

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."
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FANATICISM IN POLITICS.

WE are now in possession of the election programmes of the two leading Suffrage societies, and though they differ fundamentally in their attitude towards prospective candidates, from the point of view of Imperial and national politics there is not much to choose between them. The more pacific followers of Mrs. Fawcett are to put suffrage before party, the militants of the W.S.P.U. are to put obstruction before suffrage. But neither body seems to care very much for the fact that the country, to which its members belong, is face to face with perhaps the gravest problems which have confronted Englishmen for well-nigh two generations. Mrs. Fawcett, in an eloquent speech delivered at Bexhill, appealed to her hearers, men and women, to take up the question of candidates irrespective of party, and to work and vote only for those who were prepared to support the women's cause. Adult suffrage is not to be put forward for fear of alienating Conservative sympathy, a policy of "economy" in the theological sense, which can scarcely hope for success. Surely Conservatives are not going to be so blind as to ignore the fact that if they once recognise the principle they will be powerless to check its extension? If they are, let Anti-Suffragists reiterate this truth until it cannot help but penetrate even the dullest Parliamentary intelligence.

Meanwhile the militants are going to be retrospectively vindictive. Liberal candidates as such are to be op-

posed in every constituency, the Suffragettes being apparently anxious to emulate that enlightened section of the electorate whose only political creed is to be "agin the Government." We are sorry to see Mr. Philip Snowden endorsing the view that "in this election the women have no other concern than to do what they think may be best to promote their own cause." The Women's Liberal Federation might have taught him a truer patriotism. "Our country first and our sex second" is a policy which all parties can at least respect.

To come to practical matters, what should be our line during the coming struggle? In the first place, let us push with energy the collection of signatures to our ever-growing petition. The other side are going to organise petitions in every constituency; but we have got the start, and let us see that we make the most of it. Then, let us use our influence in all legitimate ways to strengthen the feeble-kneed, more particularly among Conservatives, who may be tempted to bid for future votes by more or less vague expressions of sympathy or promises of support. When people talk of the various "limited franchise" proposals, let us keep Adult Suffrage, and the existence and growth of the People's Suffrage Society, well to the fore. When you find the wife of a member of the Government, Mrs. Francis Acland, writing to the *Westminster Gazette* on behalf of this most recent suffrage society, which demands a vote for all men and all women, on a three months' residential qualification, and

implores the Prime Minister to give them a sign of encouragement at the Albert Hall meeting, then at least we know where we are. No more pretence of moderation here! Mrs. Fawcett knows very well what this latest phase of the movement means—or would mean—for the campaign as a whole, if the country were to take it seriously. But she wrings her hands over it in vain. Adult Suffrage is the only possible goal for her society, as for Mrs. Acland's; and it is Mrs. Acland who is the logician and not Mrs. Fawcett.

Meanwhile Mr. Asquith has said nothing more at the Albert Hall meeting than he has said a score of times already. Whatever ministry leads the House of Commons in February, the serious consideration of Woman Suffrage is at least six years off, and that gives the country time. Time, too, to the "Younger Suffragists"—delightful persons!—who, fresh from the schoolroom, as they tell us, are now trooping back there in order to learn "speaking and canvassing in preparation for the General Election." The announcement gives an agreeable human touch to a somewhat embittered controversy, and calls up an engaging vision of fair-haired children in pinafores sitting in rows upon benches, and drinking in the words of wisdom which fall from the lips of Elder Suffragists!

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE publication of the present number marks the beginning of the second year in the history of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW. Without arrogating too much to ourselves, we may fairly claim to have played no inconsiderable part in organising the resistance to the cry of "Votes for women," and to have raised a rallying flag at a moment when it was sorely needed. Primarily we are the organ of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, but we are convinced that we give expression to the feelings of thousands of women who stand aloof, for one reason or another, from the active work of propaganda. Our

columns have provided a medium for acquainting the reading public with the fact that the League is a living, an active, and a rapidly growing force. It is impossible even to glance at the Branch News Letter, which we publish month by month, without being impressed by the energy and the loyal co-operation of our fellow-workers both in London and in the provinces. The fiction that the majority of women in the United Kingdom, or even a substantial minority of them, are desirous of the Parliamentary franchise has been exploded once for all. Without recourse to sensational methods or to militant tactics, we have made converts in all classes, and especially among those who had drifted into a vague sympathy with the suffrage movement because the reverse of the shield had never been shown to them. And we have abundant demonstration that zeal and self-sacrifice and the fierce glow of conviction are not the monopoly of the noisy few.

As we thus look forward to a New Year, we may be pardoned if we quote a sentence or two from the article stating the motives and objects both of the League and this REVIEW, which appeared on our first page in December, 1908: "We protest against the Parliamentary franchise for women, because it involves a kind of activity and responsibility for woman which is not compatible with her nature and with her proper tasks in the world. Men who have built up the State, and whose physical strength protects it, must govern it, through the rough and ready machinery of party politics. Women are citizens of the State no less than men, but in a more ideal and spiritual sense. The great advance of women during the last half century, moral and intellectual, has been made without the vote; and the work now under their hands, for which the nation calls upon them, work with which the Parliamentary vote and party politics have nothing to do, is already more than they can accomplish. To plunge women into the strife of parties will only hinder that work and injure their character." Surely the events of the last twelve months, the set-back in the municipal elections of November, and the frantic hysteria of the "physical force" contingent, invest these words with a prophetic significance. And no less weighty are the closing words, in which the same writer sums up the task which lay then, and

still lies, upon the shoulders of her fellow-workers: "We shall put forth our utmost strength to prevent the spread of a movement the success of which would weaken our country in the eyes of the civilised world, and fatally diminish those stores of English sanity and of English political wisdom, based on political experience, which have gone—through all vicissitude, failure and error—to the making of England and the building up of the Empire."

We deal elsewhere with the impending General Election, the approach of which is throwing all other questions temporarily into the shade. But it is interesting to note that one of the last sittings of the now moribund House of Commons was marked by the presentation, through Mr. John Massie, M.P., of a petition supplementary to that against the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women which was laid before the same tribunal in March last. The supplementary petition consists of 75,258 signatures, and these, added to the 254,620 names on the former, bring up the total to 329,878, the largest number of signatures ever attached in one year to a petition connected with female suffrage. And in this case, as in March, the larger proportion of the new signatories are women who belong to what are called, conventionally but inaccurately, "the working classes." For the collection and for the *bonâ fides* of the signatures the members of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League have made themselves responsible. Attacks have been made both upon the authenticity of so huge a muster of names and upon the significance to be attached to them, but the charges have not been substantiated, and the annoyance which the petition has caused among the clamorous minority which professes to voice the aspirations of the women of Great Britain and Ireland is in itself a conspicuous tribute to the blow which has been administered to their pretensions.

THE recent decision of the Lord Chief Justice on the right of the citizen to compel the Prime Minister, or, indeed, any Minister of the Crown, to receive a deputation has laid down the law with brevity and lucidity. The case, we need hardly remind our readers, arose out of one of those attempts to "rush" the House of Commons which have been made so frequently during the last two sessions. On the arrival outside

St. Stephen's of a small group of ladies bearing a petition and claiming to be a deputation, they were confronted by an inspector of police and informed that, under the orders of the Speaker of the House of Commons, he could not allow them to go any further; and at the same time a note from Mr. Asquith was handed to Mrs. Pankhurst, who was acting as ringleader, in which, without any reference to the petition, the Prime Minister declined to receive the deputation. Then came the old familiar scene; the ladies tried to force their way past the police, a crowd collected, and the deputation, with some of their sympathisers, were arrested. A conviction followed on the ground of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty. Against this conviction Mrs. Pankhurst and another member of the deputation appealed, contending that the duty of the police was not to bar their progress, but to allow them to go in to the House and interview the Prime Minister. Incidentally it raised the question of the competence of the House of Commons, and of the Commissioner of Police, acting under instructions from the Speaker, to regulate the right of approach to the Palace of Westminster and to prevent disorder at the doors. Of the inherent right of a body, claiming to be a deputation, to enter the House of Commons, no trace could be found, and, as Mr. Asquith had not refused to receive the petition, no question on that subject arose. In the view of the Lord Chief Justice and of his colleagues, Lord Coleridge and Mr. Justice Channel, the police were carrying out their duty, and the members of the deputation had obstructed them. On a judgment so eminently consonant with good sense, we offer no comment.

THE letter of the Home Secretary which appeared in the press on the 23rd of last month, wrung from him by "the falsehoods and misrepresentations" contained in a resolution passed by the Fabian Society, ought to give the final blow to some well-worn fictions. Once more Mr. Gladstone was constrained to repeat what he had said over and over again in Parliament, and to deny that the release of Lady Constance Lytton had anything to do with her rank or her social position. "She was released solely because she was suffering from serious heart disease, and because violent resistance on her part to the medical treatment appropriate to her case would have involved some risk to her life." And the Home

Secretary once more exposes a favourite misrepresentation with regard to the classification and treatment in gaol of the suffragettes generally. It is absolutely untrue that the suffragists have not received the full benefit of the distinctions made between different classes of prisoners. "At first they were generally committed by the magistrates to the first division—an order to that effect was made in no less than 132 cases—and it was only when they abused the privileges of the first division that the magistrates felt themselves compelled to commit them to the second division, where the discipline is more strict, but where they have the advantage of not associating with ordinary criminals. In recent cases, where acts of grave violence to property or acts involving danger to life have been perpetrated, the prisoners have, in a few instances, been sentenced to imprisonment in the third division or to imprisonment with hard labour; but this has only been done when their offences had degenerated into mere acts of hooliganism, which, in the case of male prisoners, would have been even more severely punished."

In an admirable article in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mrs. Frederic Harrison compares the position of the Feminist movement when the present Government took office four years ago with the situation to-day. In 1905 she is convinced that the female suffragists, with half a century of solid achievement behind them, were within measurable distance of their object. In spite of repeated failure they commanded respect for the courage, pertinacity, ability and level-headedness they had shown, and this from all political parties, even those who entirely disapproved of their campaign. . . . The chances of ultimate success for the cause had never seemed so good." To-day Mrs. Harrison is persuaded that the adventures of the militants have effectually cooled whatever feeling there might have been in the country for some measure of woman's suffrage. "We see, for the first time, what the political woman demands. The seat in Parliament, admission to public office, the seat on the Bench—these are the true goals. If the vote were given to-morrow the agitation in a worse form would continue for these further 'rights,' as they would be called, and then for the passing of certain measures. *Women desire all the privileges, without the*

duties and responsibilities of men." Meanwhile the mass of women are stolidly indifferent. "A plague on all your houses," they say, and the more thoughtful resent the attitude of politicians by which the woman's vote is considered only as a pawn in the political game without reference to whether the majority of women desire it, or are fit to use it, or whether such a measure would be for the good of the community."

In another passage of the same article Mrs. Harrison deals trenchantly with the argument so frequently put forward by suffragist advocates that the existing law is unfair and unjust to women. "Now that, by the Women's Charter of 1882, women have entire control of their own property, to use and to leave behind them, that special question is disposed of. Any readjustment of the law would probably level up woman's responsibilities to man's, as in the case of breach of promise damages, liability for children's expenses, liability to contribute to husband's support, cruelty to husband, slander of husband, liability for penalty in libel cases, liability for expenses of divorce actions, and in many other cases. Any impartial person must agree that the law leans on the side of indulgence to women—as to punishments inflicted on them, as to liabilities incurred by them, as to the general weight of responsibility, which is laid on the man rather than the woman."

At a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union, held in London on the 6th of this month, Lord Lytton entered a protest against the definite policy of violence involving injury to persons and property upon which that society has chosen to embark, and he tried to persuade his audience that "to inflict damage upon the person or property of an individual Minister, whether with a whip or with stones or firearms, bore no more analogy to the Bristol riots which preceded the Reform Act of 1832 than the murder of President Kruger by a British subject would have borne to the war which raged for three years in South Africa between Boer and Briton." But the day when moderate counsels had any power has long since vanished, and his lordship got nothing better than the flippant retort from Miss Pankhurst that at Bristol Mr. Churchill had received "a symbolic thrashing," and that he "deserved what he got." This is apparently the light in which that most disgraceful outrage is

generally regarded in the advanced sections of the suffragette movement which have now, apparently, obtained the complete control of the machine. Speaking at a meeting held at Southend on the 22nd of November, Miss Sidley, the representative of the Women's Freedom League, was asked whether she justified the tactics recently adopted in the assault on Mr. Churchill. "I am not a member of the League which adopted this method of protest," was the answer, "but at the same time we never condemn the action of any other society. We hold that all methods are justifiable to protest against the continued slavery of women." When this doctrine is preached by multitudes of excited, reckless, illogical women to audiences as excited and as illogical as themselves, it is impossible to predict what length may be reached, or what dark tragedy may lie before us in the not distant future.

* * *

We are glad to join with our contemporary the *Englishwoman* in welcoming the decision of Mr. Justice Swinfen Eady, in the Chancery Division, that on the true construction of the deed of foundation it is competent for the Governors of the Royal Holloway College at Egham to alter the rules and regulations so as to enable a woman to be a governor or honorary governor. We have always supported the privileges and powers of women in local government, and in the sphere of social and industrial and philanthropic work. In this connection we should like to draw attention to an article by Mrs. Lawrence Gomme in the December number of the *Cornhill Magazine* entitled "Women at the Polls." It gives a most clear and comprehensive survey of the directions in which women's activity on borough and county councils and on boards of guardians should be turned, and of the urgent necessity for a more numerous representation of women on those bodies. After reading it, we are more than ever impressed by the deplorable consequences of the prejudice against women candidates which "militant tactics" have created in the electorate.

* * *

We should like to echo the appeal made by Mr. Maconochie at the meeting of our League held on the 7th of December. After describing the great success of the recent propagandist tour in the North of England, in which Mrs. Norris had played so triumphant a part, he complained in strong language that

such strenuous and fatiguing work ought not to be left to the women. "The men who were opposed to woman suffrage on principle ought to take a much bigger hand in the actual fighting than they did." We should like to remind our friends of the Men's League that their whole duty is not accomplished when they have paid their annual subscriptions.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

THERE has been nothing dull in the November days, which have been spent by our branches in active propaganda, in collecting signatures for the huge supplementary petition which our Hon. Treasurer presented to the House on November 25th, and in planning numberless meetings for the near future. That all our branches have been especially energetic in collecting petition signatures is proved by the numbers—75,258. To many of the completed forms received at the office this significant little note was attached: "The majority of these signatures are those of working women." The South Kensington Branch sent in a goodly number, and if the progress of our work in Scotland is to be gauged by completed petition forms, Anti-Suffragism is in high favour with Scots-women. Again, this month we have to report the popularity of the debate; a number of public and private encounters with our opponents have taken place throughout the country. The results in most cases have been very satisfactory to us. Several new branches have been formed; that at Cardiff promises well, and the sturdy folk in South Wales have very strongly expressed their disapproval of Suffragism.

As we went to press last month too early to report the end of our Scottish campaign, we give short accounts now of the meetings at Perth, Nairn, St. Andrews, and Inverness.

At the Perth meeting, held in the Guildhall on November 5th, Bailie Bowie was in the chair, and Mrs. Somervell and Miss Violet Markham spoke to a crowded audience. As a consequence a strong branch has been formed at Perth.

Mrs. Somervell said that the suffragist cry, as we all knew, was votes for women on the same terms as men. This meant that they would enfranchise about a quarter of a million of women, the majority of whom were spinsters and widows. At the same time we heard much complaint of the small sense of responsibility shown by many voters. If that responsibility was great at present, it would be double if women were given the franchise, for as a rule women did not take a keen interest in politics.

Miss Markham associated herself with Mrs. Somervell in saying that a woman's duty was at home. If they wanted to be a great nation they must have good homes. If they gave women the vote they must of necessity let them sit in Parliament. They could not have two classes of voters, one to sit in Parliament and one who could not sit in Parliament. The suffragettes said that if women had the vote, that would do away with all

the unemployment of women. But why was there so much unemployment amongst the men when that sex had had the vote for years?

At Nairn, a meeting was held in the Station Hotel on November 6th; the Countess of Leven and Melville presided, and briefly introduced Mrs. Somervell, who appealed to those who were still undecided on the Woman Suffrage question. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Colonel Grogan, C.B., presided over the large meeting in the Town Hall, St. Andrews, on November 3rd, when addresses were again given by Mrs. Arthur Somervell and Miss Violet Markham.

A number of questions were asked, in which it was pointed out that women had votes in Norway, Australia, New Zealand, and other places.

Mrs. Somervell answered that the conditions were quite different from those which prevailed in Great Britain, which maintained a sovereignty over 300 or 400 million people.

On November 8th a splendid audience assembled to hear Mrs. Somervell at Inverness, Lady Lovat being in the chair.

Lady Lovat, in an excellent little speech, declared that the desire of the women to procure enfranchisement was nothing short of revolution, because it was an entirely fresh departure, and meant the destruction of traditions hitherto held sacred by the womanhood of this country. The doctrines of Socialism and those advocated by suffragettes were both eminently revolutionary, and were both based on a fundamental fallacy. Socialism had everything to gain by enfranchisement of women, and the Socialist would make use of the women as the monkey made use of the cat in the fable, to draw the chestnuts out of the fire.

Mrs. Somervell, in her address, argued that woman suffrage was objectionable in principle, and opposed to what was natural and practical.

A resolution moved by Mrs. Darwin, of Muirtown, and seconded by the Countess of Leven, against suffrage to women was carried without dissent.

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Mrs. Colquhoun was the principal speaker at a debate held in the Borough Polytechnic on November 22nd, being supported by Mr. Anthony Brown. A great number of the audience took part in the discussion, from which it appeared that those who were suffragists chiefly belonged to the Socialist ranks. One young man averred that it was no use asking whether votes for women would benefit the Empire because "the working man has no Empire," and he and subsequent speakers made it clear that they support the movement solely with the idea of getting more power into the hands of certain classes. They were, however, stoutly opposed by one or two others, who based their arguments against the vote on the grounds that woman's work lies apart from political strife, and that, as a maker of men, she can afford to let men be the makers of laws. Mrs. Colquhoun replied effectively, and one of her opponents, in proposing a vote of thanks, declared that she had given him, at all events, new lights on the subject, which he should "go home and sleep on." This was a particularly interesting and instructive debate, the audience being almost entirely

working-class, and it was noticed that Mrs. Colquhoun, beginning with a somewhat cold and hostile audience, carried the meeting with her at the end of her speech.

Mrs. Sandham held a most successful drawing-room meeting at Egerton Gardens on November 24th, at which the speakers were Mrs. Clarendon Hyde and Mrs. Colquhoun. Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, in a very finished and telling speech, dealt chiefly with the propertied woman, and the anomalies which would result from any attempt to enfranchise woman on a class basis. Incidentally she mentioned that the number of widows in Great Britain is 600,000, so that if the usual estimate of the number to be enfranchised by the "limited bill," namely, 1½ to 2 millions, is correct, the vast majority of the female voters would be spinsters. Mrs. Colquhoun then dealt with the various arguments in turn, and the meeting ended with a graceful speech from Miss Souter, thanking both the speakers and Mrs. Sandham. A great number of the audience afterwards joined the League, and one became a vice-president of the South Kensington branch.

The first of the fortnightly meetings of the South Kensington branch was held on December 1st in the Kensington Town Hall at 8.30, when the speakers were Mrs. Greatbatch, Mrs. Colquhoun, and Mr. Alexander Maconachie. Mrs. Greatbatch is a new speaker from the Ealing branch, who created a most favourable impression. She had just come from a meeting of the N.S.P.U., and gave a humorous account of it. Mr. Maconachie added to the many services he has rendered the League by his clever and clearly reasoned speech, and Mrs. Colquhoun spoke on the Imperial aspect of the question very eloquently. Further meetings will be held on December 15th, January 19th and 26th. Owing to the election it is proposed to make the first meeting in January a conversation, for members of the League. Mrs. Somervell has promised to speak on January 26th.

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A report from Nottingham came in too late for insertion last month. As the result of a private meeting at the Station Hotel, when Miss Lindsay gave an address, several new members have joined the Nottinghamshire Provisional Branch. A series of drawing-room meetings has been arranged to take place soon, and the distribution of literature is being actively carried out. Anti-Suffrage feeling is strong in Notts, though so far our sympathisers have refrained from taking a definite side. It is now hoped that the branch will grow rapidly, and that those who do not care to take an active part will help with subscriptions, however small. Active help will, of course, be welcomed from those who are unhampered by political and business considerations.

An interesting debate took place in Swindon early in the second week of November, when Miss Lindsay discussed with the members of the Baptist Tabernacle Literary Debating Society the inadvisability of granting the franchise to women. Miss Lindsay spoke of woman's influence in municipal matters, and the way in which that was now neglected, and several members of the society spoke heartily in her support.

Miss Fothergill and Mr. F. J. Newman were our speakers at an Anti-Suffrage meeting in Tunbridge Wells, which was organised through the energy of Miss Backhouse and

the Hon. Mrs. Amherst. Mr. C. W. Enson presided over an enthusiastic meeting.

Miss Fothergill said the question of female suffrage was a toy for people to play with in a time of political laziness or stagnation, but when real, serious issues came before the country, "votes for women" went into the background. The feeling of the country was very much against the suffragettes, and there had been a very great revulsion of feeling during the past year, and particularly since the Bermondsey election.

Mr. F. J. Newman took the line that emotionalism in woman was not a bad, but a good thing when it was confined within proper limits. One would imagine from the statements of the woman suffrage advocates, he said, that woman in England was a slave, who had no voice in public affairs, but was held down by tyrannical man. As a matter of fact, English women were the freest and most protected in the world. It was urged that women would be paid better for their labour if they possessed the Parliamentary vote, but had the possession of the vote increased the wages of those who had it? Agricultural labourers were paid the same to-day as they were before they had the vote, but the wages of domestic servants had increased by 50 per cent. The speaker mentioned many ways in which the English law favoured woman, and dealt harshly and unfairly with men.

Miss Edith Durham, traveller and authoress, proved a spirited opponent to Mrs. S. H. Holman, who took the suffrage side at a debate at Cholmondeley Park, Highgate, in the drawing-room of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers. She said she had formerly been a keen suffragist and "wanted the vote the day after to-morrow"; but experience and travel had taught her that the time was not yet. Women were still in a transition period. They had not got their sea-legs, and were therefore unfitted to take the helm of the ship of State. There were too many incompetent voters already, and the addition of even a million women would only make matters worse.

At Broom Hall, Sheffield, the residence of Mrs. Walter Tyzack, a good audience was addressed by Miss Lindsay on November 17th, and it was reported that the activity in the Sheffield branch is increasing every day.

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A delightful paper, which we regret we have not the space to reproduce more fully, was read by Miss E. Walker, of North Shields, in that town on November 17th. Mr. J. Porter, of Tynemouth, supported her, whilst Mrs. Mundella was on the suffrage side.

Since the days of cave-dwellers man and woman have had their duties and their place well defined, said Miss Walker. Primeval man went forth to obtain food and fight his enemies; his womenkind ordered the home. Here, when intellect was not, superior physical strength gave man the higher place. But when intellect developed all this was changed. In the earliest historic times woman was accorded a reverential homage. The Spartan, Greek, and Roman mothers were powers in their homes; the Egyptians worshipped the Spirit of Wisdom, and gave it the form of a woman. The Greeks and Romans had not a god, but a goddess of wisdom. In the days of chivalry this idea was still further developed, every woman received a share of worship, a knight dedi-

cated his whole life to the service of his lady. When chivalry died out woman kept her high place.

Woman was always the guiding, controlling, and inspiring force, man was the active, fighting one. And what has been will be, it is Nature's law. Ruskin has pointed out that the greatest writers in all ages have no heroes, only heroines. What types of man could we place beside Alcestis, Antigone, or Penelope, Petrarch's Laura, or Dante's Beatrice, Tennyson's Isabel, or Wordsworth's "Perfect woman, nobly planned." Chaucer wrote a "Legend of good women," but none of good men; Spenser wrote of a "Faerie Queen," not a king. Neither Shakespeare, whose knowledge of human nature surpassed that of any other mortal nor Scott, who writes of modern society, had any heroes. It is always a woman, who by unswerving faith and goodness inspires and uplifts a man.

These great writers only mirror human nature, and from this we learn two great truths, that the power of woman is limitless, far greater than she knows how to use rightly, and also that the power and work of man and woman are distinct and separate; and if one tries to usurp the other we get as a result an absurd hybrid creature—neither true man nor true woman, who must be relegated to that cave of Adullam—"the third sex."

The meeting, by a large majority, decided against the granting of women's franchise.

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Miss Norah Peachey, the energetic hon. secretary of our Epsom Division branch, organised a very successful meeting at East Molesey on November 24th. Mr. C. Piper was in the chair, and Mrs. Burgwin and Mr. Morgan Veitch delivered able addresses. Mr. Pembroke Wicks and Mrs. W. G. Garland also spoke.

In St. Stephen's Parish Room, Ealing, on November 20th, Sir Edmund Cox presided over the first meeting of the Ealing branch (president, Mrs. Forbes). Sir Edmund Cox and Miss Lindsay spoke at length. Dr. Coburn, representing the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, also addressed the meeting. A number of questions were submitted by suffragists in the audience, and promptly answered.

Mr. A. Maconachie (chairman), Miss Howieson, Mr. d'Egville, and Mrs. Harold Norris were the speakers at a big meeting in Chiswick Town Hall on November 24th. Much enthusiasm was shown for the Anti-Suffrage cause, and the Ealing and Chiswick branch, which organised the meeting, are to be congratulated on the growth of the League in their district.

The inauguration of the Cardiff branch came off at an "At Home," held in the Occidental Café, Queen Street, Cardiff, on November 25th, Mr. Raymond Gibbs (member of the Newport branch of the Men's Anti-Suffrage League) presiding. Miss Fothergill delivered an excellent address upon the aims of the movement, and was very well received. Questions were invited at the close of the meeting, and were effectively dealt with both by the speaker and the chairman. The acting secretary (Mr. D. Austin Harries) then formally moved the resolution forming the branch, and mentioned the fact that Cardiff had been sadly neglected as regards an organisation of this kind. The

resolution was seconded and carried with a large majority.

The Bournemouth branch has held two good meetings during the month; one addressed by Miss Fothergill, Mrs. Dering White, and Mrs. Drury Lowe, at Parkstone, on the afternoon of November 4th, and another the same evening at Boscombe. At the later meeting Mr. Clyde Holland, the well-known novelist, spoke eloquently in support of Anti-Suffrage principles.

Our meeting in Cheltenham Town Hall on November 27th was a great success. Mrs. Somervell, who was supported by Mr. F. J. Newman in the chair, in a long, carefully reasoned speech, very clearly dealt with nearly all the aspects of the Women's Suffrage question, passed in review the practical reason against its grant, and answered a host of Suffrage arguments. Mrs. Somervell created laughter by her comment on the vote in Norway. "It is sometimes said that the women in Norway having the vote have benefited the sex by raising their wages. This is curious, seeing that the Norwegian women have not yet exercised the franchise!"

One enormous advantage, said Mrs. Somervell, that a woman now possessed which she would lose if she obtained the vote was that all legislation in the interests of women was markedly treated as outside the party game, and put in a preferential position.

In the debate which followed Mrs. Somervell answered a number of questions, and Mr. Newman made a most interesting speech.

* * *

There was a huge gathering at the Colston Hall, Bristol, on December 6th, when Mrs. Somervell met Miss Tuke, principal of Bedford College, in debate. The Rev. A. A. David (headmaster of Clifton College) was in the chair, and Mrs. Norris, Canon Talbot, Messrs. A. Langlands, W. H. C. Cross, H. C. Trapnell, Miss Geraldine Hodgson, Miss Johnson, and the Rev. Donald Fraser took part in the discussion which followed. Mrs. Somervell particularly challenged Miss Tuke on the point as to where women's suffrage was to stop. It was absolutely impossible to limit the vote, as at present suggested. They could not give the rich women votes—women with their coachmen and gardeners—and refuse votes to the women who were fighting for their bread. She deprecated in outspoken terms the campaign which had been carried on amongst the factory girls of the country. It had, she said, been urged that the underpaid, sweated factory girl would never be better off until women had the vote. Those who told them that pretended that they wanted votes for one and a half millions of women, and they knew that not one single one of that sweated class would get a vote until adult suffrage came to pass.

Answering Canon Talbot, she pointed out that forty-eight Acts of Parliament for the benefit of women and children had been passed during the last fifty years. With regard to the numbers of the Suffrage party, she said they were very much like a stage army, which went round and round. If Suffrage was granted, it would be a gross form of minority legislation.

A drawing-room meeting was held on the 23rd November by Mrs. Batten's kind invitation, with the view of forming a new branch, or division of the Dulwich branch, in East

Dulwich. Dr. Batten took the chair, and about fifty-five ladies were present, and evidenced a lively interest in the Anti-Suffrage movement. Miss Stuart delivered an excellent address, and a discussion followed, in which some Suffragists took part; but only four hands were held up in opposition to our usual resolution.

Dr. Batten proposed that those present who were in sympathy with the first resolution shall form, and now do form, a sub-division of the Dulwich branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, and should give their names to Mrs. Batten after the meeting, or send them to the acting hon. secretary, Mrs. Parish, 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich Village, S.E. This was seconded by Mrs. Batten, who consented to act as hon. secretary to the new branch pro tem. After votes of thanks had been carried unanimously, tea was served, and a good many signatures to the petition obtained.

Other important and successful meetings of the past month have been held at Newbury, Bromley, and Faringdon, near Reading.

By the invitation of Lady Henderson the North Berks branch meeting at Faringdon was held at Buscot Park, Lady Wantage being in the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott giving a long and most able address. The Bromley meeting took the form of a debate, which was held in the Literary Institute, Miss Fothergill meeting Miss Heppel in argument. The result was that the meeting by a large majority carried the Anti-Suffrage resolution.

At Newbury, Mrs. Thompson (President of the Newbury division) presided, and Mrs. Colquhoun and Mr. F. J. Newman spoke. The meeting was a thoroughly well organised one, and was well supported by influential residents.

* * *

In connection with the Cambridge branch, a very successful drawing-room meeting was held on December 1st at the house of the President, Mrs. Austen Leigh, to listen to an address by Mrs. Harold Norris. Mrs. Austen Leigh, who presided, opened the meeting by saying that all members of the W.N.A.S.L. might congratulate themselves on the 75,258 signatures to the supplementary anti-suffrage petition which had just been presented to Parliament, making the splendid total of 329,878 in one year.

She then introduced Mrs. Norris, who, in a closely-reasoned and eloquent speech, which was listened to with the greatest attention and frequent applause, exposed the unsoundness and short-sightedness of certain suffragist arguments.

She made no reference to suffragette exploits (feeling, no doubt, that these speak quite eloquently enough for themselves), except to tell us of a lady who has been doing useful social work in Bristol for the last ten years, and never met with the least incivility, until this winter, when she finds herself insulted in the streets by people who take her for a suffragette. This is not exactly a help to social work.

Mrs. Norris concluded by giving a short account of her motor-car tour in the North; questions were invited, and a vote of thanks moved by the Rev. A. H. F. Boughey, followed by tea and talk. Some new members were enrolled; a handsome collection taken; and at least one suffragist—lured there ingeniously by friends to hear the voice of reason—owned herself to be most seriously shaken by the arguments she had heard.

BRANCHES.

Will the following subscribing members of Council kindly forward their address to the League's head offices, Caxton House, Westminster: Mrs. M. Hepham, Miss M. F. Moreton, Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Charles Smith, Miss Wilkin. Also the following members of the League: F. B. J. Barnett, Esq., — Hardcastle, Esq., Andrew Smith, Esq., J. W. Bream, Esq., Mrs. Alston, Mrs. Henley, Mrs. (Charlotte M.) Hillard, Mrs. Hussey, Mrs. Harold Johnson, Nurse Kempster, Mrs. (2) Emily R. C. Malcolm, Miss Amelia Matthews, Mrs. Franklin Richards, Miss F. A. Samen, Mrs. H. Sullivan, Mrs. Sutton, Miss M. E. Waterham, Mrs. F. Watkins, Mrs. Winter. Also the following Associates: Miss Griffiths, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Hoyle, Miss Landor, Miss Leckie, Mrs. G. L. Porter, Mrs. S. Radclyffe, Mrs. Seddon, Miss Talon.

ASHBOURNE AND DISTRICT—President: The Lady Florence Duncombe. Chairman: Mrs. R. H. Jeff. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Sadler. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Parkin. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. Bond, Alneas House, Ashbourne.

BASINGSTOKE AND DISTRICT—President: The Lady Catherine. Chairman: Mrs. R. H. Jeff. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Sadler. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Parkin. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. L. Bond, Alneas House, Ashbourne.

Basingstoke Town—Chairman: Mrs. Stokes. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Allnut, Hazelhurst, Chequers Road, Basingstoke.

Farnborough (Sub-Branch)—Chairman: Mrs. Grierson, Knellwood, Farnborough.

Hartley Wintley (Sub-Branch)—Chairman: Mrs. Cope, Anderbe, Winchfield.

Minley, Yateley, and Hawley (Sub-Branch) (Three Villages grouped together)—Chairman: Mrs. Laurence Currie, Minley Manor, with three Co-Secretaries.

Fleet (Sub-Branch)—President: Lady Cust. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Berkeley.

BECKENHAM—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake, Kingswood, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent.

BERKS (NORTH)—President: The Lady Wantage. Hon. Secretary: Miss Gladys Pott, The Red House, Streatley-on-Thames, and 7, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

BERKS (SOUTH)—President: Mrs. Benyon. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dickinson, Eastfield, Whitchurch, Reading.

Newbury (Sub-Branch)—President: Mrs. Arthur Thompson. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Finn, Phoenix Lodge, Newbury.

BERKS (EAST)—President: Lady Haversham. Hon. Treasurer: Lady Ryan. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Montague Broun. Secretary: Mr. Hay, South Hill Park, Bracknell, Berks.

BERWICKSHIRE—President: The Hon. Mrs. Baillie Hamilton. Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falcoer, L.L.A. Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

BIRMINGHAM—President: The Lady Algernon Percy. Vice-Presidents: The Lady Calthorpe, Mrs. E. M. Simon; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., L.L.B. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby, Mrs. E. Lakin Smith; Miss Baker. Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 10, New Street, Birmingham.

BOURNEMOUTH—President: The Lady Abinger. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Drury Lowe. Hon. Secretary: Miss Clara Sivebright, Brinklea, Bournemouth. Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Frost, Clovelly, Bournemouth.

BRIDGWATER—President: Miss Marshall. Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (pro tem.): Thomas Perren, Esq., Park Road, Bridgwater.

BRIDLINGTON—No branch committee has been formed; but Mrs. Bosville, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—President: The Hon. Mrs. Campion. Vice-President: Mrs. Curtis. Hon. Secretary: Miss Goads, Sundhia, New Church Road, Hove.

BRISTOL—Chairman: Lady Fry. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. R. Robinson. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Long Fox, 15, Royal York Crescent, Bristol. Assistant Secretary: Miss G. F. Allen.

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CAMBRIDGE—President: Mrs. Austen Leigh. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Seely. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bidwell, 10, Barton Road, Cambridge.

CAMBRIDGE (Girton College)—President: Miss E. Seaton. Hon. Treasurer: Miss I. Wilkinson. Hon. Secretary: Miss D. V. Burch.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY—President: C. C. Perry, Esq., M.A. Hon. Secretary: Herbert Loewe, Esq., M.A., 6, Park Street, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

CARDIFF—Acting Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.

CHELSEA—President: Lady Hester Carew. Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Loo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South Eaton Place, S.W.

CHELTENHAM—President: Mrs. Hardy. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Plumer. Hon. Secretary: Miss Gaddes, 4, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham.

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DULWICH—President: Mrs. Parish, 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich, S.E. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hyde, King's Mead, College Road, S.E.

All communications to be addressed to the President for the present.

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EALING DEAN—Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing.

EALING SOUTH—Mrs. Ball. All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Forbes for the present.

EALING (Sub-Division), CHISWICK AND BEDFORD PARK—Chairman pro tem.: Mrs. Norris. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Greatbatch. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Neal, Fairawn Grove, Bedford Park.

ACTON—Branch in formation.

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EAST GRINSTEAD—President: Lady Musgrave.

EASTBURGH—President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale. Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith. Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnson, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh. Joint Hon. Secretaries for the Petition: Miss Dick Peddie, Miss Mackenzie, M.A., and Miss Horne.

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OXFORD—Chairman: Mrs. Max Miller. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen. Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road. Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Willis Sandford, 40, St. Giles, Oxford.

PADDINGTON—President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale. Deputy President: Mrs. Clarendon Hyde. Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs. Percy Thomas, 37, Craven Road, Hyde Park. The Hon. Secretary will be "At Home" every Thursday morning to answer questions and give information.

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SOUTHAMPTON—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Arthur Day, Northlands House, Southampton.

SOUTHWOLD—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Adams, Bank House, Southwold, Suffolk.

SPILSBY—No branch yet formed. Mrs. Richardson, Halton House, Spilsby, acting as Provisional Hon. Secretary.

STREATHAM AND BRITTON DISTRICT—Provisional Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Jenner, 26, Keymer Road, Amesbury Avenue, S.W.

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WINCHESTER—President: Mrs. Griffith. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bryett, Kerrfield, Winchester.

WOODBIDGE—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Alfred Capel Cure, Overdeben, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

WORCESTER—President: The Countess of Coventry. Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ernest Day, "Doria," Worcester.

YORK—President: Lady Julia Wombwell. Hon. Treasurer: Hon. Mrs. Stanley Jackson. Hon. Secretary: Miss Jenyns, The Beeches, Dringhouses, York.

THE RECEPTION AT CAXTON HALL.

CAXTON Hall was bright with masses of white chrysanthemums and pink begonias on the afternoon of the 7th, when the Executive Committee of the League were "At Home" to a crowded attendance of members, friends, and sympathisers. The decorations of the Hall were quite a feature of this delightful social event, and the festoons of evergreens and wreaths of flowers on platform and balcony were beautifully arranged by Miss Ermine Taylor, Miss Hyde, and a band of lady helpers, who had spent many hours over them. Choice flowers also decked the semicircular buffet under the balcony, where tea was served. Lady Haversham, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, and Mrs. Humphry Ward generously provided all the decorations. The scene was rendered all the prettier by the fact that many of the ladies present wore gowns and hats which repeated the colours of the League, and rose, black and white favours were also largely worn.

In the unavoidable absence of the Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward and Lady Robson, in the name of the Executive, received the guests, who numbered over 300. Amongst many others present were Lady Weardale, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Mrs. Clarendon Hyde, Mrs. Massie, Mr. Humphry Ward, Mr. Howard D'Egville, Mr. J. D. Rees, M.P., and Miss Weigall.

Mrs. Humphry Ward briefly introduced Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconochie, who gave an account of the recent motor tour in the Northern counties, which very much interested their hearers, Mr. Maconochie's speech being punctuated with applause. Mrs. Ward voiced the sentiments of all present when she regretted the absence of Lady Jersey, and expressed her belief that the Anti-Suffrage League was now a power to be reckoned with in the land.

After the speeches were over the serving of tea and the informal seating arrangements of the Hall gave admirable opportunity for members and officers of our various branches, many of whom had come up to town for the occasion, to become acquainted with one another.

L. V. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

DEAR MADAM,—As one who was also present at the Girton meeting referred to in your last number, may I contribute my distinct recollection of the answer which really was made to the charge brought against the students generally of not reading newspapers? The only answer, I mean, which was really audible and of any length; for the others were no more than excited ejaculations; and it is a significant fact that the two members of the staff who spoke were both foreigners.

"Read the newspapers regularly!" said a clear, charming voice on the Suffrage side of the hall: "that seems to me really very unnecessary. In my young days, I am sure, it would not have been considered nice for girls to read the newspapers at all!"

No one asked the dear lady (who, needless to state, was not a member of the college) how people were to vote intelligently if they never opened a newspaper; nor whether a vote used on those terms would be of any service to the country.

I don't know how the other Suffragists present appreciated her support; but I think they might well have asked her, in the name of Mrs. Grundy, "ce qu'elle venait faire dans cette galère!"

I feel very strongly that all reasons urged on the Suffragist side should be widely known and considered; not only the platform arguments of a few professional leaders, but all the considerations that actually do influence the rank and file.

So I hope I may be allowed to record some further remarks by the same lady (a well-known Cambridge resident), explaining what had caused her herself to join the movement.

"I never used to take any interest in this question of votes for women," said she; "indeed, I never thought about it till quite lately. But just the last few weeks I have kept my eyes open as I went about, and I have observed something which has altered my opinion. Walking through the poor streets at this end of the town, one sees so many dirty, untidy women, do you know, standing idle on their doorsteps in the afternoon, and just *gossiping*. It's really terrible to hear the kind of talk they waste their time in, and to think of how neglected and comfortless their homes must be. I assure you it made me quite sad; and so I came to the conclusion that if only we could get women the vote, it would give those women something better to think about. That is why I am a Suffragist."

A Suffragist, you see, who would smilingly risk the safety of the British Empire in order to provide bad housewives with another topic of conversation—and *because* they are bad housewives.

As an argument used in support of Women's Suffrage, this surely deserves to be made widely known. I should like to accompany it with a serious question: "Do you think it *safe* to give this lady the vote?"

Believe me, madam, yours faithfully,

ONE WHO WAS PRESENT.

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