming,  
January 18th, 1911.

[[1] We suspect that Lady Chance does not really believe that our grievance against Sir William Chance was that he had been wrongly reported. Our grievance—clearly enough stated—was that he did not help us as readily as we had expected to correct an inaccurate report of his words, which was very widely made use of by Suffragists, and did us a grave injustice.

(2) In the letter in which Sir William Chance acknowledged that he had been misreported (as to the questions printed on our League's postcards for canvassing women municipal electors), he stated that the objectionable questions were asked by personal Anti-Suffragist canvassers "in this district." The letter was written from "Orchards, West Godalming." The meaning of this appears to be plain. Anyone would take it to mean that Sir William Chance asserted that Anti-Suffragists had canvassed Godalming. Lady Chance now writes that Sir William Chance never said that our League canvassed Godalming, and accuses us of making a mis-statement in stating that he did. Our brain reels.

(3) Lady Chance asserts that improper questions were to be found in leaflets circulated with canvass cards. Sir William Chance's letter, which we reproduced in our last issue, said "I did not state that the objectionable questions asked by Anti-Suffrage can-

vassers were printed on their official post-cards or in their leaflets. These questions were asked personally by the canvassers." If Sir William Chance and Lady Chance are referring to the same district (of which we never feel quite sure) they cannot both be right.

(4) The "Times," of November 26th, 1910, published the results of the Godalming Suffragist canvass supplied by Lady Chance. On December 9th, the "Times" published a quite different and much more startling set of figures supplied by Lady Betty Balfour. Both could not be true. Mr. Massie, in these circumstances, very naturally and properly applied to the Town Clerk of Godalming for the numbers of the women municipal electors at Godalming.

(5) We willingly withdraw our statement that Lady Chance organised the Suffrage canvass at Godalming. As all the communications to the newspapers on the subject which we happen to have read were in her name, we concluded that she was chiefly responsible.

(6) We have searched the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, but can nowhere find a statement that Lady Chance is connected with the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. If she would kindly tell us when it occurred, we should be delighted to correct it.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

#### IMPERIAL AND MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—There have been reports in the newspapers lately about certain town councils who have passed resolutions calling on the Government to concede a measure of Woman Suffrage. It will be interesting if you can say in your next issue what is really in this, and by what methods such resolutions were obtained. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool, reported that a canvass of the electors showed a large majority in favour of Woman Suffrage. I hope this statement will not bear investigation; if it were to do so it would appear that we are losing ground.

I have been thinking over the suggestion that we should endeavour to divert the energies of the Suffragists from Imperial to municipal politics. In the first place, I do not believe that they are nearly so anxious to serve the country, as they are to remove what they call the disgrace of sex disqualification, and they will be satisfied with nothing short of absolute equality. We have proof already that what they want is not to serve the municipality, but to be on the same footing as men. Would it not be well to bear in mind also that the City Council is a training ground for members of Parliament? Characters change with environment, and in municipal activity the intensifying affection for public life would, I fear, lead to increasing estrangement from domestic life, and the demand for votes, and even for seats in Parliament, would, in my opinion, be almost inevitable. There might even be a coarsening of the feminine mind and manner due to altered and less refined surroundings. I ascribe to womanly reserve, just the quality most of us are anxious to preserve, that so few ladies have chosen to face public elections, and the extremely mixed masculine society which public life entails. The same modesty will come to the

assistance of those who are opposing their admission to the Parliamentary franchise. If women influence Imperial politics more without than with the vote, I fail to see why the same principle does not apply to municipal politics.

I think the surest way to defeat the Suffragists will be to find out the cause of their existence and remove it. Does it arise in our system of national education? Are we training boys to be good husbands and wise, unselfish citizens; and girls to be good wives, and wise, unselfish citizens; or are we simply fostering the aggrandisement of the individual, the desire to be clever and of fine physique, selfishness, vanity; not the desire for what is best for all, but to be first and foremost? I believe many educationists hold that our system of education is radically defective, inasmuch as it does not train boys and girls especially for the vocation they will have to fill. If so, there must be many square people in round holes, and we must expect many morbid developments. The smattering of knowledge, known as cram, is not training in the sense of character-building, nor does it create a capacity to think. Parents should be roused to the deplorable consequences of tens of thousands of sensitive girls, designed to be sheltered at home, and quite willing to remain so, being forced into over-crowded markets to earn a living in face of the grinding competition of the age. Both men and women suffer, and the country is filling up with despairing, lonely people, living in lodgings of various kinds instead of the homes which used to be the strength of England.

The statistics of lunacy and of suicides will bear me out, and no stronger fundamental argument is needed to work upon.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. COGHILL.

2, Hildon Villas,  
Chandlers Ford, Jan. 11th, 1911.

[There is no great mystery, we fancy, about the methods by which the Councils' votes in favour of Woman Suffrage are obtained. It is significant that these resolutions come almost exclusively from bodies which depend to an appreciable extent for their election upon the votes of women. The pressure exerted upon the Councils may be unconscious, but is none the less real. The excavators of Hercules found upon the wall of a house the following imperishable election address: "Vote for Proclinius to-day, and he will vote for you to-morrow." Human nature does not change much, and the "something for something" remains as powerful a motive as ever. As for our correspondent's remarks on municipal politics, we cannot agree that this kind of work is too much of a "rough-and-tumble" for women. We have known it to be exactly the reverse; and administration which treats of such questions as education, the health of the people, and so forth, is characteristically women's work. We do believe it to be a fact, however, that the municipal atmosphere has become distressingly less agreeable for women since it became charged with the bitterness which is a reaction from the violent enterprises of women elsewhere. You cannot provoke a sex-conflict in one region without suffering for it in another. There is only one remedy—for women to abandon the demand for the Parliamentary vote and take their proper place in municipal work. We are certain that they would not then find

municipal work rough or unpleasant, and their opportunities for noble service would be unlimited.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

#### THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES IN AMERICA.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—In your footnote to my letter published in the January number, you state: "We understand Mr. Phillips to argue that the female vote in the Woman's Suffrage States of America is comparable only with the woman's municipal vote here."

If you will kindly read my letter again you will see that I stated that "it seems to me absurd to compare those western States with these countries," and I have made no argument such as you "understand."

Each State has absolute home rule, and women vote for everything on an equality with men. The municipal vote in England is not comparable to the franchise in a western State.

According to your definition of the word "backward," it really means "advanced," or *vice versa*. The laws of Wyoming are so little backward or "experimental," that some of them have been adopted by the older States. The laws regulating the use of the waters of the State, for instance, with their relation to the land reclaimed by irrigation, have been taken as models for some of the older States.

In the event of Adult Female Suffrage being established throughout the United States, the effect would not, in my opinion, be comparable to that produced by the enfranchisement of all women in Great Britain. In the States they have Manhood Suffrage now, and the addition of the women's vote would hardly alter the general complexion of the Congress. In Great Britain Adult Suffrage for men and women might place an altogether lower class of members in Parliament to that we have now, who would undoubtedly be more ignorant of the world at large. With our widely distributed Empire, and delicate diplomatic relations with powerful foreign States close at hand, the placing of such power in the hands of the lower classes might cause much disaster.

Not only am I opposed to Adult Female, but also to Adult Male, Suffrage in Great Britain.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

ARTHUR W. PHILLIPS.

Warren Edge,  
Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants,  
January 24th, 1911.

#### THE CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—With regard to the activity displayed by this organisation, would you allow me to protest against the one-sided nature of its energies, and consequently also against the Machiavellian character of the principle upon which its existence reposes?

To join a political party animated by no other object than that of creating discord within its ranks, is a form of strategy which can be described only as disingenuous in the highest degree, and it is greatly to be feared that, in the composition of this body, the principle of mixing a pennyworth of Conservatism and Unionism with an in-



tolerable weight of Suffragism has been rigidly adhered to. The solitary object entertained by the members of this association is, in truth, merely the conversion of Conservatives and Unionists to Female Suffrage. No other issue is permitted for a moment to interfere with the pursuit of the real purpose of their propaganda.

The existence of various associations devoted entirely to the cause of the franchise for women, renders doubly unjustifiable such tactics. If, in the near future, the already distracted Unionist Party is to be subjected to the harassing of kindred formations such as (let me say) The Conservative and Unionist Women's Temperance Association, The Conservative and Unionist Women's Anti-Vivisection League, The Conservative and Unionist Women's Anti-Vaccination League, The Conservative and Unionist Women's Faith Healing Association, its condition will speedily be one calculated to arouse the compassion of even the most flinty-hearted of Radicals.—I am, Sir, &c.,

T. DALYRYMPLE DUNCAN.

#### AN ESSAY IN SIMPLICITY.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review."

SIR,—I think you may be interested in the following little essay. We all know that the objections to Woman Suffrage, entertained by a vast number of not very well educated persons who have given little thought to the subject, depend upon instinct rather than on reason. It is a perfectly sane, right, and valid instinct, but it would be interesting to know in what terms it would express itself if expression were possible. A lady wrote down briefly the familiar arguments against Woman Suffrage in different ways and submitted these essays to the judgment of her servants. They selected the following as just expressing their feelings, and they added spontaneously that they were all opposed to votes for women:—

The real reason for not wanting votes for women depends on what we all know as the division of labour. If women were just like men all round there could be no reason for refusing them the votes which men have. But they are not; and their happiness and that of their husbands, children, and the country depends on their recognising that they are not men.

What is said of a man who tries to be like a woman—who cries if in pain, who meddles in the kitchen, or tries his hand in the nursery? Why; that he is a woman-man! And what is said of a woman who wears trousers and rides astride a bicycle? That she is a forward minx. And why is this? Is it all folly? Or is it that we all feel that man has his place, and woman hers, equal before God, and with equal rights to enjoy their lives, but each with his or her own work to do—the man to earn the wages (and to their shame is it that some men let their wives keep them), the woman to mind the house, to see to the spending of the money and the rearing of the children, which the man is as unable to do, without a good woman, as he would be to bring up a brood of ostriches.

Now if woman takes man's duty, which is to earn the family money, to protect the wife from insult, and to guard and

govern his native land, what do you suppose the men will do? Will they come to heel like lap-dogs? Remember that there are more women than men in the country; do you think for a moment that they will tamely allow themselves to be governed by women? In the home, yes! There the woman is queen—long may she remain so—but in Parliament—no! If women try to take men's privileges and men's place, let them remember that they may lose their own and be like the hen that tried to crow like a cock—it was a poor affair at the best. Some hens do it sometimes, but they are usually bad hens and soon find themselves in the saucepan!

In local affairs where education and children's health are concerned women have votes. Let women leave politics to men and be content with the maxim, My husband rules the State abroad, but I rule him at home. Those who attempt more may find themselves in the position of Napoleon—the man who tried to do too much, and did it.—I am, Sir, &c.,

E.

#### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

**The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.**—The next meeting of this Committee will be held at the head offices of the League, Caxton House, Westminster, on Wednesday, February 8th, at 11.30 a.m.

These meetings have been formed with the object of giving opportunity to the Branch Secretaries and Workers of the League to come into touch with each other; of giving them facilities of discussion among themselves on any points of common interest or difficulty which may arise, and thus of strengthening the bond of sympathy and of work, which already exists among them. It is much hoped, therefore, that all those Secretaries and workers, both in London and the provinces, who are able to do so, will try to attend these meetings. They will take place on the second Wednesday in each month, at 11.30 a.m., and due notice will be given of them in the REVIEW.

It may be added that any members who are interested in any discussion that may be going on at these meetings, and would like to be present at them, will be cordially welcomed.—Hon. Sec., Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

The work of establishing Branches goes steadily on, and although we have not a record of many important meetings this month, a great amount of organising has been done, and on every hand we hear that the Anti-Suffrage cause is gaining ground with even greater rapidity than at this time last year.

**Kensington.**—On December 1st, Mr. Hayes Fisher, M.P. for Fulham, received a deputation, arranged by the Kensington Branch, and consisting of Lady Ibbetson, Mrs. Gladstone (Dame President P.L.), Miss Moutray Read, Mrs. Oskar Fux, Miss Aston, Mr. Greswell Dobson, Mrs. Kingdon Dobson, Mrs. Corbin, and Mrs. Codrington,

all these ladies and gentlemen being well-known residents in the Fulham constituency. Mr. Clarkson Birch (ex-councillor and member of Board of Guardians), introducing the deputation, gave the following figures of a canvass of the municipal women voters in the borough:—

Number of women electors canvassed	2,971
Anti-Suffrage ... ..	941*
Pro-Suffrage ... ..	265
Indifferent ... ..	830
No reply ... ..	935*

Mr. Birch said that these figures were similar to those obtained in other districts of England, and proved that there was a strong feeling against the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women, even among those who, having exercised the municipal franchise, were most entitled to express an opinion. The deputation felt that, above and beyond all theories, there was the one practical objection, that Nature had imposed essential differences between the sexes—differences of temperament, which unfitted women, as women, for political rule, and which no amount of education would ever eradicate. The willingness of some men to give women the vote was one phase of the modern tendency to transfer power from the strong to the weak. It was an abdication of responsibility which could only result in national inefficiency. It was hoped that Mr. Fisher, from personal conviction as well as from public policy, would refuse to support any compromise which would end in adult Male and Female Suffrage, and the right of the women to sit in Parliament.

Mr. Dobson hoped Mr. Fisher would give a distinct negative to the request for the female franchise, which the electorate, he found, dreaded, recognising that it was a question which struck at the very roots of family life.

Miss Moutray Read, speaking as a professional woman, said that professional women were not, as sometimes represented, by any means unanimous on the question.

Mrs. Fux said she found that, among the working women, there was the strongest aversion to Female Suffrage.

Replying, Mr. Hayes Fisher said that this question cut right across the party lines, and that as the leaders among the Conservatives were divided upon it, there was no likelihood of its being taken up as a Government measure in the near future.

He considered it of such great importance that he himself would have nothing to do with any Bill which was not put forward by a responsible Government. At the present time data as to the desire of women themselves were not sufficiently numerous, though, as far as Fulham was concerned, the figures of the canvass supplied by the deputation were of considerable significance.

Mr. Fisher thought that the sex argument was somewhat disconcerted by the admirable work done on the L.C.C., among the children, by such ladies as Lady St. Helier, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Miss Adler. He could not give a distinct negative, as had been suggested, because his ideal was the strengthening of the Constitution by an admixture, say, of one to seven of women, specially qualified by education or property; and if a strictly limited female franchise

\* "No reply" includes all those on the register deceased, removed, and ill, or not seen by the canvasser.

were proposed it would have his support.

Finally, he pointed out that, as Mr. Balfour had promised to submit Tariff Reform to the people by means of the Referendum, it was certain that such a grave experiment as the addition of perhaps a million voters to the register would also be preceded by the Referendum. If a million of voters were added to the electorate, this would much aggravate the present inequalities in the relative numbers of voters in the constituencies, and in the relative value of each vote; and, therefore, any Reform Bill of this nature must be accompanied by, or closely followed by, a Redistribution Bill.

Lady Ibbetson suggested that work on the L.C.C. was administrative rather than legislative.

A similar deputation was also arranged to wait on Mr. Alan Burgoyne, M.P. for North Kensington, but he refused to receive it, on the ground that more important constitutional questions were the real issue before the country. A petition, influentially signed, was therefore sent him through the post, and a similar course was followed with the Liberal candidates for Fulham and for North Kensington, neither of whom made any reply. As Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., for South Kensington, has already received a deputation, and has appeared on the platform at the annual meeting of our Branch, it was not necessary to approach him again.

Owing to the sudden illness of the canvasser employed in Fulham, the work of canvassing women occupiers there could not be completed. North and South Kensington canvasses are now being carried out.

**Cheltenham.**—We have received the following report from the Cheltenham Branch: "During the year just ended new members have joined our ranks, and we now number 181.

A canvass for the Anti-Suffrage petition was carried on in the summer and early autumn, and we were able to forward another 800 signatures to the central office. Since that time we have been occupied with the canvass of the women municipal voters. The female electorate in this town is very large, and we have yet to carry out the whole of the house-to-house visitation; but sufficient has been done to show that Cheltenham women who have the municipal vote do not want the Parliamentary, and in two wards there was a decided majority against the vote. Our finances are in a satisfactory condition."

**South Berks.**—With reference to a meeting addressed by Miss Gladys Pott, at Stratley, South Berks, which we reported last month as having been held in connection with the North Berks Branch, a correction is necessary. This particular meeting was held under the auspices of the South Berks Branch, of which Mrs. Benyon is President.

**North Berks.**—We have received the annual report of the North Berks Branch, and it contains such interesting and encouraging matter that we reproduce the following extracts:—"The Branch may, we think, congratulate itself upon steady progress during the past year. The membership has increased from 170 at the end of 1909 to 342 at the present date, a large pro-

portion of the new members being drawn from the working classes, a fact which in itself is most satisfactory, and one that gives much hope for the future. We would specially impress upon our Vice-Presidents and Associates the importance of engaging the interest of the labouring classes of both sexes, who may be admitted to the Branch on payment of 1d., for which a card of membership is given. These cards will be supplied to any member on application to the Secretary."

Referring to the municipal canvass in North Berks, the report says:—

"There cannot be any doubt that in North Berks the large majority of women directly affected by the Bill are opposed to their own enfranchisement. The canvass was carried out by our Vice-Presidents, Associates, and other voluntary workers, some of whom were not members of the League, two not being even Anti-Suffragist by conviction, and to all these we owe a very special debt of gratitude for their most generous help. Every possible precaution was taken against individual bias being shown, and we believe that our canvassers were careful to conduct the inquiry in the most honourable manner by avoiding personal influence or pressure of any kind."

The report concludes with the following comment on the recent amalgamation of the Women's and Men's League:—

"We trust that the combination of the two Leagues will strengthen the cause and enable us to carry out an effective opposition to any attempt to force Woman Suffrage upon the country, at any rate until the electorate has had an opportunity of declaring its opinion upon the subject by the question being made a main issue during a general election. We much hope that all the members of our North Berks Branch who have given us such able assistance in the past will continue their support in what we feel must be the still more strenuous future, and we are anxious, in view of the amalgamation above mentioned, that they should do all in their power to enlist the interests, not only of women, but of men as supporters and members of our League."

**Hastings and District.**—There was a large and representative gathering on January 10th at the residence of Madame Wolfen, 6, Warrior Square Terrace, St. Leonard's-on-Sea. Miss Beth Finlay gave a most interesting address, and discussion followed. A motion put to the meeting, and enthusiastically carried, was as follows:—"Shall we start a Hastings and District Branch of the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage?"

**Dublin.**—A drawing-room meeting in connection with the Irish Branch of the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage was held on January 16th, at 13, Fitzwilliam Square, the residence of Mrs. G. C. May.

The meeting was largely attended by a most influential audience. The chair was taken by Mrs. Bernard. The speakers were Mrs. A. E. Murray, who pointed out most clearly that Adult Suffrage must be the inevitable result of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women; she also spoke convincingly of woman's position under man-made laws. Mr. Acton, of Oxford University, weighed the arguments for and against

Woman Suffrage, and proved that the arguments against were more and weightier than those in favor of it. The Secretary, Miss Morton gave an outline of the work and progress of the League, and emphasised two evils likely to follow the giving of votes to women—first, the injurious effect on themselves by placing on them new responsibilities, and, secondly, the depreciation in the validity of the law likely to follow female legislation.

Another drawing-room meeting, for which some 200 invitations have been issued, is to be held at 2, Clyde Road, the residence of the Hon. Secretary. Miss Stuart, one of the speakers, from London, is to visit Dublin in February, when a series of meetings has been arranged. The work in Dublin is progressing in a most satisfactory manner, new members are coming in, and there is a marked increase in sympathy with the movement and in the desire for information.

**Cambridge University.**—Writing from this Branch the Hon. Secretary says: "It was with great regret that we heard of the death of Mr. S. H. Butcher, who was so brilliant and consistent an opponent of Woman's Suffrage." A great meeting, organised by both Cambridge City and Cambridge University is to be held on March 3rd in the Guildhall, when Lord Cromer will speak.

**Birmingham.**—The Birmingham Branch have lately moved their office from 19, New Street to 109, Colmore Row, where a nice bright room with lift accommodation has been secured.

The Branch were represented at the Westminster Palace Hotel for the Central League's amalgamation meeting by Miss Evers and the Treasurer.

On December 8th, by the kind permission of Lady Marshall, a small, but very successful "Christmas Present Sale" was held at her house in Edgbaston; this sale was organised by the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Saundby, who for some weeks previously had held a working meeting every Tuesday afternoon at the offices of the League. Those who had been unable to attend these meetings sent their work direct to Lady Marshall. The proceeds of the sale amounted to over £34. It was patronised by many of the League supporters, including Lady Simon, Mrs. Lakin-Smith, the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Cecil and Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.

A striking poster has been got out by the Committee and has been periodically displayed by a procession of sandwichmen in the principal thoroughfares of the city, tersely setting forth the results of the constitutional party's endeavours in East St. Pancras and Glasgow (the Camlachie Division). Encouraged by the reception accorded to our deputation by Sir Francis Lowe, M.P., the committee are endeavouring to arrange an interview with Mr. E. Parkes, M.P.

**Wimbledon.**—Good work is being done by our Wimbledon Branch. On January 16th, a very successful drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mr. Thomas Lloyd, the Hon. Treasurer. Mr. A. Westly Percival took the chair, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon put before the audience our side of the Woman Suffrage question. Over twenty thousand circulars are being sent to



the householders of Wimbledon, and the funds of the Branch have trebled in the last three weeks.

Lady Constance Monro is giving a drawing-room meeting on February 8th, at which Mrs. Moberly Bell and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon will speak, and Mr. George Calderon will take the chair. Six other ladies have promised to hold drawing-room meetings, and these will be arranged as soon as possible.

**Ealing.**—A very interesting drawing-room meeting was held, by kind permission of Mrs. MacClellan, at 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing, on January 12th, when Mrs. Mayer gave an address which was much appreciated. Considering the short notice and the very unpleasant weather, there was a very good attendance.

**Southend and Westcliff-on-Sea.**—By kind permission of Mrs. Peachey, a very well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at that lady's residence, St. Joseph's, Westcliffe-on-Sea, on January 5th. Mrs. Maggs was the speaker, and after a short discussion those present were entertained at tea.

**East Crinstead.**—Miss Pelham and Miss Mabel Smith were the speakers at a meeting held in connection with this Branch at Dormansland on January 11th. Colonel St. Clair was in the chair, and many questions were asked and answered, adding much to the interest of the proceedings.

**North-East Hampstead.**—By the kindness of Colonel and Mrs. J. W. Cowley, a very pleasant drawing-room meeting in connection with the Hampstead Branch (North-East) of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was held in their house in Lawn Road, Haverstock Hill, on January 14th. The Rev. Dr. Fotheringham, M.A., F.R.A.S., presided, and there was a large attendance. Dr. Alice Van Ingen and Miss Mabel Smith delivered most interesting addresses. The Chairman, in opening, referred to the good influence wielded by women in political affairs, and alluded especially to the help our Premiers had received from their wives, and from the great political hostesses. He ventured to think, however, that this good influence would be lessened, and would deteriorate in character, as a result of the vote being granted to women.

Miss Mabel Smith's speech was apt and to the point, and Dr. Alice Van Ingen's thoughtful and well-reasoned address was listened to with the deepest attention.

The proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to Colonel and Mrs. Cowley for their hospitality.

**Eastbourne.**—From Eastbourne comes an encouraging report of progress. An official of our Branch there makes the following remarks: "Our opponents challenge us to get up joint meetings for debates; this we decline to do, as at our meetings they have ample opportunity of asking questions, and we cannot see that anything will be gained by debates, and fear that meetings such as they want will only lead to more heat and bitterness, both of which we are so anxious to avoid. At present, no headway is being made by any of the Suffrage Societies, and as our member voted against the Concilia-

tion Bill, and is opposed to Woman Suffrage, we did not trouble him at election time on the subject. It is worthy of note that, although this member voted against the Bill, and has often publicly declared his views, his committee-rooms were crowded day after day by women only too willing and ready to work for him; indeed, there was not always room for these ready helpers."

**Manchester.**—The Annual Meeting of this branch took place on January 18th. The annual report showed that much useful work had been done in the past twelve months, and that meetings had been held, not only in Manchester, but in Liverpool, Didsbury, St. Annes-on-Sea, Haslingden, Rusholme, Broughton, Gorton, Salford, Pendleton, and the University Settlement, Ancoats: and that Mr. G. C. Hamilton, Mrs. Henry Simon, Dr. Arnold Jones, Mr. A. C. Gronno, Mr. Tolmie, Mrs. A. Herbert, Miss C. Moir, Miss Hardie, Miss Badger (Mrs. P. W. Craven), and Mr. Chas. Hough had spoken on behalf of the branch.

The Teachers' Sub-Committee, which was formed to combat the growth of Woman Suffrage ideas among the teachers in the Elementary Schools of Manchester, has also steadily continued its work during the year.

Lady Sheffield, in the chair, proposed the re-election of the Committee and officers for the year 1910-11, and referred to the difficult nature of the work in Manchester; and said she felt that, if the work was to be done successfully, it would be done by the present Committee.

A formal resolution was taken in connection with the alteration in the name of the League, and a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Lady Sheffield. Special reference was made in regard to the work and support of Mrs. Henry Simon, the Hon. Sec. of the Branch, and the members present recorded their appreciation of her great kindness.

**Canterbury.**—One of the most interesting meetings of the past month was held in Canterbury, at the Foresters' Hall, on January 26th, when Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., was the principal speaker.

The Dean of Canterbury, in the chair, was supported by several influential persons, among whom was Lord Northbourne.

**Cranbrook.**—A well attended public meeting was held at the Vestry Hall, Cranbrook, on January 19th. Colonel Rowlandson presided.

Miss Gladys Pott said it was for their opponents to prove that the vote in the hands of men had not been properly used, and also to prove that the vote in the hands of women would make things better. She concluded by proposing the resolution: "That this meeting is not in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote to women."

Mrs. A. Colquhoun, in seconding the resolution, described the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage as a defensive League, formed to prevent women from being drawn into a political sphere. The resolution on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Mrs. Frederic Harrison, in proposing a vote of thanks to the two ladies who had addressed the meeting, described the recent remarkable canvass at Hawkhurst.

**Brixton.**—Under the auspices of the Brixton Branch, a meeting was held in the

Hammerton Hall, Stockwell, on January 18th, over which the Rev. A. J. Waldron, vicar of Brixton, presided.

Miss Gladys Pott, in a thoughtful speech, showed that there was no real demand from the electors of the country for Woman Suffrage.

Mrs. Stewart, who "campaigns" during the summer in Brockwell Park, spoke for a few minutes, but had to relinquish the greater part of her speech, owing to weakness, the result of a recent illness from which she had not fully recovered.

Mr. Thompson dealt with the subject from the physiological and temperamental standpoint. He argued that women were physically unfit for discharging the duties of one of the two main divisions of government, the executive, and by temperament also unfitted for the legislative.

#### DEBATES.

**Glasgow.**—On January 12th, Mr. D. B. Kyles, of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish League, debated at the Toynbee House Literary Society, Glasgow, with Miss Barrowman, of the Women's Freedom League. Mr. Kyle's arguments were clear and well arranged, and a very interesting discussion took place amongst those present at the conclusion of the speakers' addresses.

**Woking.**—At a debate at Woking, organised by the local Suffrage Society, Miss G. B. Stuart ably opposed Mrs. Rackstraw on January 17th. The Suffrage resolution was carried by a very narrow majority, notwithstanding the fact that a great many Suffragists were present.

**Oldham.**—Long and animated were the speeches for and against Woman Suffrage at a debate held on January 12th, at the Oldham Unitarian Schools. Miss C. Moir, of our League, was an excellent opponent to Miss M. E. Manning, of the Women's Freedom League. Miss Moir, in the course of a most interesting speech, said the Suffragist agitation, as she understood it, was a fervent desire to alter the position of women in the race altogether. Their arguments involved a belief in the theory that the human race had developed largely on wrong lines, and we were now asked to cease the specialisation of function between men and women, as far as might be. It was an understandable thing to say that this specialisation of function had been bad, but we had to examine the question on the ground: Is it well or ill for the race to continue the specialisation of function between men and women?

#### THE GLASGOW CAMPAIGN.

The Glasgow Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League is conducting an energetic campaign, and we have received the following report of the first week's work. The Hillhead meeting, held in the Burgh Halls, to which were specially invited all the women ratepayers in the district, was well attended, and Mrs. Maggs was the principal speaker. Ex-Bailie Cleland, M.V.O., presided, and among those who supported him on the platform were Miss Rutherford, M.A., Vice-President of the Scottish League; Mrs.

David Blair, the Hon. Treasurer of the Glasgow Branch, and Mr. D. B. Kyles.

**Camlachie.**—A similar meeting was held in the Bellgrove Hall, Bellgrove Street, presided over by Mr. Robert Cuming. The Secretary read a letter from Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P. for Camlachie, in which he said: "I am very sorry that I cannot be at your meeting in the Bellgrove Hall this evening. I have another engagement which is of long standing. You are doing a very important work and very urgent. I am convinced that a majority of the country, women as well as men, are opposed to granting the Imperial Suffrage to women, and that, as the fundamental arguments in the case come to be more generally understood, the opposition to it will become overwhelming. The first advantage, we must remember, is, however, almost always with the attacking party. The danger is, that owing to the conditions just now specially affecting our Parliamentary government, the position may be rushed. The harm done by the change would not at first be evident—and therein is the chief peril. For that reason we must do our utmost to get time for deeper thought to prevail." Mrs. Maggs then delivered an address, and questions were asked.

**Kingston.**—An interesting meeting was held in the Kingston Halls, Paisley Road, on January 10th, Mr. D. B. Kyles presided, and Mrs. Maggs devoted her address mainly to the objects of the Anti-Suffrage League.

**Partick.**—The meeting arranged for Partick, in the Academy Rooms, Peel Street, was well attended. Mr. David B. Kyles presided, and Mrs. Maggs gave an interesting address.

The thanks of the Executive Committee of the Glasgow Branch are specially due to the ladies and gentlemen who so kindly lent their drawing-rooms for afternoon meetings, and to all those who so ably assisted in organising and carrying through the arrangements for the public meetings. Mrs. Maggs was the speaker at each of these meetings.

By kind permission of Mrs. Rattray, a drawing-room meeting was held at her house, 4, Westercraigs, Dennistoun, on January 10th. Mrs. David Blair presided. The usual votes of thanks having been passed, tea was served.

**Giffnock.**—On January 10th, a very successful drawing-room meeting took place at the residence of Mrs. David Cooper, Woodend, Giffnock. Mrs. Jas. Campbell presided. Afternoon tea was served at the conclusion of the meeting.

An excellently attended drawing-room concert was held on January 18th, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Campbell, 11, Park Circus. The Countess of Glasgow presided, and, in her remarks, said, referring to the question of Woman Suffrage in Australia and New Zealand—always a popular argument—that she thought it absurd to compare these countries with England. What those countries did, in no way affected the rest of the world. Further, the men far outnumbered the women in New Zealand, and, therefore, were bound to have pre-eminence. Sir William Russell, a former Minister in New Zealand, and originally a great supporter of Woman Suffrage, stated, in a letter which Lady Glasgow read to the

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meeting, that, in his experience, the majority of women were not interested in politics. He would never again record a vote in favour of woman franchise. An interesting programme of music was afterwards given.

A largely attended drawing-room meeting was held on January 19th at Craigie Hall, Bellahouston, the residence of Sir Thomas and Lady Mason. Lady Stirling Maxwell who presided, said she was by no means lukewarm on this subject, and while she was not prepared to say that she thought women should never have the Parliamentary vote, she certainly thought that, at the present moment, they had not qualified themselves for it. It was worthy of note that every country which had tried Woman Suffrage had only a domestic, and not an Imperial, policy. Mr. H. J. Mac-kinder then delivered a brief and interesting speech.

Professor Phillimore, in moving a vote of thanks to Lady Stirling Maxwell, said that, so far as he could see, there was no general movement in favour of Woman Suffrage among the highest class of intellectual women, certainly not among the working women of the country, but merely among a certain set of the middle class.

#### AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

THE Wimbledon Branch gratefully acknowledges the receipt of £5 from an anonymous donor.

#### LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
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[Continued on page 38.]

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