

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW

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We should like to remind our men friends of the rapidly spreading influence of our Men's League: *Secretary*, MR. F. W. RAFFETY; *Address*, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

## "ENLARGED HOUSEKEEPING."

ONE of the ablest women in America, Miss Jane Addams, the widely respected head of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago, has affected opinion to a certain extent in the United States, by her support of the Suffrage movement on the ground that for American women the vote would mean—to use her own phrase—"Enlarged Housekeeping," *i.e.*, participation in that work of the nation which grows directly out of housekeeping, where the advice and the practical co-operation of women, according to Miss Addams, are badly wanted. In pressing this aspect of the Suffrage, Miss Addams is thinking, of course, of Chicago and the municipal vote. She wants, first and foremost, the municipal vote because municipal politics in Chicago have too often been corrupt; and the city money, which should have gone to better drains, better street-cleaning, better sanitary inspection, purer milk, and better police, has been wasted in graft and pillage. Women who know what bad municipal government means for their daily life ought, she feels, to have a direct voice in it, both as electors and elected.

The problem of the municipal vote for women in America is a difficult one, because America has Universal Suffrage—that Universal Suffrage, to which, as we hold, Woman Suffrage in this country would directly and

necessarily lead. The evils and dangers of it in America are so plain to the more thoughtful and educated classes of that great democracy, that they cannot make up their minds to double the vast alien and illiterate vote in their big cities—the vote of Italians and Galicians, of Polish and Russian Jews, who can barely speak the language of the country—by adding to it the votes of their still more ignorant women-folk. But America is rapidly civilising and assimilating these foreign elements; and we may hope that in time she may find some way of separating the municipal vote from the State and Presidential franchises, so that Miss Addams will get her "Enlarged Housekeeping"—the legitimate influence, that is, of women in local government—without interference with the proper rights and powers of men.

Meanwhile we women in England already have these local government powers, and what are we doing with them? The Borough Council elections are coming on in November next; those for the County Council next March. Not only, so far, is there a great lack of women candidates, but the direct result of the Suffrage movement has been a deplorable set-back for the cause—the enormously important cause—of women in local government. Everywhere one hears the same story. Canvassers for women candidates in London boroughs find the voters' doors shut in their faces. "We don't want no howling and screaming women on the Council." "No women for me—after the Suffragettes!"—such is the



general tone of public opinion. For the County Council, it will need a strong effort to bring in even women who have done such splendid work for London education as Miss Adler and Miss Susan Lawrence; and everywhere the presumption *in favour* of women's work on local bodies, which existed in the days of the old School Boards, when there was so much generous and hopeful sympathy abroad with the new powers given to women, has been turned into a presumption *against it*—owing to the disgust and indignation excited by the methods of the militant Suffragists. As we have often said in this REVIEW, the Albert Hall meeting is not forgotten, and is not likely to be forgotten. The date of December 5th, 1908, may well be marked as a black-letter day in the Woman's Calendar of the future.

Lately, as though from some uneasy consciousness of this, there has been some foolish Constitution-making going on in the Suffragist press. It looks as though a good many Suffragists were already realising the hopelessness of their campaign, and were turning their minds to alternatives. We referred last month in these columns to the suggestions for "Home Committees," put forward in the August number of the *Englishwoman*. Nothing, of course, could be more absurd. A number of "Home Committees" are to be elected, on some franchise not specified; they are to consist of men and women members, and they are to legislate for the "domestic affairs" of the nation, while our present Parliament is apparently to be graciously allowed to go on managing our Imperial, naval, and military business. The perplexed exponent of the scheme does indeed admit that it will be difficult to draw lines; but she claims that "the voting for and discussion of the manner of expenditure of some of the large sums of money provided by the taxpayers of the country for domestic needs, and the

considerations involved, would be settled by these Committees"! The sentence is a fine specimen of "confused feeding." Nothing, indeed, at the present moment shows more plainly the difference between the average political aptitude of men and women than the contrast between the articles contributed to the *Englishwoman* by men, and those portions of the review which one may fairly suppose to be the work of women on its staff. There is no discredit in this. It merely shows what most of us knew before—that women are not political animals. A speaker at a recent Girton meeting protested, after an eloquent Suffragist speech on behalf of the political equality of women with men, "If we *are* the political equals of men, how is it that no member of this College—teacher or student—ever reads the newspapers?"—a dexterously planted shot, to which there was no reply. But however that may be, let us, on the Anti-Suffrage side, continue to point out that we have—at this moment—under our hands, powers that we have never adequately used, and votes that are lying idle, which, if properly employed, would open to us all that "Enlarged Housekeeping" which Miss Addams vainly sighs for in America. It pleases the Suffragists just now to throw scorn on local government. It places power, says the *Englishwoman*, magniloquently, in "the hands of people who are not under the eye of the nation." Why are they not under the eye of the nation? The women who write in this way belong to the nation, and are deliberately turning their backs on the powers that the nation has put into their hands. Like fretful children, they want everything but what they have got. And—worst of all—their struggle for things impossible is weakening the power and destroying the influence of the women who *do* want to use what they have got, and whose voice and help are urgently wanted in the "Enlarged Housekeeping" of the country.

### NOTES AND NEWS.

ACCORDING to the authentic report, furnished by eye-witnesses to the press, of the disgraceful proceedings at Lympe Castle, the Prime Minister of England was on Sunday last "struck repeatedly" by Suffragists who had followed him to the country and to church in order to molest him. And the same persons afterwards broke windows at the Castle. At present it seems uncertain whether the perpetrators of this latest outrage will be brought to justice. Meanwhile we should like to suggest to those who feel a fierce indignation with such acts that a probably efficacious remedy is within reach. Let all employers, public or private, see to it as far as possible that no member of the societies responsible for these abominable acts is appointed to any of the posts under their control. If membership of these societies were made *ipso facto* a disqualification for employment by either the private employer or the public bodies of this country, a serious step would have been taken towards the suppression of this particular form of agitation. In the present state of public opinion there would hardly be enough Suffragist employers left to go round.

PENDING the judgment of the superior Courts on the "picketing" cases, an informal truce has been declared in London between the Suffragettes and the police. But the provincial cities have been witnessing a repetition of the old exhibitions of childish lawlessness. At Liverpool seven militant members of the Women's Social and Political Union, who had disturbed Mr. Haldane's meeting, have indulged in a perfect orgy of destruction, in the prison van, in their cells, and wherever a pane of glass could be reached. Stone-throwing, as one of the ladies remarked, in what is described as a characteristically vigorous speech, had come to stay. "Some people have protested that they do not like stone-throwing; well, whether you like it or not, the stone-throwing epoch has been reached here, and it is going on, and

there will be a good many more stones thrown before this fight is over, if the Government, who are the solely responsible factor, don't give us what we want." We fancy that the resources of the law will eventually prove strong enough to deal with this form of hooliganism, naked and unabashed. The window-breaker is not unknown to the police-courts of our great cities, and the hour is approaching when those who "heave half bricks" in the streets, from whatever motives, will find themselves treated as ordinary misdemeanants. There have been similar disturbances of public meetings at Glasgow, Leicester, and elsewhere. At Manchester, while Mr. Birrell was speaking, iron balls were thrown on to the roof, and a member of the audience was injured by the falling glass. The ladies who threw the missiles admitted that their actions might have resulted in loss of life, but as it was done for a political purpose, the motive justified the means.

A WEEK or two ago the Home Secretary was asked in the House of Commons for a return of the precise number of women who have been sent to prison in connection with the Suffrage agitation. Mr. Gladstone gave the following figures:—For refusing to enter into recognisances for good behaviour, or for attending unlawful assemblies, 156; for acts of violence, such as assaulting the police or breaking windows, 195. This total of 351 is made up from the committals, and in many cases the same person has been committed more than once. It was possibly with these figures in his mind that Mr. Forbes Robertson declared to a Sheffield reporter that his sympathies were with the militant section in the Suffrage movement. "There has always been, and always will be, a militant body in the cause of progress. No fewer than 500 men were imprisoned in connection with the promulgation of the Reform Act, and women, after all, are only human in their methods, if divine in ideals." We cannot imagine where Mr. Forbes Robertson got these extraordinary figures from, but there is a fatal

fascination about statistics, and we expect to see these 500 prisoners figure in many a Suffragette oration. If the "Reform Act" in question was the Act of 1832, its "promulgation," or rather its rejection for a time by the House of Lords, was responsible for formidable riots at Bristol, at Nottingham, and at Derby. At Nottingham, where the mob burnt down the castle, and Mrs. Musters (Byron's Mary Chaworth) died of fright, not a single prisoner was brought to justice; at Bristol about a score or so were tried, of whom four were hanged. We cannot find that by any stretch of the imagination fifty men went to prison, and the real nature of the charges in almost every case was robbery and incendiarism. Among the Bristol defendants there was only found one man who had uttered any opinions that could be construed into politics. On the other hand, the rioters, drawn from the lowest strata of the Bristol mob, burnt one another alive in sheer lust of plunder, and the drunkards lay senseless under the drip of molten lead that ran off the roofs. It is not a cheerful analogy.

THE summary of Parliament which an M.P. contributes month by month to the *Englishwoman* is always admirably done, but the moral which it points can hardly be what the writer intends. We are shown in the September number how the Home Secretary's Bill for the better regulation of shop hours is a distinct advance in the process by which better conditions of labour and ampler opportunities of recreation are being gradually secured for a most deserving and hard worked class; the writer is careful to point out that the Bill makes no distinction between men and women, applying the same limitations to both, and that a very large proportion of the 800,000 shop assistants are women. A Bill of great importance to the wives and children of civil servants, giving them a right to the accumulated pension of a husband or father who has died in harness, is about to receive the Royal Assent. A child labour committee, on which the employers of labour in the textile industries and Trade Union officials connected with them were both well represented, has agreed upon the raising of the age for partial

exemption from school to a figure which will mean the abolition of the half-time system. The President of the Board of Trade has promised to appoint women to the Local Advisory Committee under the Labour Exchanges Act. The whole chronicle is one of hopefulness, marking the recognition of woman rights and woman's true sphere of usefulness in active life. But all this has been done in a Parliament of men, elected by men. Nor is there the slightest suggestion either that "the Ladies in Parliament" would have bettered the record, or that their frantic demonstrations in the streets have in any way effected it.

SUFFRAGISTS will not derive much comfort from the address delivered by Professor Armstrong to the members of the British Association assembled at Winnipeg. Speaking as a most distinguished man of science, who is equally versed in the theory and practice of education, he uttered words of grave and solemn warning on an aspect of the subject the treatment of which in public must always require delicacy and reserve. "No problem," he said, "can compare in importance with that of the future of our race. To consider it is the one plain duty before us, and the need becomes daily a more urgent one. Not only do we encourage deterioration at the lower end of the scale of intelligence, we are now, through our system of higher education, court- ing failure also at the upper end. Herbert Spencer forcibly drew attention many years ago to the tendency which the development of individuality must have to depress fertility, and to the evil effects of severe mental labour on women especially. . . . The most disquieting feature of the times is the revolt of women against their womanhood, and their claim to be on an equality with man, and to compete with men in every way. There should be no question of equality raised; when comparison is made between complementary factors the question of equality does not, and cannot, come into consideration. It is clear that, should the struggle arise—and it is to be feared that it is coming upon us—there can be but one issue: women must fail, and in failing must carry man with her to destruction, for she will inevitably cease to exercise her specific womanly function with effect, so delicate is the adjustment of her mechanism. The evolution of the two sexes has been on different lines."



INDEED, the soil of Western Canada is not fertile ground for the Suffragist agitation. A well-informed writer in the *Standard* tells us that careful search has not revealed a single Suffrage society from the eastern boundary of Manitoba to the Rockies. There was once one in Winnipeg, where Professor Armstrong was speaking, which flourished under a capable president, but upon her removal it died a lingering death, and has stayed dead. There is but one woman's journal printed in the West that even pretends to uphold the cause and seek its advancement; this is a little monthly magazine printed and published in Icelandic by an Icelander, Mrs. Benedictson. At the same time we are told that among the capable and well-educated housewives of the West there are to be found women who have aspirations for the franchise, and others who resent the suggestion that they are man's inferiors. But among these latter there are many who would aim at the disfranchisement of the incapable and broken-down male voter rather than at the gift of the vote to themselves. "I know positively," said one of these, "that I am better fitted to cast an intelligent vote than a great many men who do vote. At the same time, I greatly doubt my judgment in all political matters." The average woman, perhaps, sees more clearly than the average man, but I do not think she can see quite so far. For my part, I am quite content to stay at home and tend things, while the man of the house goes into the world's hard, rough, miry places." Another woman declares that she never wanted to vote, but has often felt indignant at the men folk for taking so little interest in their country. "It should not be possible for a horde of ignorant followers to give a sweeping majority. But if I do not think women suited for an active part in the franchise, I am absolutely sure the almost unlimited privilege for men is very wrong."

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AND the strongly expressed views of another correspondent, who hails from Alberta, are of application to conditions widely different from those which prevail in the dominion of Canada. "To me it seems the height of absurdity for a woman to think of voting. To give a happily married woman the ballot is to give her husband two votes. And, if the marriage is unhappy, the woman who is not wise enough to choose the right husband for herself

would certainly not be fitted to choose a man for the nation. Of course, it seems discouraging that a lot of newcomers, ignorant of the needs of the country, can sway elections by their votes, but are the wives of those men any more intelligent than their husbands? Yet they would have votes if women suffrage were an accomplished fact."

### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

THE holiday month of August has been naturally a very quiet one, as far as the public work of our League is concerned. With our members and supporters scattered far and wide on holiday, there has been a cessation of important meetings, though there has been no cessation at all of quiet work, and in the planning of the autumn and winter campaign. At all our Branches the coming season of work promises excellent progress in the propaganda of the League, and even while away on holiday many of our indefatigable members have applied themselves vigorously to the interests of the Anti-Suffrage movement. The motor campaign in the north, so kindly undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Maconochie had at the time of our going to press opened very successfully, with meetings at Northallerton and Scarborough. Mr. and Mrs. Norris are going as far north as Carlisle, and by the 14th of September, when the tour terminates, they hope to have visited most of the important towns and many villages between Leeds and Carlisle. A full report of the tour will be given in our October issue. In connection with the North Berks Branch, a meeting of members in Wantage and the immediate neighbourhood was held at Mrs. Woodhouse's residence on August 19th. Lady Wantage, President of the Branch, opened the meeting, after which Miss Gladys Pott, organising secretary to the Branch, gave a short account of the work of the League during the past year, and mentioned that North Berks contributed 4,559 names to the League Petition. Miss Pott subsequently gave a short address on the objects of the League, after which Mrs. Woodhouse entertained the members at tea.

A meeting of members of the same Branch in and near Abingdon was held, by kind permission of the Bishop of Reading, in the grounds of the Abbey House, Abingdon, on August 12th, at which the Bishop took the chair and introduced Miss Gladys Pott, who spoke. A balance sheet of the accounts of the Branch was presented. Those present were subsequently entertained to tea by the Bishop and the Misses Randall.

In connection with the Bournemouth Branch (the President of which is Lady Abinger), a meeting took place on August 14th at the Church House, when Mrs. F. W. Caulfield (a London member of the League then staying at Parkstone) presided. The chief speaker was Mrs. Dering White (Bournemouth), who set forth the various reasons held by the League against woman's suffrage in a thoroughly interesting speech.

The report from our Manchester Branch

promises much activity for the coming winter, and records good progress thus:

"On Aug. 9, at the meeting convened by Mrs. Hoyle, of Bassfield, Bury, and held at Summerseat, Miss Fothergill addressed an interested audience mostly of mill hands, who listened quietly and with the greatest interest. Mr. J. S. Hoyle presided, and Mrs. Maurice Bear, in an excellent little speech, referred to their coming great meeting in the Manchester Free Trade Hall in October, when they expected to welcome some of the best speakers for the Anti-Suffrage movement. Captain Sutcliffe also spoke, and the resolution against women's suffrage was carried without a dissentient voice. It is hoped that a Branch will shortly be started in Bury."

"The work of the League has gone steadily on during August. An effort is being made to double the circulation of the REVIEW, and we are glad to have to send a much larger order for it to the head office this month. Much interest is being roused here by the series of articles, 'The Woman M.P.,' by a member of our Committee, which is appearing each Monday in a Manchester newspaper. The Nurses' Committee has held its first meeting, and arrangements have been made for placing the Petition in all the hospitals in Manchester. So far all officials who have been approached on the matter have consented."

"The office is busy sending out a large number of letters signed by our President, Lady Sheffield, and it is hoped that before the great meeting in October the existence of the League will be thoroughly realised all over Manchester and district. Our Committee would be glad to send notices of this meeting to any Branches in the neighbourhood who would care to join with them in making it a success."

The South Kensington Branch is reopening at new offices at 14, Church Street, Kensington, on October 4th, when the office hours will be from 10 a.m. to 1. Until that date it is requested all communications be addressed to Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, the Honorary Secretary, 25, Bedford Gardens.

The following Branches, and a good many more, from which we have not heard definitely up to the time of going to press, will in future stock the REVIEW, and any of the literature of which the League now publishes so interesting a variety: Ashbourne, South Berks, Cheltenham, Ealing, Chiswick and Bedford Park, Leicester, Manchester, N. Wales (Trefnant), Salisbury, Paddington, Torquay, Wendover, Weston-super-Mare, Whitby and Woodbridge (Suffolk). The names and addresses of the Hon. Secretaries of these Branches will be found in our list of Branches, page 5.

### ON NUNNERIES.

THERE is a vast difference between the women who claim all the privileges of the other sex and those who are content to forgo those of their own; but there is also no doubt that the woman who is today distracting herself and others with the most advanced theories of liberty and licence would, in the middle ages, have been a nun who knew little beyond her convent walls.

There was no choice for a woman between marriage and a nunnery—if she

had parents, they married her; if she was wealthy and an orphan, the king married her; if she was poor, the lord of the place married her; and if she escaped all these positions, if no husband could be found for her, if she was obstinate, or ill-favoured, or fanatical, if, in a word, she was a superfluous woman, she went into a nunnery.

She might be clever or ambitious or high-spirited, but there was nothing else for her to do; if she was gently born, she had no means of earning her own living; even if this was not a necessity, her money and her lands must be given to a husband or the Church. Only in the rarest cases could she elude both.

The domestic woman married, and there is ample proof that she was very well content. The woman who could not or would not marry went into a convent, and generally she was very contented too.

There were no faded and soured spinsters, no bustling, mannish women, no shouting, noisy creatures with a grievance, no blighted and lifeless drudges—there were nuns.

And however distasteful their savourless life appears to modern eyes, it is difficult to deny that a nun was more beautiful and useful than a Suffragette (at least more feminine), and that the nunnery was a dignified solution of the problem of the unnecessary woman, who in this manner was made not so unnecessary and given a grace by her withdrawal from the world her energetic descendants wholly lack.

Her training was all in feminine occupations—she could sew, wash and mend, cook, teach, tend the sick and the wounded; she was patient, gentle, respected, a leaven of sweetness in a community often rough and fierce.

She made the name of her sex as venerated as the militant modern woman, already spoilt with privileges, makes it ridiculed. She was silent but not ignored; and the great point is she was undoubtedly happy, for she had fulfilled at least a part of herself (and that not the least elevated), nor wasted her strength and faculties in embittering struggles in a world in which she had no place.

Religion, that afforded her shelter and protection, was but the needful sanctity given to her ordered life; she was not usually a fanatic, but God's authority set a seal upon her ordered duties and tranquil living.

If she was narrow, limited, or severe, she was neither bitter, noisy, nor quarrelsome; her folly or her ignorance was not flamboyant; she roused neither contempt nor laughter by attempts to be different from the creature she had been made; she expressed her woman's soul in a woman's ways.

And these ways were more dignified than demonstration against the laws of men or railings against their authority.

It is to be regretted that our civilisation has abolished convents, for we have nothing to put in their place.

A woman must stay in the world and

rend it if it does not give her what she desires; there is no place where it is natural and necessary for her to go, no refuge where she may follow elevated ideals in the beautiful spirit of the Ugly Princess:

"I was not good enough for man,  
And so was given to God."

We are told that it was all impossible, unjust; modernity scorns the placid ignorance of those days which were free for so few.

But in our worship of liberty we have destroyed many beauties, and this life for the superfluous woman was graceful and harmonious.

As her sex is not suited for governance, so she shows more dignified in seclusion and retirement; so when she condescends to leave her sphere and do battle for things beyond her scope (and things that only excessive liberty has given her the chance to clamour for), she becomes ignoble and absurd.

Reverence is the highest tribute we can pay to our highest ideals; the nuns were revered, often by those who had no respect for anything else.

They had no thought of "rights" or "equality with man," but perhaps that was not ignorance.

And, taking their life at its lowest, they were inoffensive and gentle, an example to the world they had left.

So much cannot be said for the free-lance woman who has taken their place—the restless, discontented creature who employs her unvalued time in noisy declamation, foolish assertion, and ungentle behaviour that only degrades the sex she pretends to exalt.

MARJORIE BOWEN.

### 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 Hilbroner, Miss M. F. Moreton, Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Charles Smith, Miss Wilkin, Miss Minet, Mrs. (Ida M.) Roger. Also the following members of League: F. B. J. Barnett, Esq., — Harcastle, Esq., Andrew Smith, Esq., A. Lomax Wood, Esq., Mrs. Alston, Mrs. Henley, Mrs. A. Hill, Mrs. (Charlotte M.) Hillard, Mrs. Hussey, Mrs. Harold Johnson, Nurse Kempster, Mrs. (?) Emily R. C. Malcolm, Miss Amelia Matthews, Mrs. Musgrave, 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 M. Esling, Mrs. M. Grey, Miss Griffiths, Mrs. Hamett, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Hoyle, Miss Landur, Miss Leckie, Mrs. G. L. Porter, Mrs. S. Radclyffe, Mrs. Seddon, Miss Talon, Miss Adelaide Tarver (late of 7, Alexandra Road, Croydon).

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All communications to be addressed to Miss Frost for the present.

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

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Please note correction of Mrs. Arthur Balfour's address, which we regret has been erroneously given.

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## REVIEWS.

## AN ENGLISHWOMAN'S HOME.\*

UNDER this well-chosen title the author of the remarkable little book, "Mixed Herbs," returns to the charge with all her old vigour of language and felicity of illustration. As a working woman she tells us she is more strongly convinced than ever that the imposition of political responsibility on women who earn the wherewithal to keep up a home, in addition to doing the work necessary for keeping that home in habitable condition, is a placing of the last straw on camels already all but overweighed. One of the most effective arguments against conferring the Parliamentary suffrage upon women is the fact, so abundantly revealed by the exertions of our League, that the working women, who would form the overwhelming majority of the new electorate, do not desire it. And it is most fortunate that from out of their ranks should step a champion capable of exposing the nonsense which is spoken and written about "masculine injustice," and of expressing the honest indignation which is excited alike by the tactics and the language of the Suffragettes. In the first of the papers here collected, "The Working Woman's Plea," M. E. S. turns fiercely upon "these dangerous women, the unemployed rich, who by example and much preaching are teaching their humbler sisters that housework is despicable and contemptible." And she drives home the lesson that this contempt of woman's natural sphere is responsible alike for the "upper-class mistress, whose inattention to household comfort has made service under her roof so unpopular," and for the growing objection among the poor to perform in the homes of other women "those household duties they have been taught to look upon as menial, degrading, destructive of their independence." Few things are more calculated to rouse the resentment of the woman whose pride is in her home, her husband, and her children, than the bribe dangled before her that in some obscure way the possession of the Parliamentary vote will enable her to claim exemption from "the charge of pots and pans," and from the round of domestic duty and neighbourly offices. The abstract "social service" which is to displace the old ideals has no attraction for those whose life is one long struggle with the sternest realities.

\* "An Englishwoman's Home," by M. E. S., Author of "Mixed Herbs," etc. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited. 1s. net.)

Among the working classes, indeed, there are no illusions as to the existence of the fundamental distinction between man and woman which their sex imposes. It is useless for lady canvassers in the East End of London to insist that women are only being required to accept the responsibility which already belongs to their husbands and brothers, and merely to do just what the men of their own class have done before them. "That is the rock," says M. E. S., "on which comes our great split. We are *not* going to do just what the men have done, for the simple reason that they *are* men and *we* are women; and that, down in the working class, the very definite distinction between the spheres of the sexes has by no means been juggled away."

Working women do not care to be told that they are "slaves" even by so charming a personality as Mr. Forbes Robertson, and in their humble lives even more than in the homes of the wealthy the tender, instinctive spirit of protection for woman as woman is the sheet anchor which holds society together. No one has more to lose from the "equality of the sexes" than the mothers, sisters, and daughters of the poor.

"The old knightly ideal was that the knight should not only render service to his mistress, but that he should also go forth into the world to succour and protect all women in case of need. The Suffragist man says, 'let the woman defend herself; it is good for the development of her character that she should look to herself only.' Anti-Suffragist women are recoiling from this direct blow in the face delivered on such high moral ground; nay, more, they are beginning to ask if all chivalry has been extinguished in men by the evolutions of the militant woman. . . . Are politicians preparing to put women in the forefront of their battle, to exploit English womanhood, the charm of its youth, the fascination of its maturity, for all they are worth, in furtherance of their own cause? If so, then the manhood of England is fallen indeed."

One of the papers in this volume, "A Woman Worker's Appeal," was published in the *National Review* early this year, and attracted much attention. The others are new, to us at any rate, and we cannot recommend them too strongly to all, men and women alike, who ask themselves in perplexity whether the agitation for the female Parliamentary suffrage is a genuine cry, and how far the militant ladies who disturb meetings and go to prisons are representative of the quiet, often inarticulate mass of women that carries on the work of the world.

## LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Ward's Speech. Price 4d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman's Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. Shall Women Receive the Vote? Price 3s. per 1,000.
8. Woman's Suffrage and National Welfare. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
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12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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14. (2) Women and the Representation of Property. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
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15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
17. Why the Women's Enfranchisement Bill (1908) is unfair to Women. Price 5s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
20. A Word to Working Women. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book). Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
23. Anti-Suffragist's Letter. Price 6s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.

## PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. Price 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. Price 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
- F. Woman in relation to the State. Price 6d.
- G. Mixed Herbs. M.E.S. Price 2s. net.
- H. "Votes for Women." Mrs. Ivor Maxse. Price 3d.
- I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
- J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
- K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.



# MEN'S LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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Treasurers: LORD WELBY  
Mr. HEBER HART.

Chairman of Executive:  
Mr. J. MASSIE, M.P.

Secretary: F. W. RAFFETY.

PALACE CHAMBERS,  
BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Telephone: Victoria 2349.  
Telegrams: "Antisuffi, London."

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The agitators for the Suffrage are energetic and aggressive. Unless their efforts are counteracted a disproportionate weight will naturally be attributed to their demand, both in the Country and in Parliament.

It is therefore incumbent on all men who believe that the extension of the franchise to women would be contrary to the best interests of the nation, to unite together in active resistance.

Attention is invited to the particulars of this League, which embraces all parties, and especially invites the co-operation of all electors.

Subscriptions and other assistance in its work will be cordially welcomed, and either by members or sympathisers the Cause can best be assisted by active work on the following lines:

### THE WORK OF MEMBERS.

In order that the work of this League may be carried on as effectively as possible, the Committee invite the attention of members to the following points.

1. There is no reason to apprehend that the present Parliament will pass any measure extending the Parliamentary suffrage to women. But at the next General Election the subject will necessarily occupy considerable attention, and it is quite possible, as the result of this, that statesmen will hold that the electorate must be taken to have pronounced their opinion with regard to it. Accordingly, the principal object of the League, in the immediate future, must be that a majority of the members of the next House of Commons shall be pledged to vote against any such measure.

2. Hitherto the numerical strength of the professed supporters of Woman Suffrage has resulted to a very large extent from the view entertained by politicians that promises to vote in its favour attract some support and alienate none, whereas opposition to it attracts no support and alienates some. So long as this state of affairs should prevail, it would be impossible to obtain any satisfactory decision of the electorate. It is, therefore, the business of this League to insist in future upon the true representation of the opinions of the electors and the decision of the question upon what are really believed to be its merits.

3. As a general rule the work of members of the League will be most valuable when directed to the constituencies in which they respectively reside.

4. Members should, wherever possible, work in, and through, the local organisation of the political party to which they belong. If, for example, a particular party in a constituency have yet to adopt a candidate, members of the League who belong to that party should endeavour to secure the selection of a candidate who is opposed to Woman Suffrage. Where a candidate has already been adopted, members of the League belonging to the same political party as himself should ask him for an assurance that he will vote against it. If he has already declared himself in favour of Woman Suffrage, members should endeavour to convince him of the importance of re-consideration, and seek to obtain an undertaking that he will refrain from supporting such an extension of the franchise during the next Parliament. To this end deputations should be arranged, memorials presented, questions asked at public meetings, and signed letters addressed to the local Press.

5. Members of the League, to whatever political party they may respectively belong, should also combine together in a committee or association for the purpose of taking action collectively to oppose Woman Suffrage in their own locality, to the extent to which, and upon any special occasions when, common action may be practicable and expedient.

This committee or association would naturally become affiliated to the League, and, so far as practicable, by the circulation of literature, the holding of meetings or participation in debates, and correspondence in newspapers, assist in the formation of a sound public opinion upon the subject.

In many cases it will be found convenient to appoint, in addition to a general secretary, a secretary for the members of each political party, so that sectional meetings may be convened when desirable.

Any member proposing to start such a local committee is recommended to communicate with the Secretary of the League, in order to obtain the names and addresses of other members of the League resident in his district, and also such advice or assistance as may facilitate his efforts.

6. Members are requested to take every available opportunity of making known the existence of the League and the address of its headquarters, so that its work and influence may extend in every possible direction.

## MEMBERSHIP.

The League consists of Members of the Council and Ordinary Members, the former contributing not less than one guinea on election, the latter making whatever subscription they please.

Those desirous of joining the League should fill in the following form and send it to the Secretary.

*I am opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, and I desire to become a member of the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.*

Name.....

Address.....

I am willing to give a { Donation } of ..... to the funds  
                                  { Subscription }

Signature.....

## SPEAKERS AND MEETINGS.

The Secretary will always be glad to hear from gentlemen willing to speak in the interests of the League, as he is repeatedly asked to supply speakers for all kinds of Public Meetings and Debates.

Political, Literary and Debating Societies, which are desirous of hearing an address or holding a debate on this subject, are invited to communicate with the Secretary,

**MEN'S LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE,**  
PALACE CHAMBERS, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.