

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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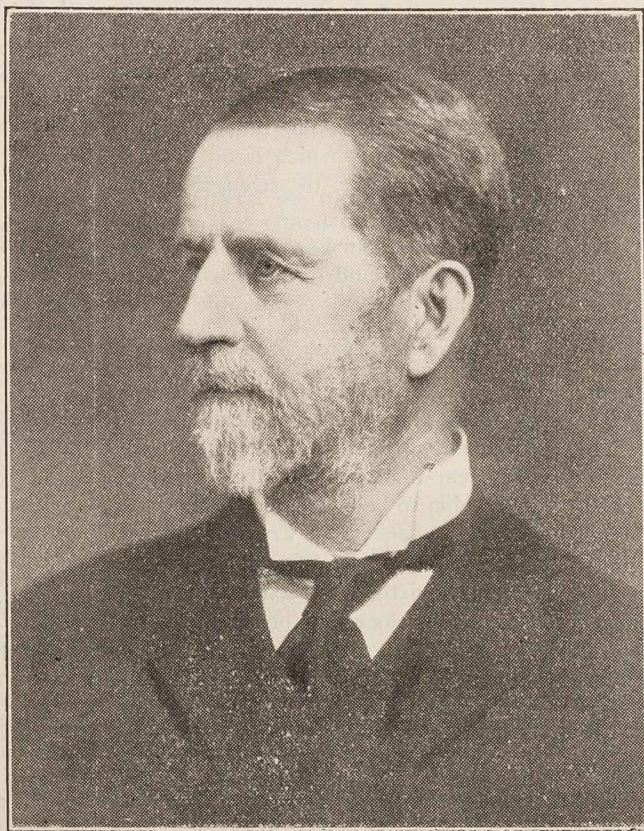
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THE Rt. Hon. Lord George Hamilton entered Parliament at the early age of twenty-three, and uninterruptedly served his constituents for one of the longest continuous terms of Parliamentary life on the records of the House. He represented the County of Middlesex for seventeen years, and the Ealing Division for twenty-one years. In his long career of public service he has been soldier, politician, diplomatist, naval expert, writer, educationalist, and social reformer. From 1874 to 1878 he was Under-Secretary of State for India under Lord Salisbury, and from 1895 to 1903 was Secretary of State for India. Lord George's sympathies with the people of that great Empire over-seas will cause him to be remembered as one of the group of diplomatists who have always been spoken of as the "Friends of India."

As the Captain of Deal Castle since 1899, Lord George Hamilton, with

PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, P.C., D.C.L., G.C.S.I.



Lady Hamilton, has been the host of his Sovereign at that official residence, and his popularity at Deal was never greater than in the year of his Mayoralty of that historic port.

Lord George Hamilton directed the naval policy of the country as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1886 to 1892. It would be difficult to name a public body or office with which he has not been associated, and he has himself said that the heaviest task of his life was his Chairmanship of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Unemployment from 1905 to 1909. His tact and ability for educational work were made known during his term of office as Chairman of the London School Board.

Lord George Hamilton's name is an influential one on the roll of the Council of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, while Lady George Hamilton is the President of our Deal and Walmer Branch.

L. V. M.

George Hamilton

£5 PRIZE.

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage will give £5 for the best idea to form the subject of a cartoon to be used in the Campaign against the Grant of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women. All communications to be addressed to the Editor, Anti Suffrage Review, N.L.O.W.S., Caxton House, Westminster.

N.B.—The Editor's decision is final, and no correspondence will be entered into on the subject.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S SUPPORT.

"SPEAKING for the moment as one of yourselves, as one who desires to see this change prevented, I do not take a hopeless view of the situation."

"I entertain very strong hope that if the case were clearly and cogently presented to the public opinion of the country, it would be found that some of the jubiliations which are already being heard from the supporters of the suffrage movement would be found to have been premature, and that public opinion would declare that it is not fair to make this gigantic experiment, for which there is no parallel in the history of any other country in Europe."

These two sentences from the reply made by the Prime Minister to the very influential deputation against woman suffrage, which waited upon him on December 14th, convey both a great encouragement and a significant invitation to the members of our League. The Prime Minister's opinions on the suffrage question are well known. The deputation had no need to argue its case with him. But it is also well-known that a majority of the Cabinet is prepared to support the "gigantic experiment," and that without the country having any chance to express an opinion upon it at a General Election. We must make it our part to see that in every possible way which is open to us, the opinion of the country against woman suffrage—an opinion which, if silent, is strong enough to sweep away the forced suffrage agitation—shall be made clear

to the country's representatives in Parliament. Our case is strong. We have no longer academic Bills put forward to test the opinion of the House (Bills, be it remembered, on which never more than half the House has taken the trouble to vote); we have no longer a miscalled "Conciliation Bill," aiming at the enfranchisement of a million women (on which, pushed and "boomed" as it had been, some 270 Members did not vote at all); we have a plain intention, though the actual form of the proposal remains unsettled, to enfranchise at least eight million women. That is what we have to keep before the men and the quiet, solid mass of women in the country. That is the proposal for the defeat of which the Prime Minister bids us be at work. He made his position perfectly clear. The Government, he said, has announced a policy which is the result of a combined deliberation, and by which it is the duty of all its members to abide loyally. But he himself, the head of the Government, has always believed that "the grant of the parliamentary franchise to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind." The immense force of public opinion which is on his side must be brought to strengthen his hands.

The reply of our League to the Prime Minister's demand for work will be an immediate one. We are able to announce this month that a Campaign Committee has been formed, a compact and energetic committee, and is already at work arranging for meetings and speeches. It is probable that early next year there will be large meetings in London to be addressed by the most notable opponents of woman suffrage. Not the least interesting part of the Prime Minister's speech was that in which he spoke of the possibility of his "entering the arena." He must naturally take time to consider the suggestion; but it will be an immense heartening to our cause to know that he is considering it. There is, as he said, a growing feeling expressing itself more and more articulately, of hostility to the proposed enfranchise-

ment of women. It is going to be so thoroughly articulate that the falseness of the "majorities" for the measure in Parliament will be demonstrated in the final and unmistakable way.

NOTES AND NEWS.

We have dealt in our leading article with the very encouraging reply made by the Prime Minister to the Anti-Suffrage deputation on December 14th. The speeches of the deputation earned from him a high compliment. "I may say, without flattery," he remarked, "that after a long and somewhat chequered experience of deputations of various kinds, I do not think I have ever heard a case, strong in itself, presented with more sound sense and with less superfluous rhetoric." Lord Curzon's speech, in introducing the deputation was a masterly presentation of the damning fact that woman suffrage had never been before the electorate, and that it must therefore be regarded as outside the widest purview of any legitimate interpretation of the Parliament Act. He argued that if there ever was a case for not passing a measure without giving the country an opportunity of pronouncing upon it by a special vote, this was such a case. The Prime Minister, if he was mildly amused at the absence of the word "referendum," clearly confessed that, while the referendum is in his opinion an undesirable innovation as part of our regular constitutional machinery, there was a good deal to be said for regarding woman suffrage as one of the conceivable cases in which such machinery might be properly employed.

THE Prime Minister was inclined to see difficulties in the form of a referendum, because a verdict given by men alone would not only not be accepted by suffragists, but would be resented by them as misleading and unsatisfactory. Mrs. Humphry Ward pointed out, however, that the referendum might include a poll of the women municipal electors. Mr. Asquith objected that that would be to assume that a certain number of women were qualified to express an opinion, but a certain number were not. However, in the middle-headed welter of suffragist opinion, it is at least clear that suffragists have never seen any difficulty in that. Practically all of their schemes

have assumed it. Mrs. Humphry Ward, in her speech, made another admirable point, when she remarked that so vast a political change as the grant of the suffrage, whether to one million women or to eight million women, should not be finally accomplished by a small majority of the House of Commons. That is a most important point. Nowhere, even in the most sanguine suffragist calculations, do we find any expectation of more than a small majority. Indeed, those calculations reduce themselves in the mind of such an enthusiastic supporter as Mr. Brailsford, to reckon on turning the whole question by a dozen votes on one side or the other. Is that to be the way in which such a vital matter is to be settled? Is a Government with a normal majority of over a hundred to take up and stand by an amendment which may be wriggled through by a dozen votes? That is not the least absurd suggestion of all this hurried and ill-regulated agitation. At any rate, a pettifogging majority of that kind would have no weight whatever when the measure reached the House of Lords.

An excellent letter appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of November 24th, over the initials, "C.R.A." The writer, asking upon what ground that paper was assuming that it would become "plain to all doubtful and antagonistic Liberals that for them the choice is only between a small measure of women's enfranchisement and a large one," says:

"It is incredible to me that there is any possibility whatever of seven million women obtaining votes by any amendment to the Reform Bill of next year, because I do not believe either that it is open to the Government to accept the responsibility of dealing with the question of women's suffrage in such a way or that any appeal by leading members of the Government to the feeling of the country would result in anything but the break-up and defeat of the Liberal Party."

The reason he gives for this prospect of a break-up is that up to the present, while the suffragists have "hen-pecked" many weak-kneed candidates, anti-suffragists within the party have been less active because they knew that the Government would not deal with the question. But in the new circumstances the position is changed completely, and anti-suffragists must also seek to pledge candidates not to support women's suffrage. The ques-

tion, he remarks, was "snowed under at the last two general elections, and will probably be so again at the next one."

"At the last general election the Anti-Suffragists practically ignored the question as not in issue. And the existence of a majority among Liberal members, if there be one, in favour of the enfranchisement of women is thus under present circumstances no test of the views of the party as a whole, and the sooner this is recognised the better. To take advantage of the restraint of the Anti-Suffragists among their own supporters in expressing their views would scarcely be creditable to any member, and when the time comes to vote on the point many Liberal members will be surprised at the strength of the opposition to Women's Suffrage. Any amendment to the Reform Bill giving votes to women will be rightly thrown out by the House of Lords, and will probably be an excuse to reject the whole Bill. The Government are pledged to do away with the anomalies and absurdities of the existing franchise. But they never appealed to the country for support for Women's Suffrage, and they cannot fight the Lords on the subject."

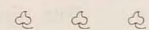
LORD SELBORNE made an astounding speech on November 22nd at a suffrage meeting in Liverpool. We take four points which show the quality of his argument. First of all he used the case of the pit-brow women, as so many suffragists do, to show the need of a vote to secure women against unjust restrictions. Is it really necessary to point out to Lord Selborne that both in this year and in 1886, when the same question came up under a Conservative Government, the pit-brow women won their point without votes? It cannot even be argued that the recent increase in the suffrage agitation helped them, because in 1886, when the agitation was far less, they won equally easily. Again, Lord Selborne remarked that if women could place a cross on a piece of paper against the name of Jones as a municipal candidate, it was absurd to say that if she placed a cross against the name of Jones as a Parliamentary candidate, the end of the world had come. This is quite unworthy of Lord Selborne, in its childish implication that there is no difference in the quality of the two kinds of vote. Then he said that, as he had no idea of the present state of the Insurance Bill, he must argue on its original form, and he proceeded to rouse the feelings of his audience by saying that the married woman got no kind of benefit for her payments as a girl until she became a widow. This is, as the Bill now stands, quite untrue; and if Lord Selborne does not know the recent provisions,

he had surely better not talk about the Bill at all. Lastly, he said that the Government's Reform Bill would enfranchise "the most ignorant and brutish tramp." Does he really think that a brutish tramp ever has a six-months' residential qualification? It is deplorable that the suffrage agitation should lead a man of Lord Selborne's record into such depths. And what are we to think of the political capacities of suffragist audiences for whom this kind of thing is good enough?

MR. A. C. GRONNO is doing admirable work in bringing to light the improper attempts which are being made to utilise the National Union of Teachers for suffragist propaganda. This year, it may be remembered, an attempt was made to induce the annual Conference of the Union to pass a woman's suffrage resolution. The attempt was defeated by the overwhelming vote of 40,653 to 12,276. The Conference decided not to discuss the matter at all, and quite rightly, since its constitutional objects have nothing whatever to do with such a matter. Not a single resolution on the subject was sent in by any branch of the Conference. But since then the Executive of the N.U.T. has been sending round to local associations a resolution expressing "sympathy with those members of the N.U.T. who desire to possess and exercise the parliamentary franchise, but, because they are women, and for that reason alone, are debarred by law from it." The Executive proposes that this resolution shall be submitted to the Conference at Hull in Easter week, 1912. Mr. Gronno points out that the Executive has no right to take up the question in any shape or form; and this attempt to force upon the branches what the branches have shown no wish to attempt themselves is quite unjustifiable.

MEANWHILE, as we are on this subject, let us remark upon an instance of the true meaning of equality of wages for men and women. Suffragists here are very fond of promising to raise women's wages when they get the vote. The question came up before the New York Board of Education, when it was proposed to equalise the salaries of men and women teachers by reducing the salaries of men who will hereafter enter its service. Votes for women mean not more wages for women, but less wages for men.

SUFFRAGISTS are betraying their besetting anxieties too much in their articles and speeches on the Home Rule Bill. Thus the Irish correspondent of the "Common Cause" (November 2nd) writes that if Home Rule be passed without enfranchising women, then Irish women will have a long and hard struggle to secure their suffrage rights—not because the Irish people are hostile to the idea, but because the new Government will necessarily be overburdened with business, and will be unwilling to devote time to the question of woman's suffrage." But, if there is so much readiness for the enfranchisement of women in Ireland, it is extremely unlikely that the Government would be "unwilling." And it has always been the cry of suffragists here that to talk of Parliament being overburdened is a mere excuse—that a Woman's Suffrage Bill would be passed in a very short time if the Government would allow it. This anxiety about the Home Rule Bill is, in fact, like the nervousness about amendments to the Conciliation Bill, due to a desire to take any opportunity that offers of "rushing" some kind of suffrage, and hoping to use it as a lever for more.



MORE than 100 Members of Parliament, we are told, who have voted for women suffrage in the House, have signed a protest against the rowdiness of the Women's Social and Political Union, and describe such conduct as "a degradation of public life." We should like to ask the hundred Members if it ever occurred to them that degraders of public life are not quite the people who should be admitted to the franchise.

PUTTING IT PLAINLY.

THE following important letter, with its influential signatures, has been addressed to every Conservative and Unionist Member of Parliament:—

SIR,—On behalf of those Unionist members of the House of Commons who are opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women, we desire to address you on the situation created by the Prime Minister's promise to introduce a Bill next year for extending the basis of the franchise.

There exist now, and have existed for many years, two distinct currents of thought in our party on the subject of women's suffrage. One section is opposed on principle to the enfranchisement of women, the other section favours the

extension of the suffrage to women on a limited qualification, based on the possession of property and the payment of rates and taxes.

The latter section is supporting the Bill known as the Conciliation Bill, now before Parliament. The number of women who would be enfranchised under this Bill would be relatively small, and a majority of the women so enfranchised would, it is thought, vote for Unionist candidates at Elections.

We desire to point out to Unionist supporters of this Bill how greatly the situation has been changed by the Prime Minister's announcement, and how powerfully that announcement confirms the contention, which we have always put forward, that the Conciliation Bill is the thin end of the wedge, and must inevitably lead to adult woman suffrage, *i.e.*, to the enfranchisement of a majority of female over male voters.

Let us suppose that the Conciliation Bill, for which a second reading majority exists in the House of Commons, is passed into law next year, by the help of Unionist votes; the adult suffragists will later have the opportunity of moving an amendment to the Government Reform Bill, extending the franchise to women on the same terms as men.

By the passage of the Conciliation Bill, the principle of women's suffrage will have been irrevocably conceded, and further resistance to the principle from any quarter will be useless. We ask you to consider the effect of this change on the minds of the supporters of the Government. Will not those Liberal and Irish members who have hitherto opposed women's suffrage, from the Prime Minister downwards, say: "We have opposed women's suffrage in the past, but now the principle has been conceded, and conceded in a form unfair to us, and unduly advantageous to our opponents. We shall certainly feel justified in voting for the removal of this anomaly, and for the placing of women's suffrage on a democratic basis?"

It follows that adult woman suffrage will probably receive the undivided support of the Government forces, and will ultimately be passed into law under the terms of the Parliament Act.

In such a situation, we ask your assent to the proposition that limited woman suffrage has become impossible, at all events in this Parliament, and that the choice lies between the enfranchisement of all women or of none. If those Unionists who have hitherto favoured the Conciliation Bill continue to support it, their action will directly contribute to the establishment of adult woman suffrage.

In these circumstances, we earnestly ask you to reconsider the question of supporting this Bill, and to oppose the driving in of a wedge, the thick end of which is now exposed for all to view.

We may add that we shall be heartily willing to co-operate with you in advocating the reference of this question to a

poll of the electors, and we suggest that a policy of opposition to the legislative proposals for women's suffrage promised for next year, coupled with advocacy of the referendum, is a policy on which all members of the party can whole-heartedly unite.—We are, &c.,

F. G. BANBURY.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.
HELMSLEY.
WALTER H. LONG.
F. E. SMITH.
ARNOLD WARD.

NOT WITHOUT A REFERENDUM.

MR. G. LOCKER-LAMPSON, M.P. for Salisbury, has addressed a letter to Miss E. M. Cripps, Hon. Secretary of the Salisbury Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, in which he says:—

"Although I have always had a certain sympathy for the Conciliation Bill, I feel strongly that no measure of Women's Suffrage ought to be passed into law until it has been made the subject of a Referendum. The issues at a General Election are almost always involved and sometimes confusing. Electors vote for a particular party in many cases, not because of its general policy, but because of certain items in its programme in which they take an especial interest.

"A Referendum on Women's Suffrage would provide a perfectly clear issue, and would settle the question as to whether the country does, or does not, want women to have the vote in an unanswerable manner. I cannot help thinking that the country is strongly opposed to universal Women's Suffrage on the lines indicated by Mr. Lloyd George."

UNIONIST WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS.

THE following letter from Col. the Hon. A. B. Bathurst, M.P., appeared in the "Morning Post" of December 15th:—

"SIR,—I should like through your columns to draw attention to the dealings of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

"A meeting has been organised by this Association in a division represented by a Unionist member who is opposed to Women's Suffrage, and the meeting is to be held in the house of a leading local Liberal. Had the member been favourable to the suffrage, it is very doubtful whether the meeting would have been held in that house. Under these circumstances, the following two questions arise: Do these ladies who are so anxious for the vote put the question of the suffrage before all others, even such matters as the Union of the Empire and Tariff Reform? If not, how can they work against a Unionist candidate?"

"I do not wish to trespass too much on your valuable space, but I desire a plain and straightforward answer to these two simple questions.—Yours, &c.,

"BEN BATHURST."

"House of Commons, December 14th."

DEPUTATION TO MR. ASQUITH.

SPEECHES BY EARL CURZON AND MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

THE REFERENDUM PROJECT.

THE League's deputation to Mr. Asquith attended at 10, Downing-street, on December 14th. Lord Cromer, the President, was unwell, and his place was taken by Earl Curzon, who introduced the various speakers to the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith was accompanied by his Private Secretary, Mr. Bonham-Carter, and Miss Asquith was present, and followed the speeches with interest.

The deputation included the following:—The Countess of Jersey, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Robson, Miss Violet Markham, Dr. M. A. Pilliet, Miss Soulsby, Miss Burgwin, Mrs. Wilton Phipps, Mrs. Greatbatch, and Lady Priestley.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P., Sir William Anson, M.P., the Hon. Neil Primrose, M.P., the Hon. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., Lieut.-Col. Lockwood, M.P., Mr. R. L. Hainsworth, M.P., Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P., Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Sir William Priestley, M.P., Sir F. Banbury, M.P., Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, M.P., Sir C. Henry, M.P., Mr. Lewis Coward, K.C., Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Canon Hensley Henson, Dr. Leonard Williams, and Mr. John Massie.

EARL CURZON: In the first place, let me thank you for your courtesy in receiving this deputation this morning, and let me assure you that, with all your important engagements, we shall take up as little as we can of your time. It is my privilege to introduce this deputation on behalf of Lord Cromer, the President of our League, who is unfortunately incapacitated by illness, and prevented from being present. We have here Members of Parliament representing all parties in the House of Commons—the Liberal Party, the Unionist Party, and the Nationalist Party; we have representative ladies, drawn from different sides of political thought, and we have also representatives here of the outside interests of the law, and literature, and the Church. I need hardly say, that, had it been permitted, the numbers of this deputation could have been swollen to five or ten times the total that you now see before you. Now, all of us in this room are Anti-Suffragists, if I may use an expressive but singularly barbarous term. (Laughter.) There is no one of us here who would, I am sure, wish to place any limitation upon the industrial and intellectual activities of women, or indeed upon their activities in any form outside the purely political sphere; but we are united in thinking that it would be an injury to women, to men, and to the great organisation to which both sexes belong, namely, the State and the Empire, that the Parliamentary vote should be given in this country to women. But, sir, we have not come here to-day to argue that proposition to you. Because, though we have reason to know that the Cabinet is divided upon the subject, we also know to our satisfaction, that with you we have a sympathiser and a friend. You have never concealed your opinions upon that point—a candour which we greatly esteem (cheers); and, if I remember right, on one occasion you informed a deputation that it was needless for them to preach to the converted. Therefore, no part of our reasoning

will be addressed to the question in its most general aspect. What we are concerned with is, the present Parliamentary situation over which you, as the head of His Majesty's Government, have the greatest power of control, and which has lately assumed a shape that causes us great and, I think, legitimate anxiety. You have informed the public that you propose next session to introduce, as a Government measure and as part of the Government programme, into the House of Commons, a Bill for the extension of the suffrage on a large scale to the male inhabitants of this country. I desire to offer no comment upon that. It does not touch upon our enquiry to-day. But you have also said that any amendment that may be carried by a majority of the House of Commons in the course of the passage of that measure through the House—any amendment adding female suffrage to male suffrage, whether it take the form of a relatively moderate measure like the so-called—I think I would like to add—the mis-called Conciliation Bill; or whether it takes the much larger form that has been foreshadowed by some extreme advocates of female suffrage, will be, if so carried, accepted by the Government, incorporated in the Bill, and made a part of the Bill, and that the Government will use its endeavours to pass the measure so amended into law. Thus, if my description of the situation is correct, it may happen that in the course of next summer an amendment may be carried to your Bill on the lines of the Conciliation Bill, adding a million women to the Register, or it may be that if the much larger measures, to which I have alluded, found favour with the majority of the House of Commons, you might have an addition, as I understand, of something like eight or ten million women, thereby raising by a single leap the electorate of this country, which at present stands at something over seven millions to some figure which I cannot accurately gauge but which I estimate at between fifteen and twenty millions. I believe all these figures must be taken with a good deal of qualification. I accept that readily. But that is in itself a serious and, if my figures are correct, even an alarming situation. But even more alarming still, from our point of view, is that under the constitution of the Parliament Act, which is now the law of the country, even if the House of Lords were to reject a measure so amended, even if they were to reject it three times, running in successive Parliamentary years, the measure so amended would nevertheless become law, without any opportunity for the people's being able to pronounce upon it. Sir, I venture to say that this is not only a serious possibility, it would be an unexampled situation in the history of the granting of the suffrage in this or in any country, and I venture to surmise that such a development could hardly have been contemplated by even the warmest supporter of the Parliament Bill. That a measure introduced by the Government, presumably in touch with and reflecting the sentiments of the country should, after passing the House of Commons three times, become the law of the land, whatever the House of Lords may say or do, was the avowed object of the Parliament Bill. But that a measure not introduced by a Government on its own responsibility—(cheers)—upon which the Government is admittedly disunited, which has never been before the country at a General Election, which would

only be carried, or rather amended, in the sense which I am describing, by the irresponsible vote of an irresponsible majority of the House of Commons—that such a measure, so amended, should become the law of the land by the mere lapse of time, would, I venture to think, be a novel, an extraordinary, and an intolerable thing, and would be outside the widest purview of any legitimate interpretation of the Parliament Bill. But of all these points that I have mentioned, the one upon which I desire to lay special stress to-day, is that a measure which might be so treated is a measure which at present, at any rate, lacks the necessary sanction of the demonstrated approval of the people. I think I shall carry you with me in this argument, because I remember well your repeating the line of argument which used to be taken by Mr. Gladstone on one occasion, when you said yourself: "There is not one case in our history in which a constitutional change of this kind has been effected without the clearest possible proof that it was desired, and, indeed, demanded, by the vast majority of those in whose interests it was made." Our case is that in the present: instance that proof is wanting. All our information leads us to believe that a great number of women, we think, indeed, the majority of women, are either hostile to this measure or wholly indifferent to it. (Cheers.) As regards men, whether we take the test of the last General Election—or rather I must qualify it by saying of such individual elections in the last General Election as raised this specific issue—or whether we take the test of any other opportunities of ascertaining the opinion of men as may have been open to us, so far we can see nothing whatever which shows that the majority of men are in favour of this change. In these circumstances, we come to make our representation to you, that it should not be carried into effect until the electors of this country have had the opportunity of pronouncing judgment upon it. You may say then, What, then, have you in view? We should be quite willing to accept the test of the General Election, if there were the least chance that a General Election could be decided upon this restricted issue alone. I need hardly say that a General Election is a confused medley of issues, in which most incongruous things are muddled up together, in which the claims of parties and personalities play a very prominent part, and that it is almost impossible to detach any single issue, least of all any issue like this, from the general mixture of political events, and to claim that that has been, or can possibly be, a deciding factor in the situation. Neither, if your Reform Bill next year were carried, and an addition of the sort I contemplate were made to it, could an appeal to the country, if you yourself went to it on the double issue, give us at all a satisfactory or conclusive answer, for the obvious reason that there would be many people who may be in favour of a large addition of male voters to the register without desiring that any women should be added at all; or, on the other hand, who may be in favour of a limited extension of the suffrage to women, while wholly disapproving of the proposed large addition to the male register. Therefore, we urge that if the House of Commons in its wisdom next session sees fit to add any amendment to the Bill of the character I am speaking of, that particular addition to the Bill should not be

carried into law until the people of this country have had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon that specific issue by a special vote.

MR. ASQUITH: The Referendum.

EARL CURZON: You have used the word Referendum, from which I had kept as far aloof as I could. (Laughter.) I have done so, not merely because the word has an ugly sound, but because opinion is divided upon it. There are some in this room who may be in favour of the Referendum, and some who may be stoutly opposed to it. (Hear, hear.) At all events, we are all agreed that public opinion in this country has not reached the point of being willing to accept it as a permanent feature in our Constitution. But if ever there was a case in which a special poll of the people were justified in a specific case, it surely is this. (Cheers.) And the statements which have at one time or other emanated from you and from distinguished colleagues of yours, lead us to believe that you have not excluded, nay, we hope you have contemplated, the solution of this particular problem by the method I have named.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.—As Lord Curzon has said, we are not here to-day to argue the main question of Woman Suffrage. Insufficiently as the arguments on both sides may be as yet appreciated, even after half a century, by the general mass of our busy electorate, they are at any rate very familiar to every person in this room, and above all to yourself. What we are here to urge is that so vast a political change as the grant of the Parliamentary Suffrage, whether to one million, or six millions, or eight millions of women, shall not be finally accomplished by a small majority of the House of Commons, and pressed into law under the Parliament Act by an admittedly divided Government, before the opinion of the country has been directly asked for and obtained.

We understand, sir, from your statements as head of the Government, that a clause, abolishing the sex disability on which our Parliamentary system has been based through all these centuries, may, if the House of Commons so desire, be added to the new Reform Bill to be introduced next year, and that if, whatever it may be, it obtains a majority in the House, the Government will adopt it as their own, and press it into law under the Parliament Act. Woman Suffrage may thus, for the first time, obtain the official support of one of the great parties in the State, and have behind it the mechanical weight of a Government; although, as the Cabinet is deeply divided on the subject, no moral weight could attach to that support; a situation, I venture to say, unparalleled in the history of any important measure. And were the strong opposition that such a clause would undoubtedly arouse, overcome, as it might be, by the provisions of the Parliament Act, the country might wake up to find the Suffrage granted to some eight or more millions of women, without the electors, or the mass of women themselves, ever having been consulted at all on so enormous and fundamental a change—a change which goes to the very roots both of our political life and our social custom. In contrast to such procedure we desire to draw attention to the repeated elections, the wide publicity and the long discussion preceding the extension of the franchise in '32, in '67, and in '84. It becomes imperative, therefore, for us,

who, as we believe, in the best interests of women themselves, are opposed to Woman Suffrage, to draw the attention of the Government to the slender nature of the support which has as yet been given to any Woman Suffrage proposal in this country, in spite of the long and clamorous list of Suffrage societies. The strength of its support in the House of Commons is, we contend, out of all proportion to its strength in the constituencies. It is notorious that when a Suffrage debate is coming on in Parliament, a few active Suffragist women in a constituency are often quite enough to secure the adhesion of a member who does not wish to offend them, while his own opinion is still either hostile or wavering, and the opinion of the vast majority of his constituency has gone wholly unconsulted. Out of 1,115 candidates in the election of January, 1910, as was stated by a Suffragist organ at the time, only 211 declared themselves in their election addresses favorable to woman suffrage, and of these only eighty-five were elected. In the election of December, I have not been able to ascertain the facts precisely, but it seems to be agreed that a smaller number of candidates mentioned it in their election addresses than was the case in January, in spite of your promise given before the election, of facilities for the Conciliation Bill. You, sir, in the debate of 1910, drew the attention of a crowded House to the small influence which the question had exerted on the constituencies in the January election. I venture to quote your own words:—"Is there a man sitting on these benches, in any quarter of the House, who will tell me that Woman Suffrage was a question which influenced his return? I do not think there is a single man here who would say that it did. . . . It was not only not a predominant, but it was not a prominent, it was not even a subordinate, issue at the General Election." And if this was the case in January, still more was it the case in December. The election turned on the Parliament Bill, and the much-advertised interference of the Suffrage Societies who spent large sums of money and employed many paid speakers during the election, did not in any way affect the result. As a Conservative who closely watched two contested elections during 1910, I can bear witness to what one may call the extraordinary incredulity of the average elector on the subject, and to the amused indifference or angry resentment with which he brushed aside a crusade which seemed to him either to have no concern with practical politics, or to be associated with outrages and excesses which he strongly condemned. My colleague, Miss Markham, speaking as a Liberal, will bear the same testimony.

Meanwhile, two candidates came before the electors as suffrage candidates proper, one in Glasgow and one in London, with the absurd result that they polled 57 votes between them. The influence of these facts was seen, we venture to think, in the Suffrage debate of last May, in the far smaller number of prominent men taking part in it, and in the lessened amount of public interest which it excited. Meanwhile a remarkable canvass of the very women municipal voters whom it was proposed to enfranchise under the Conciliation Bill, had been undertaken by the N.L.O.W.S., with astonishing results. Up to the present time about an eighth of the whole number of electors have been canvassed by our League, with a fairness and thoroughness which have

at last forced recognition. Of the 135,357 persons whose views have been ascertained, 57,000 have not thought it worth while to reply to the question asked, 9,000 were neutral, 47,000 were against the Suffrage, and only 21,000 out of the whole 135,000, after all the attention which has been bestowed on these voters by the Suffrage Societies, declared for the Parliamentary vote. Such a result seems to us to dispose altogether of the assertion that there is any widespread or effective demand for the suffrage among the women householders of this country. The situation, however, during the last few weeks, as we all know, has become suddenly acute. The announcement of the Government Reform Bill, together with Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Bath, and the campaign which he and Sir Edward Grey are said to be undertaking on behalf of a much wider measure of Woman Suffrage than has ever yet been proposed, with a view to its incorporation in the Government Reform Bill, have at last, as it seems to those of us whose fate it is often to be speaking in the country, roused the opposition and stirred the apathy of women and of the male voter, to a new and remarkable degree.

MR. ASQUITH: Have you any evidence of that?

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD: Yes. The matter is now at length beginning to be recognised for what it truly is—"a measure of the very greatest magnitude," to quote the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, concerning the Conciliation Bill. And if this description was applicable to that Bill, what shall we say of the proposals now sketched by the Chancellor—variously interpreted to mean an addition to the electorate of either six or eight millions of wholly untried women voters; or of the frank exultation with which the supporters of adult suffrage, both for men and women, are looking forward to going beyond even the Chancellor, and handing over the destinies of England and the Empire to an electorate in which there will be a clear majority of women. In the belief of everyone in this room, it is inconceivable that any Ministry could propose a change so immense and so incalculable both to our political life at home, to our Imperial position, to our place and prestige in Europe, and to the safety and security of every woman and child in these islands, without a direct consultation of the country, in such a form that the country can neither mistake nor fail to answer the question put to it. That is my reference to the Referendum.

MR. ASQUITH: We will see the different forms which it assumes.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD: And but a short time ago this contention was also the contention of Mr. Lloyd George. It was on November 21st, 1907, four years ago, that Mr. Lloyd George said, in reply to a deputation of Suffragists at Glasgow: "Before the Government could bring in a Bill on a gigantic question of this sort, it ought to have been before the country in a definite and concrete form. He could not conceive a revolution of this character being introduced into our Constitution without the opinion of the country being asked upon it definitely." A year ago, on Thursday, December 1st, Mr. Winston Churchill, receiving a deputation, said that he "would not vote for any Bill on Woman Suffrage which had not behind it the support of a majority of the electors of the country." When asked how he proposed

to ascertain the opinion of the majority, Mr. Churchill said that, although not in general in favour of a Referendum, he thought this "was a question which might be made the subject of a plebiscite." You, sir, have made statements in the same direction. And a letter has recently been addressed to you by 124 members of the House of Commons, signed by 29 Liberals and 95 Unionists, appealing to the Government to "ascertain the views of the people before there is any imminent prospect of the Women's Enfranchisement being passed into law." Sir, those views have not been ascertained; the opinion of the country has not "been asked definitely" upon Woman Suffrage; moreover, there is now a strong and growing opposition to the Suffrage movement, rising up all through the constituencies, which scarcely existed in 1907; and we urgently press upon you, in the name of your great trust, that this country alone among the great States of the world, shall not be shaken from its ancient bases, until the opinion of the United Kingdom electorate on this matter has been clearly and effectively ascertained.

SIR CHARLES HENRY: I desire to speak on behalf of Liberal Members of the House of Commons who are opposed to Woman Suffrage. I need not assure you that in your views, which are well known to us, you have the whole and hearty support of a large number of your followers. I am not overstating the case when I say that they are determined to oppose and resist under all circumstances, no matter what the Parliamentary exigencies may be, or what the provocation of the "Votes for Women" advocates may be, the introduction or proposal of this by the Government. They regard this as one of the greatest political issues with which we are confronted at the present time. And they take the view that if the extension of the franchise was granted to women it would be of the greatest gravity, and of vital and far-reaching importance to the future welfare and interests of this country. Before I knew of this deputation to-day, I had put down a question on the Order Paper for to-day, to ask you whether you would give the House an assurance that no change in our Parliamentary electoral system, and no increase or reduction in the qualification for the Parliamentary vote should be passed into law and made effective as a Government measure unless you yourself were in agreement with it. (Laughter.)

MR. ASQUITH: You thought you had cornered me there.

SIR CHARLES HENRY: No; but I want to mention this. When I handed this question to the Clerk at the table it was not in the same form. I sought to ascertain from you whether you would allow to be made effective a measure giving the franchise to women if it had not received the general assent of the Cabinet. The Clerk at the table took exception to the expression, as he thought I should be asking you to disclose Cabinet secrets. I should be the last to be a party to any such course. But I assure you that this question was not put to you with any desire to embarrass you.

MR. ASQUITH: Quite so.

SIR CHARLES HENRY: It was put to you in order that we might ascertain what was the view of the Government as regards this unprecedented situation, because I think you will agree with Lord Curzon and myself that this is a situation which has hardly ever arisen before in the annals of this country.

Speaking on behalf of my colleagues, the Liberal members who are opposed to the extension of the franchise to women, we ask you not to place us in a position of embarrassment, and, if I may go so far, we hope that, knowing our views, you will help to support the anti-suffrage movement in the country. We all know that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer has committed himself to any policy his persuasive powers are not to be under-estimated, and therefore we hope that we may rely upon your advocacy and your co-operation in promoting the cause which we have at heart. We know that you are opposed to this proposal, and we do rely upon the conviction that our views will receive the consideration which they have always received at your hands.

MISS VIOLET MARKHAM: I beg to submit two points in support of the arguments submitted by Lord Curzon and Mrs. Humphry Ward, that there should be no extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women while it is supported by a minority only of women, and that this is not a live issue before the country, and has never been considered by the electors. First, that it is a minority demand. The suffrage agitation owes a great deal of its strength to the accidental fact that we have more than a million women in this country than men. From that it follows that you have a minority of women upon whom the ordinary ties of domestic life do not fall. A large number are therefore set free for public service, and a large number of them are driven into the labour market to gain their living by their own unaided exertions. It may seem a hardship at first sight that these women have not direct Parliamentary representation, but as you yourself have said, in dealing with politics we have to consider, not individual cases, or even classes, but we have to deal with causes and tendencies operating upon a large scale and over a wide area; and, however greatly we may admire the sacrifices of women in public life, however earnestly we may strive to improve the condition of women in industry, the fact remains that those women are a minority, that their lives are not the lives of the ordinary normal woman, whose pre-occupations in the enormous majority of cases are neither political nor industrial, but domestic. Therefore to alter the basis of government on the demand of a minority, based on minority circumstances, does not seem to us sound policy. There is unquestionably a very strong demand for the suffrage from a minority of women, including, I am glad to admit, some of the most eminent and worthy women in this country, but there is no evidence whatever to show that the majority of women desire this change. The evidence, in fact, as Mrs. Humphry Ward has pointed out, is all the other way, and the significant fact that for the first time in the history of Parliamentary enfranchisement you have definite opposition and organised revolt on the part of the very class that it is proposed to enfranchise should, I think, give Parliament pause in this matter. My second point is that this is not a live issue in the country. Perhaps you will allow me to speak personally. I live and work in a great industrial district. We have many problems that we consider earnestly, but I have never heard this discussed by any working man or woman. I speak especially for the Women's Liberal Association in a constituency which sends a Liberal-Labour member to Parliament—an association numbering over 400 women who are all perfectly familiar with my views

on this question. I am not claiming that all support my views, though a great number do, but during the five years that I have been their President, there has never been any criticism or protest about views which I have put before them perfectly frankly. That is a colliery population in North Derbyshire. Then, again, I may be allowed to confirm, from a Liberal point of view, what Mrs. Humphry Ward said from the Unionist point of view, as to the fact that the subject was never discussed at the General Election, at least not in our two individual experiences. My electioneering experiences during the last two elections took me into four industrial divisions; but, though I went from meeting to meeting, I never heard this subject once discussed or raised at any one of them. I never heard the subject even mentioned, except on one occasion, when I had a little difficulty in getting into a meeting where I was going to speak, where I was mistaken for a Suffragist and told to go away. We had burning issues before us at this election, upon which some of us were feeling most strongly; but I do not think it will be pretended that this was even a subordinate issue. And the fact that two Suffragist candidates came forward as such and only polled a total of fifty-seven votes does not seem to show that there is much burning interest in the country. Then we are told that this reform is demanded in the best interests of women, and is demanded for that reason; to which we can only reply that great reforms have to be considered from the point of view of what is the best interest of the State, and not of any branch or section of the State. When the country has come to a reasoned conclusion of what is the best interest of the State in this matter, incidentally it will have solved the question of what is best for the good of women, because what is good for the beehive must also be good for the bee. I am strongly opposed to the Referendum as an ordinary instrument of government; but under the very exceptional circumstances of the Woman Suffrage issue, and the fact that it cuts right athwart the ordinary party lines, I do not rule the Referendum out in those particular circumstances. But the main point I wish to insist upon is that this policy has neither sanction nor mandate. At the two recent General Elections no mandate was given for it, and in the absence of that mandate, such a vast change should not be carried into law by Parliament without first asking the will of of the people.

MR. ASQUITH: I am very pleased to have the opportunity of meeting you this morning, and I may say without flattery, that after a long and somewhat chequered experience of deputations of various kinds I do not think I have ever heard a case, strong in itself, presented with more sound sense and with less superfluous rhetoric. (Cheers.) As you know, I occupy a somewhat peculiar position in regard to this question. On the one hand, as an individual, I am in entire agreement with you that the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind. I do not go into the general question. We all agree that we need not argue that here to-day. But I hold that opinion and I have held it ever since I entered political life, and I have never seen anything in the arguments and other manifestations—(laughter)—which we have seen, which has induced me in the least degree to alter it. So far we are in complete harmony

with one another. On the other hand, I am, as you know, for the time being the head of the Government in which a majority of my colleagues—a considerable majority of my colleagues—I may say without violating the obligation of Cabinet secrecy, to which Sir Charles Henry has referred—are of a different opinion; and the Government in those circumstances has announced a policy which is the result of the combined deliberations, and by which it is the duty of all their members, and myself not least, to abide loyally. That is the position so far as I am personally concerned. Now your argument to-day has been, I will not say entirely but mainly, directed to a single point, and a point which I not only admit, but allege to be of the very highest importance, namely, whether or not this great change, for I must admit it to be that, has behind it the sanction of the general and predominant opinion of the country. Well, Lord Curzon said very frankly, and I think very truly, that under the conditions which prevail in this and all democratic countries a General Election necessarily involves a complication of issues. I will not say there is not very often one issue which predominates over the rest, but it involves a complication of issues and it is extremely difficult to single out a specific political change like this, and to say whether or not and to what extent in a General Election it had affected the votes of this or that constituency. The consequence is that you have really, I think, come here to-day to advocate a different method of solving the problem. There was a good deal of shyness in some of the speakers about the most compendious and precise description of the process to be adopted. Lord Curzon, who is a master both of the most direct and the most circumlocutory language, avoided the word as long as he could. (Laughter.) And Mrs. Humphry Ward almost exhausted, or at all events used to the full the literary artifices of which she is a mistress, in glancing at and gliding round, the word. Miss Violet Markham said that what you are really proposing is a Referendum. Well, I agree with the remark which fell from Miss Markham, that while the Referendum in my opinion is a most undesirable innovation as part of our regular constitutional machinery, I have always myself said there were conceivable cases in which it might be properly employed. (Cheers.) And I will not deny—I think it is the case—that there is a good deal of plausibility in the suggestion, at first sight at any rate, that this is one of those cases for the reason which Miss Markham gave, namely, it is a change which cuts athwart all the ordinary lines of party politics, but in regard to which it is not possible to bring into operation the ordinary organisation and machinery of party, which would almost certainly be done in any Referendum on a purely political issue; and therefore in regard to which you might infer with greater certainty than would otherwise be the case that you were getting something like the genuine opinion and not the organised or manipulated opinion of the electorate. However, I admit the force of all those arguments. I think they apply to this more than to any other political issue. But you must remember this, and this seems to be a very serious difficulty in your way. To whom is this reference to be made? Is it to be made to the men, the existing electorate? (Hear, hear.) Then you are going to leave women out of account. Well, of course, that is the con-

venient and obvious way of doing it. I quite agree, because you have got the machinery ready for the purpose. But is not it quite plain to you that a verdict so given by men and by men alone, would not only not be accepted but would be resented as in the highest degree misleading and unsatisfactory by, I will not say the majority of women, because it is a moot point what the majority of women think, but by those who on behalf and in the name of women, are advocating this change. They would say you are really begging, or to some extent, begging the question which we desire to see submitted to the country, and I do not believe that you would allay agitation by any verdict so pronounced.

MEMBERS OF THE DEPUTATION: Oh, no; we grant that. (Laughter.)

MR. ASQUITH: You grant that. I am not at all sure that you would not inflame and accentuate and render it more embittered than it was before.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD suggested including a poll of the women municipal electors.

MR. ASQUITH: That is assuming that a certain number of women are qualified to express an opinion on the subject; but a certain number are not. A difficulty I have always thought in the way of those who say that the sex distinction ought to be obliterated. I have always said that about the Conciliation Bill. If sex is not, and ought not to be a disqualification, why are you going to draw a line at this point or that in the case of women, when you do not draw it in the case of men? The logical difficulty in that case seems to be extreme, and it is one illustration of the enormous risks to which you are being exposed when you proceed to carry out the change in this country on logical grounds. And granting that practically all in this room admit that there must be a considerable extension of the suffrage to men, must that be followed by an extension of the suffrage to women? In my view, that consideration enhances the importance and risks of the experiment. Then you say to me, This is very cold comfort. And so it is; but I am speaking for the moment as, in a sense, one of yourselves, as one who desires to see this change prevented. I do not take a hopeless view of the situation. The public opinion, after all, of the country is, or ought to be, and I hope will be, the predominating factor in determining a matter of such gravity as this. Mrs. Humphry Ward has told us, and Miss Markham confirmed the view, that now that the prospect is approaching of a practical effort being made, there is a growing feeling expressing itself more and more articulately of hostility to the proposed change. Lord Curzon has referred to the operation of the Parliament Bill. I have always said—I am not going to re-open any of the controversies of last summer—but I have always maintained, and it is my honest opinion, that the prolongation of discussion which the Parliament Act provides for a Bill which has been rejected by the Second Chamber in the first instance, and finally over the Veto of the Second Chamber passed into law—that that prolongation of discussion would be fatal to the political prospect of a measure which is really condemned by the preponderating opinion of the country. That is the safeguard which we believe that the measure contains in itself, and upon which I personally have always very strongly relied. And if it be true, as I hope and believe that it is true, that more people in this

country—the intelligent and cool-headed people of this country—realise what this change really means, and to what logical consequences it must lead you, if it is put before them as it can be put before them by ladies and gentlemen like yourselves, with emphasis, clearness, and proper organisation. I should take myself a much more hopeful view than some people do of our prospects in the future. Sir Charles Henry was kind enough to invite me personally to enter into the arena into which some of my colleagues have already descended—(laughter)—I do not use the word in any offensive sense—when you leave the bench of spectators and take a part in the combat you have to go down a few steps—I must take time to consider that suggestion. I do think—I say this quite frankly—that it is time for those who hold strong views upon this subject, unless there is a possibility, as in my own case, of some very special personal disability—an interruption—well, I am reserving a definite opinion upon it—but I do think it is time that they should take off their coats, those, at any rate, who belong to my own sex, and that the ladies should lend the co-operation which they can in whatever panoply they think best adapted for effective militant operations of a constitutional kind; and I entertain a very strong hope that if that was done, and the case was clearly and cogently presented to the public opinion of the country, it would be found that some of the jubiliations which are now already being heard from the supporters of the movement, were premature, and that public opinion would declare that it is not fair to make this gigantic experiment, for which there is no parallel in the history of any other country in Europe (and all the cases in which Female Suffrage has hitherto been granted, are cases of communities in which the social, economic, and political conditions are totally different from our own), that they would not make this gigantic experiment until, at any rate, they had had further time to reflect upon these questions. I cannot say more than that to you to-day, and I trust that if not satisfied, you are at any rate, contented.

THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY: This deputation feels deeply grateful to you, not only for receiving us here this morning and giving us so much of your valuable time, but for the exceedingly kind and sympathetic way in which you have spoken to us. We can best show our thanks by not detaining you here in this room. There is one word that I may be permitted to say, and that is that I hope that you will not be afraid of the women. What they really like is to be rude; but do not be afraid of them. And if you can find some means of appealing to the country—even to the men of the country—what happens after that will only be a little squib or firework—the women will be bound to be satisfied that the vast majority of the present electors are against them. Sir Charles Henry asked you to be our champion and supporter in the House of Commons; I venture to ask you to be the champion and supporter of the vast majority of women who do not want to rule the country, nor want to be ruled by a majority of women. We venture, in spite of everything to place our cause, with confidence, in your hands.

The deputation then withdrew.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

Most of the chief papers of London and the provinces referred in leading

articles to the deputation. We give the following extracts:—

The "Times":—

"Mr. Asquith knows well enough, even if others do not, that the thing could not stop even at Woman Suffrage. That would at once be used to force women into the House of Commons, and every argument for the first step would be equally good for the second, and would have far greater force behind it. So-called precedents for Woman Suffrage are all of a kind the mere use of which proves the lack of sound political sense on the part of the users. It is surely right and fitting that everyone, be he Prime Minister or not, who appreciates the gigantic evils of a wholly unprecedented experiment should use all his power and influence to avert a calamitous issue."

The "Morning Post":—

"It is impossible to pretend that in this matter the Government are bowing before the will of the people. Mr. Asquith has himself laid down that a vast change of this kind has never been accomplished without the clearest proof that it was desired, indeed demanded, by the vast majority of those in whose interest it was made. In the present case such proof is entirely wanting. There is nothing to show that either the men or the women of the country are in favor of the extension of the franchise to women. On the contrary, there is every indication that the mass of the community are hostile to any such change. No doubt the various Suffrage societies have been very active, and have worked hard to create the impression that public opinion is on their side. But their claims will not bear examination, while their tactics often throw a curious light on the supposed ability of women to play their part in the decision of great national issues."

The "Scotsman":—

"The definite suggestion made was that before the question of woman's suffrage is dealt with by Parliament the opinion of the country should be ascertained by the Referendum. . . . To the Conciliation Bill there has been assent by many moderate politicians, who regard it as a barrier against the flood of manhood suffrage. But this chance is materially less than it formerly was, for the extremists have come openly into the field, and it is now evident that the Bill would be regarded by many of its supporters as only the carrying of the first rampart. They will decline to go a single step alone the road at the end of which is seen the supremacy of the feminine mind and nerve in all our national and Imperial affairs."

The "Pall Mall Gazette":—

"Mr. Asquith's attitude to Women's Suffrage continues to be one of the puzzles of political morality. He holds the most definite opinions upon the subject: he told yesterday's deputation that 'the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind.' Yet he will not promise to co-operate with those who are seeking to keep the disaster at bay; he will not support a Referendum upon the subject, and as a member of the Government he is giving facilities for the Suffragists to rush their Bill through this Parliament if they can."

The "Globe":—

"Mr. Asquith appears to present an interesting example of duplicate personality. Though as Mr. Asquith he regards the grant of the franchise to women as a disastrous mistake, as head of the Government he is quite prepared to allow the catastrophe to take place. A more astonishing conception of the duty of a statesman we have never heard of. It is not as though the point at issue were a small one, on which the leader of a great party might be content to sink his private convictions. For weal or for woe the admission of women to the franchise is a question fraught with the largest consequences. Mr. Asquith himself admits so much. Yet, rather than endanger the harmony of his Cabinet, he is content to stand idly by while what he believes to be a national disaster is consummated."

The "Evening Times":—

"One of the most piquant political situations of modern times has developed with the agitation for Women's Suffrage. All parties and all classes in the community are divided amongst themselves on the question. This is becoming more noticeable every day, and the prospect is that in a few months, when the matter is advanced to the position of a living issue, the nation will be torn by conflicting opinions. . . . It is this complicated position that will make a settlement of the question extraordinarily difficult in the next Session. One is not surprised that the Anti-Suffragists suggest a Referendum, but even that method of direct appeal to the country would, as the Premier has pointed out, be eminently unsatisfactory and inconclusive. There seems nothing for it but for the platform fight to go on and for public opinion to be moulded and crystallised by the coming campaign. By the time the women's amendment is proposed in the House some idea will have been obtained as to the predominant trend of opinion. Members of Parliament will also have been educated on the subject, and will have made up their minds how to vote. For it is in the House of Commons and in the ordinary way that the matter will finally have to be determined."

The "Yorkshire Post," London correspondence:—

"Now that the question of a Referendum in connection with the Parliament Act has ceased to be a subject of party polemics, it is possible, if the opponents of Women's Suffrage press for it, that this great problem may be referred to the people, if only as an experiment. If it is, votes for women will almost certainly be killed for many a long year."

The "Manchester Guardian":—

"The important point in the Anti-Suffragist deputation to Mr. Asquith yesterday lay in the proposal—skated round, as Mr. Asquith remarked, rather than boldly put forward—that any measure for the enfranchisement of women should be made the subject of a Referendum. It is a common thing to find people who are by no means in favour of the general principle of the Referendum and would on no account embody it in the general machinery of the Constitution who yet, when they have a special dislike to a particular measure, will be found to say that

that is really one quite exceptionally suitable for this procedure."

The "Daily News":—

"Mr. Asquith has never made any concealment of his views on the question; but he has not stated them before with so much fervour and emphasis. He believes that the grant of the franchise to women in this country 'would be a political mistake of the most disastrous kind,' and, if the House of Commons makes that 'mistake,' he clearly looks to the House of Lords to exercise that power of delay which he believes would result in the 'mistake' being rectified."

TEACHER'S AND THE SUFFRAGE

We refer in "Notes and News" to the attempt which is now being made to capture the organisations of the National Union of Teachers for Suffragist Propaganda. We hope that the attempt will be met everywhere as successfully and as carefully as it is being met in Manchester. On November 8th a meeting was held there by the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage. It was called a teachers' meeting; it was really a Suffragist meeting, to which teachers were invited. There were from two to three hundred people present, some members of the Manchester Teachers' Association, some teachers from elsewhere, and many not teachers at all. As the Manchester Association numbers more than two thousand, the Suffragists' efforts was not much of a success. It was followed on December 1st by a general meeting of members of the Association only, and more than eight hundred were present and by a majority of four to one the meeting passed a resolution: "That this Association is of opinion that the obtaining of the Parliamentary franchise to women does not form one of the objects of the National Union of Teachers. It further considers that the discussion of such a political question should have no place at the Conference and it hereby instructs its representatives at the Conference to oppose the taking up of the time of the Conference by the consideration of any resolution relating to Woman Suffrage."

A MEETING

(Guildford and District Branch)

WILL be held at The Borough Hall, North Street, Guildford, on Friday, January 19th, 1912, at 8 p.m. Early doors for ticket holders open at 7.30 p.m. Admission free at 7.45 p.m.

LT.-GEN. SIR EDMOND ELLES, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., J.P., will take the Chair.

Speakers: MRS. GREATBATCH; ARNOLD WARD, ESQ., M.P.

A limited number of tickets can be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Anderson, Roslin, Jenner Road, Guildford.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 103 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply.
135,481 47,286 21,725 9,358 57,112
(Include deceased, removed and ill.)

THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY REPLY-PAID POSTCARDS:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Bournemouth ...	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Cheltenham ...	3,127	648	585	478	1,416
Hammersmith ...	2,987	855	512	39	1,581
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	962	453	9	620
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2,217	1,118	447	13	639
East Toxteth (Liver- pool Division) ...	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Sheffield ...	2,158	237	445	32	1,444
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Streatham ...	1,892	572	325	3	992
Brixton ...	1,826	741	267	8	810
Ealing ...	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
North Hants ...	1,496	426	417	25	628
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester ...	1,374	246	198	—	930
Gloucester ...	1,221	413	185	2	621
Richmond ...	1,098	413	98	150	437
Chiswick ...	1,078	240	141	18	679
Watford ...	934	302	178	7	447
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
Hereford (part personal) ...	792	279	143	40	330
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
Salisbury ...	594	231	163	—	200
St. George's-in-the-East Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted ...	450	123	81	2	251
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group ...	336	145	74	58	59
Hampton ...	277	92	39	14	132
Sidmouth ...	268	97	44	26	101
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total	69,310	20,051	11,316	2,000	35,943

THE FOLLOWING RESULTS WERE OBTAINED BY HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS CONDUCTED BY MEMBERS
OF THE LEAGUE OR PAID CANVASSERS:—

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Walton ...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
York ...	2,297	773	516	—	1,008
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,116	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey (13 districts) ...	1,819	869	151	419	380
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester ...	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	206
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare ...	935	380	235	69	251
Camlachie ...	855	457	110	84	204
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	405	196	87	—	122
Dorking ...	290	116	50	31	93
Shanklin ...	283	163	48	34	38
Camberley & Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown & Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Romsey ...	130	64	17	—	49
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Holmwood ...	69	33	8	14	14
Westcote ...	48	28	10	6	4
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	66,171	27,235	10,409	7,358	21,169

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE.

ONE of the main contentions of this Committee is that a large proportion of the improvements in our social life, the need for which is so constantly urged by the Suffragists as a ground for claiming the Parliamentary vote, can be obtained by a proper use of the powers of local government, in which women already possess no inconsiderable share, and which will be largely increased if we are successful in getting our two Bills through Parliament next year.

This contention is strikingly exemplified by the following extract from "The Times" which appeared in its issue of December 4th.

"In this week's agenda of the London County Council is an account of the visit of a deputation to the Home Secretary on November 17th, to place before him the Council's views on the report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded.

"Mr. McKenna stated in reply to the deputation that he had in draft an Inebriates Bill, and also the heads of a Bill for dealing with the feeble-minded, both of which he trusted would become law in the next Session of Parliament. In the last-named Bill, which would be compulsory and not adoptive, provision would be made for the care, after the age of sixteen, of feeble-minded children, and for the care of imbeciles. The Home Office were in agreement with the Council's desire for the establishment of a central authority for the care and control of mentally defective persons of all ages.

"On the question of the treatment of inebriates, he foreshadowed legislation whereby magistrates would be enabled to commit an habitual inebriate to receive reformatory treatment. As regarded the establishment and maintenance of reformatories, he thought that assistance from the Treasury might reasonably be expected.

"The President of the Board of Education (Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P.), who also spoke, referred to the necessity for making compulsory the operation of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, and for educating feeble-minded children in every district. He promised cordial co-operation with the Home Secretary in producing a Bill which they believed would do what could be done by legislation to mitigate the evil."

The Local Authorities (Qualification of Women) (Ireland) Bill, enabling women to become members of county councils in Ireland, which was piloted through the House of Commons by Mr. Hugh Law and through the House of Lords by Lord Mayo, has received the Royal Assent.

The Women's Local Government Society,

FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ESTABLISHED ON A NON-PARTY BASIS.
Founded in 1888, and formally constituted as a Society in 1893.

President—LADY STRACHEY.

OBJECTS.

- (a) To promote the removal of all remaining legal disabilities of women in respect to local government.
- (b) To promote the participation of women in local government, both as administrators and as officials.
- (c) To promote among women the study of their duties as citizens in respect to local government.

Publications, including leaflets on the Local Government Qualification Bill, and other information can be obtained at the

OFFICE: 19, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER. Tel.: 1903 Victoria.

The Irish Local Government Act of 1898 made women eligible as members of district councils in Ireland, but not of county councils. In 1907 the Government introduced a Bill making women eligible as members of county councils in England. A similar privilege was subsequently extended to Scotland, but Ireland was not included, though Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in reply to a question in the House, said the Government would have no objection to the inclusion of Ireland if there was any demand for it.

SINCE our last number appeared, there has been a bye-election for the Birmingham City Council, and Miss Margaret Pugh, one of the ladies who stood at the elections on November 1st, but was not then returned, was elected. She was defeated on November 1st by only 59 votes, and she was elected on the second occasion by a majority of 790.

WOMEN AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The committee of the Ashton-under-Lyne branch of the National British Women's Temperance Association—recognising the opportunity which women's place in local government affords for the promotion of temperance and other great moral causes—has passed a resolution calling upon the Government to bring in a Bill to enable men and women to be candidates for county and borough councils on a residential qualification only, such as suffices for candidature for all other local government bodies.

At a meeting of the Brighton and Hove Women's Local Government Association, held recently at the Royal Pavilion, a resolution calling upon the Government to enable women to sit on county and borough councils was passed. Mrs. Leonard Burrows was in the chair, and the chief speaker was

Mrs. Brownlow. A large number of prominent Brighton residents were on the platform.

The Haslemere and District Women's Local Government Association has passed a similar resolution, in which it points out that a peculiarly irrational and mischievous result of the present law is the exclusion of married women from county and town councils.

The St. Marylebone Women's Local Government Association has passed a resolution urging upon the Government the need for a Government Bill to provide that a residential qualification shall suffice for men and women candidates for county and borough councils.

THE FIRST MARRIED WOMAN
ON A COUNCIL.

With regard to the contests which took place last November it is interesting to note that Mrs. Hume Pinsent, who got in at Birmingham, is the first married woman to be elected to serve on a Municipal Council. This is owing to the decision, in October, 1909, of Mr. Brookes, Revising Barrister for Birmingham, which enabled the Overseers to place duly qualified married women on the Burgess Roll without further question, in virtue of the Qualification of Women Act of 1907. Mr. Brookes held that as none but electors are eligible to County and Town Councils, the enabling Act must have been intended to remove the electoral disability of married women. All Revising Barristers do not, however, take this view.

ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

BRANCHES can obtain advice, information, and pamphlets about Women's Local Government Work by applying to the Secretary of the Local Government Advancement Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., which meets at our offices at Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, once a month.



"HER MOTHER'S VOICE."

HAROLD BIRD.

RHETORIC AND REVOLUTION.

THE following letter, by Mrs. Humphry Ward, appeared in the "Times" of November 27th:—

Sir,—Our omniscient and omnipotent Chancellor of the Exchequer went down to Bath on Friday night resolved once more "to ruin or to rule the State," and discoursed to a large audience of Liberals on Woman Suffrage. One may gather from the reports that a considerable number of those who heard him were not persuaded by him on this particular subject, however much they may have enjoyed the rhetorical display which their favourite performer on the political stage did not fail to give them. As a rhetorical effort, indeed, the speech was not nearly so good as usual; while as an argument, anyone with the rudiments of political training who had given half an hour's thought to the matter could have torn it in pieces.

Given the position of the speaker, however, the speech was a political event; and those men and women among us who, in the best interests of women and the State, are opposed to the concession of the Parliamentary vote to women have got to deal with it. It is worth while, therefore, to examine the arguments a little. Not that the arguments really matter very much. It is perfectly clear from the speech itself that what has driven the Chancellor into this new crusade is nothing but the old party game slightly dressed up. The Conciliation Bill was threatening to pass. A number of anxious Liberals had been at work investigating its probable effect on the electorate. They had discovered in some detail—so it is rumoured—what most of us believed before, that the Bill, if passed, would strengthen the Conservative party. Hence these tears. The Chancellor, with his eye on the next election, and alarmed for the fate of certain measures which he has been rushing on the country, went post haste to Bath to denounce the Conciliation Bill and its authors, and to plunge for the inclusion, not of one million, but of something like eight millions of women in the coming Reform Bill. He makes, indeed, an emotional and pathetic appeal. But the party calculation underlying it is something a good deal more solid, and has very little to do with either the rights or the wrongs of women.

Let us, however, look at the argument. The Chancellor says he wants a franchise which will include the workman's wife, and he wants it because legislation is now touching "the homes of the people." Education, housing, sanitation, provision for old age and sickness, temperance, nursing, the prevention of disease—these subjects are mentioned expressly as subjects on which women ought to be consulted no less than men, and ought to bring "aid and succour" to men. They "have been lifted into the sphere of law"—by which, I suppose, the Chancellor means that a vast mass of legislation already exists upon them. Why, now that they have been lifted into the sphere of law, asked Mr. Lloyd George, should women "cease to be interested in them"?

The answer is, of course, that so far from "ceasing" women in general are only just beginning to be interested in the immense powers they already possess over every single one of the subjects to which the Chancellor

refers. It has taken them forty years to realise that in the municipal vote they possess an instrument of the better life, of incalculable importance. They are now beginning to realise it. It took them nearly as long to obtain not only the vote, but the right to sit as representatives on all the local authorities of the Kingdom. And one important reform still remains before women can obtain their full share of this representation—the substitution of a residential for an occupancy qualification. Mr. Lloyd George could have given it them at any time within the last six years with a wave of his hand. It would have brought hundreds of women on to the local bodies of the country, to deal with housing and education, the care of the sick, and the prevention of disease. The Bill which would have made it law has been long before Parliament, yet, so far as I know, neither Mr. Lloyd George nor any member of the Government to which he belongs has ever lifted a finger to help it. This Bill of one clause would, indeed have brought to men that "aid and succour" of women for which the Chancellor pleads, but it could have done nothing to keep a Liberal Chancellor in power.

Housing? Why, this very speech contains the proof that what the housing problem demands is not fresh law-making, but active and honourable administration. The Chancellor denounces Harrogate for its slums, only to be told by an indignant municipality that what municipal neglect had once permitted municipal energy has now all but completely remedied. Everything is not done in a day. A few bad houses still remain, and Mr. George gives a pathetic description of one of them in order to show what women endure—without the Parliamentary vote. Could anything be more absurd? Why should they endure it—or men either? Both men and women—so far as women are householders—possess the vote which controls the municipality. And it is shown that the municipality in question has already done much to abolish such houses, and has only to go on in the same path to abolish the rest. If Mr. Lloyd George is unaware of the powers over housing which the women voters and councillors of a municipality possess, equally with the men voters and councillors, one may refer him to a special statement drawn up by the Local Government Board and printed as an appendix to the report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration. The law is there. More persons are indeed required to work it. And so far as slums—which are illegal—are concerned, the Parliamentary vote has nothing to do with the matter. Parliament has given ample and delegated power to the municipalities including women, and the leaflets issued by the Women's Local Government Association abundantly show what women may do, have done, and are doing under the existing law towards the provision of better houses in their towns and districts. In this connection to demand a municipal vote not only for women householders—*i.e.*, broadly speaking, for spinsters and widows—but for married women also, might be relevant; there are many of us who would agree with any Minister who might urge it as reasonable. But to ask for the Parliamentary vote for women in order to deal with slums is to burn down the house for the sake of roast pig. There are already grates and fires for the purpose.

Education also? Almost everything that concerns the education of the people is now in the hands of the municipal voter. He and she can return a council of what complexion they please, favourable or unfavourable to denominational schools, lavish or economical in its educational expenditure, Socialist or individualist in its management of school feeding, or recreation, or medical inspection. And when an Education Bill itself is in the offing, the influence of the counties and municipalities which are conducting education throughout the country, already great, is likely to be still greater. The power of a thousand women councillors, freely elected by the men and women voters of the counties and municipalities, in shaping an education settlement would probably be infinitely more effective than that of a minority of Parliamentary women voters swept into the vortex of specifically male and Imperial politics.

It is precisely the same with all the other interests of the home that the Chancellor mentions—sanitation, nursing, preservation of infant life, and the rest. The powers required equally for men and women are all there; or if more are wanted the leverage to get them is there also. Two things stand in the way: that small alteration in the law to which I have referred, and which no Liberal Government has ever stirred itself to pass; and the baneful influence of party on municipal politics. But the change in the law may easily pass next Session; and with regard to the second obstacle, it may well be the special task of the women's municipal movement, pursued with energy and public spirit to lighten the yoke of party on the municipal neck and to promote the greater independence of the two spheres. All reformers desire it; and possibly women, with their "arts of gentleness" and their practical spirit of detail, are destined in the future to render this great service to the nation.

As to the Chancellor's second complaint, that he has been able to find no women to advise him on the Insurance Bill, it can only be received with astonished amusement. As a matter of fact, all sorts and kinds of women have been busy advising him from the moment the Bill got seriously under way till now. A joint committee, consisting of women specially appointed by the National Union of Women Workers and Members of Parliament, has been sitting for months, and the amendments framed by it are now largely incorporated in the Bill. A similar committee of men and women which had its origin in this house pressed various amendments on the Chancellor, the most important of which—one of the most important, indeed, in the history of the Bill—is apparently just about to be added to it on Report. At every stage, indeed, the opinion of women has been at work upon the Bill and the Chancellor. The Women's Liberal Federation have publicly thanked him for the attention he has paid to it; and when he receives the servants' deputation on Tuesday, the concessions he will probably make will only be the last of a long series due to women and women's advice.

With such worthless arguments, implying as they do a real contempt for the intelligence of his audience, has the Chancellor started on his campaign; but let no one underrate the influence of such a temperament on a modern democracy. The fight before us will be the hotter for the intervention of Mr. Lloyd George. All the more rea-

son to call upon those other members of the Cabinet who are conscientiously opposed to woman suffrage to play their part as frankly and openly as Mr. Lloyd George has now chosen to play his. We Unionists who have opposed the Conciliation Bill, although we were convinced that its immediate results would be favourable to Unionism, feel that we have a double right to call upon Mr. Asquith, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Hobhouse to come to our aid in this matter against their own colleague. The matter is far above party, and cuts right across it. It is simply *articulus stantis aut cadentis patriae*. The addition of either eight millions or eleven millions of women voters to the English electorate means an immediate alteration of our place and prestige in Europe, an immediate weakening of our Imperial power, an immediate diminution of security for every man and woman in these islands. Moreover, the whole future of legitimate and slowly developing power that now lies before English women of every class will have been endangered; the "wild women" of these latter days will have become an institution, and English politics will have begun to drop to the window-breaking level.

All this our Welsh Chancellor risks with a light heart. One is reminded of a famous saying of Mommsen:—"The Celts have shaken all States, and founded none."—Yours obediently,

MARY A. WARD.
25, Grosvenor Place, S.W.,
Nov. 26th, 1911.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S RIGHT-ABOUT FACE.

MR. JOHN MASSIE has sent to the "Times," in which it appeared on December 1st, the following damaging reminder of Mr. Lloyd George's tactics:—

"SIR,—On November 21st, 1907, Mr. Lloyd George said, in reply to a deputation of Suffragists at Glasgow:—

Before the Government could bring in a Bill on a gigantic question of that sort, it ought to have been before the country in a definite and concrete form. He could not conceive of a revolution of this character being introduced into our Constitution without the opinion of the country being asked upon it definitely. It could hardly be said that the 400 Members of Parliament pledged to Woman Suffrage had really consulted their constituents about it. . . . It had never really been discussed by the electors in the way that previous extensions of the franchise had been debated, and it would be a very serious departure from all precedent if it were possible to introduce a Bill of that magnitude without giving fair warning to the country that it was intended to deal with the subject.—(The "Times," November 22nd, 1907.)

The primary condition that Mr. Lloyd George at that time formulated has not yet been satisfied. It is true that the country has been treated to much more talk on the subject but the question has never been before the constituencies as a direct issue. The General Elections of January and December, 1910, were held on another issue altogether. In the election of January, 1906

(the year before Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Glasgow quoted above), only about 61 of the elected members had mentioned woman suffrage in their addresses. In the election of December, 1910 (as far as I am able accurately to ascertain), those elected members who mentioned woman suffrage in their addresses came to about the same number. Very few members, therefore, of the present House of Commons have definitely 'consulted their constituents' in the matter of entrusting to women the power of Imperial government. The Parliamentary situation accordingly has not changed in this indispensable aspect of the business.

"But Mr. Lloyd George has changed; he has turned right-about-face. He is now handing himself over, without hesitation or reservation, to the task of 'introducing into our Constitution a revolution without the opinion of the country being asked upon it definitely.' One of his spokesmen in the Press wrote as follows on November 18th last:—

I am authorised by Mr. Lloyd George to state, in the most explicit terms, that he places his services at the disposal of the great and growing suffrage party. "You may certainly say from me," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that if it be thought best, I will move the amendment. I am ready to do so, and to advocate it, inside the House and outside the House, by speech and influence."

"And in his 'message' to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies he writes:—'I am willing to do all in my power to help those who are labouring to reach a successful issue in the coming Session.'

"So Mr. Lloyd George, after solemnly protesting against the 'revolution,' is sedulously promoting it. What excuse has he to offer? Certainly not the *ad captandum* arguments of his recent speech at Bath. Sober and reflecting men are not likely to look twice at such clap-trap as that 'you do not know that you cannot make good soldiers out of women because you have never tried,' or that the vote will transform our wives and daughters from 'slaves' into 'comrades.' Such appeals to the superficial understanding are unworthy of a political orator who is well aware that he can influence by his mere words thousands of sentimental people. Meanwhile the thoughtful people whose insight and discretion qualify them to select their political leader will look for greater steadiness and more consistency in the man of their choice.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN MASSIE.
"Old Headington, Oxford, Nov. 30."

GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

SECOND ANNUAL BALL.

THE second annual ball of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League was given at the Grafton Galleries on November 29th. Nearly three hundred were present, amongst others Lord and Lady Charnwood, Sir Alexander Lawrence, Mrs. George Macmillan, Mrs. Hird Morgan, Lady Florence Pery, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Miss Elsie Hird Morgan. The Galleries were charmingly decorated in the Anti-Suffrage colours, rose, black, and white, and with flowers, while some of the

dancers wore gowns in some way reproducing these pretty shades. The proceedings were thoroughly enjoyable and the ball a success in every way.

A CONVERT'S PATTERN.

I CAN feel my wrath uprising in a way there's no disguising
As I realise how women groan beneath a grievous yoke;
When I see in history's pages how, through all the bygone ages,
Man's principal desire has been to stunt his women folk.

Woman worker, woman poet—oh, how sad it is to know it!—
She still is cribbed and cabined as in centuries remote;
Sappho might have sung far better, but the Lesbians wouldn't let her,
For they checked her inspiration by refusing her the vote.

And in other fields of action I can find no satisfaction—
Ah! if only Charlotte Brontë could have been a feminist!
Mrs. Fry as agitator had undoubtedly been greater,
But we lost a woman voter in the mere philanthropist.

So, too, it was with others, they were only wives and mothers;
Good citizens and women, but I think them weak and blind,
For they felt no degradation in accepting such a station.
And they held the worn-out fallacy that Nature knew her mind.

We avoid that poor delusion and have come to the conclusion
That 'twas long ago in Eden the injustice first began;
For if we argue truly Eve was handicapped unduly
By being made a woman whilst her consort was a man.

But though man may be the stronger we will yield to him no longer,
And a little thing like Nature shall not harass us nor vex;
They'll believe us when we mention that it's only a convention
That led mankind to recognise the difference of sex.

Our female arts and graces will adorn the foremost places,
But a man may still be Speaker, for he's not allowed to talk;
As to things ecclesiastic we will make the Church elastic,
And our minimum demand is the Archbishopric of York.

Men will hardly dare reject us and if once they should elect us,
Every aunt shall be an uncle, and a nephew every niece;
Sex differentiation then shall cease throughout the nation,
When we pass an act transforming into ganders all the geese.

WHAT IS THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT?

By MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN.

MORE than one reader of "The Woman's Platform" in the "Standard" must wonder at the character of the activities which, if these pages are a criterion, go to make up "The Woman's Movement." The right to legislate, the right to fight, equality of citizenship—are these really the goals towards which twentieth century women are pressing? Let me lift a bit of the curtain which too often obscures those real workers in the cause of progress, who have little time for platform oratory. In the mind of every right-thinking, serious woman, Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist, motherhood is the central fact of woman's existence, her first and most important function in the State. This will, perhaps, be denied by some of the modern apostles of feminine self-development, but it is too clear a physiological fact to need much argument. How is that function being performed? The statistics of infant mortality are an incontrovertible reply, but even they are not all the evidence available. Every now and then some eminent doctor gives us a glimpse of motherhood in a sphere above that chiefly affected by infant mortality, in an urgent appeal to well-to-do mothers not to shrink those maternal duties on which their children's health in after life may depend. Now, to my mind, the only "movement" worthy of the name of "Woman's" (with a capital W) is that for the uplift of motherhood, for the increase of knowledge, and a sense of responsibility on the greatest problem of our sex. We speak with horror of the infanticide of Eastern countries. Thousands of British mothers, every year, ignorantly poison, maim or mutilate their children. The baby whose food is described as 'a bit of whatever we 'as ourselves,' the ophthalmic child, the ricketty child—these, and worse, are mute witnesses to parental ignorance.

Many associations have been started for helping the poor mother. Three generations of the writer's family, in a small provincial town, have worked on an "Infant's Aid" Society which lent maternity outfits and visited the mothers. The modern municipal health societies seem to form the best starting point for such associations, especially if they can be worked with the thoroughness found in one northern town, where the registration of births is followed by a call from trained health visitors, and such cases as need it are watched and helped, rewards being given for babies who survive the critical first months of their lives. This "woman's movement," be it noted, owed its initiation to a man, but it is essentially feminine work. The most scientific and promising developments are, to my mind, found in the schools for mothers, of which five now exist, in St. Pancras, Stepney, Fulham, North Kensington, and Paddington. The Paddington school may be taken as typical. It grew out of the work of the Health Society, which had already established two consultation centres. The attendance of mothers proved their need and appreciation, and a house, 232, Harrow-road, was taken and fitted for use. There is a consultation every Thursday, to which any mother may come for advice, and besides there are visitors for the homes. The fully developed scheme provides classes for home hygiene, needlework, infant and domestic

management, maternity and provident clubs, to which women are encouraged to subscribe, and dinners for working mothers. Needless to say, it is endeavoured to work with all eleemosynary institutions in the neighbourhood to obviate overlapping. Prevention is better than cure. Medical evidence is that a large majority of infants, even in the poorest districts, are born healthy, and were it not for mistakes in treatment and feeding they would grow up healthy, and spare us not only the stigma of that slaughter of the innocents, but the heavy burden of the physically unfit or half-fit in after life. No one reading the published report of a school for mothers (to be obtained usually through the local Health Society) can doubt the urgency as well as the profound significance of their work. But there are only five in all London, and they are far from wealthy! Where are our women reformers?

THE STATE AND FEMININE ACTIVITIES.

MR. GEORGE CALDERON is already known to Anti-Suffragists by his pamphlet, "Women in Relation to the State," and he has now published another, "The Organisation of Buying."

At the outset, he draws a distinction between two main categories of a nation's commercial activities, the first consisting of those directed to its bare existence, its position in the world's markets, and its defence, activities represented by its army and navy, its shipping, its trade and industries, and finance. These he calls the masculine activities, classifying as feminine those directed to its health and comfort, as rearing and tending children, teaching, and equalisation of the distribution of wealth. Passing on to combat the fallacy that because women are equally interested with men in the successful conduct of affairs in both categories, they should therefore have the vote, he says that "the thing which differentiates an Act of Parliament from a set of regulations drawn up by an unofficial body is that Parliament attaches a tax-paid compulsion of policemen, courts, and gaols, to exact uniformity. And it is, more than anything, because that particular sanction is ill-adapted to the solution of questions classed in the feminine category that those questions ought to be reclaimed from the control of Parliament. The worst reason that you can give a man for doing a thing is that he will be punished for not doing it. . . . It is an argument for dogs; but it is the best that Parliament can do." He is sure that this "coarse weapon" of physical compulsion should not be used by women. If they want to enter public life on the same terms as men, namely, by the organisation of their own powers, not by capturing the control of other people's powers.

Women's organisable powers he finds chiefly, for State purposes, in the fact that they are pre-eminently the buyers.

"Women, who produce about one-thousandth of the marketable wealth of the country, consume a good deal more than half of it." Mr. Calderon suggests, therefore, the formation of a National Consumers' League. Such leagues exist already in the United States, and in France, Germany, and Switzerland. They held an International Conference at Geneva in 1898. In order to regulate conditions of work, to abolish adulteration, and secure attention to such matters as overtime, holidays, sanitation, wages, etc., and to control seasonal buying, so as to avoid the alternation of over-work and unemployment, White Lists of employers are drawn up, and a registered label issued for affixing to goods. The necessary basis for these recommendations is obtained from a staff of inspectors.

LADY HAVERSHAM'S "AT HOME."

OUR members responded in considerable numbers to Lady Haversham's invitation to the "At Home," hospitably arranged by her at her residence at 9, Grosvenor Square.

Lord Haversham presided, and amongst those present were Princess Dolgorouki, the Countess of Cromer, the Countess of Coventry, Lord and Lady Weardale, Ellen Lady Desart, the Dowager Countess of Mayo, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Bradbourne, Lady Swansea, Lady Lubbock, Lady Simon, and Lady Edward Cavendish.

Lord Weardale moved the resolution that

"This meeting desires to enter an emphatic protest against the novel proposal of including women as Parliamentary voters in the electoral lists for the Imperial Parliament, and pledges itself to use every legitimate means of opposing such a measure, which has never been submitted either to those principally concerned or to the country."

Lord Weardale said there was a demand no longer for a limited number of votes, but for millions—seven millions—to be added to the electoral register. In all conscience was it right that so momentous a change as that should be carried out without much more investigation as to its effects than had hitherto been obtained? The vast majority of the women had voted against the extension of the franchise to themselves. It was in face of these incontrovertible facts that they now found themselves. He was a Liberal, and the fundamental basis of his Liberalism was the will of the majority of the people. The main principle of democratic Government was that the majority should rule. In the last few weeks the momentous pronouncement had been made that the Government would introduce in the course of next year a new Reform Bill, which was largely to extend the franchise to men. Simultaneously with that pronouncement, the head of the Government said: "I am very strongly opposed to the inclusion of women, but I am going to leave it to other people to settle—leave it to the chances of the voting in the House of Commons." At the same time, a colleague of the Prime Minister said: "I am going to move the Government amendment in favour of women." Surely in the whole history of Great Britain there was no

precedent for such extraordinary conduct on the part of Ministers of the country.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun in seconding the resolution spoke with her accustomed clearness.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

It is quite impossible to give a full account of the numerous meetings held since our December issue, and as we are going to press very early in view of the Christmas holidays, accounts of meetings and some interesting contributions not appearing in this issue are being unavoidably held over till next month.

Branch Secretaries and Workers Committee.—The next meeting of the Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate-gardens, S.W., on Wednesday, January 17th, at 11.30 a.m. It is hoped that all Branch Secretaries of the League, who are able to do so, will try and attend these meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornon-street, Kensington, W.

Berkhamsted.—A crowded public meeting was held on December 13th at the Town Hall. Mr. J. A. Ram, K.C., who has just become President of this branch, took the chair, and opened with a short speech. Mrs. Humphry Ward's speech was mainly devoted to showing that the amelioration of the position of women that had caused John Stuart Mill to so strongly advocate the cause of Woman Suffrage, had been obtained without the vote and was still continuing.

Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., dealt with the subject chiefly from the physical force point of view. The following resolution was put to the meeting and carried: "That this meeting of residents in Berkhamstead and district declares its strong opposition to all proposals for conferring the Parliamentary vote on women, and condemns the attempt to carry Woman's Suffrage behind the backs of the electors, and heartily supports the proposal to submit this question to the judgment of the people."

Bradford.—Sir William Priestley, M.P., took the chair at a meeting arranged by the Bradford Branch on November 23rd, at the Mechanics' Institute, and Mr. A. Maconachie and Mrs. H. Norris also spoke at some length. The proceedings were considerably disturbed by a number of Suffragists who constantly interrupted the speakers with meaningless ejaculations.

Brighton and Hove.—We regret that space forbids our reproducing the striking speeches made by Mrs. Humphry Ward and Lord George Hamilton at a successful meeting at the Royal Pavilion on November 24th; Sir Theodore Angier was in the chair, Lord George Hamilton dealt forcibly with the probable outcome of granting the suffrage to an electorate with a majority of women in it, and Mrs. Humphry Ward spoke earnestly of the critical phase which the controversy had now reached. She appealed warmly to the sound sense of her audience, and declared

that "if Woman Suffrage passed into law, the first step in the decline of England would be taken."

Bristol.—Mrs. Rose presided at the annual meeting of the Bristol Branch, held on November 22nd, at the Queen's Hotel Hall, Clifton.

Miss Long Fox (Hon. Secretary) presented the annual report, which was an account of much strenuous and effective work. There are now over 2,000 members of the branch. Thanks were accorded to many individual officials and members who have lent rooms for meetings, and in many other ways helped the branch. The Committee regrets the departure of Mrs. Macdonald, an active worker, for Scotland.

Mrs. A. A. Robinson (Treasurer) read the Financial Report, and Mrs. Robeson, Mr. A. J. Baker, and Miss Price, also spoke.

Miss Gladys Pott then delivered an able and interesting speech in moving the Anti-Suffrage resolution.

A very well attended inaugural meeting of the Thornbury Branch was held at the Coss-ham Hall, Thornbury, on December 11th, at 8 o'clock. Miss Chester Master, the President, took the chair and introduced the speaker, Miss Stuart, of London, who spoke in support of the following resolution:—

"That this meeting pledges itself to resist the approach of Woman Suffrage, believing it to be detrimental to the well-being of the individual and dangerous to the stability of the Empire."

This was seconded and put to the meeting who unanimously voted for it.

WEST LIBERAL WARD DEBATES.—The fourth of this series took place on December 14th. Miss Price spoke very well, Miss Tanner, Hon. Secretary of the N.W. Suffrage Societies, representing the other side.

Chiswick.—On December 11th a debate was held in the Chiswick Town Hall between Mrs. Harold Norris and Miss K. D. Courtney, Hon. Secretary N.U.S.S.; Mr. Holford Knight in the chair.

Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun had promised to represent the League on this occasion, but was unfortunately prevented by illness from doing so. Her place was ably filled by our President, who had only just returned from her Scottish campaign. There was a full and enthusiastic attendance, and the resolution: "That the granting of the franchise to women cannot be considered as being in the best interests of the State or of women themselves," was carried by a large majority.

Mrs. Norris scored several times by quoting Suffragist speakers and associations in proof of her own arguments.

Chiswick may well congratulate itself upon this debate as its most successful meeting since the League started a branch in this neighbourhood.

Dorking.—A public meeting was held on the evening of December 8th under the presidency of Sir Frederick Mirrieles, K.C.M.G. There was a large attendance of members and associates. After a short concert, in which Mrs. Carey Druce, Mrs. Cowie, Miss Loughborough, Miss Harrison, and Dr. Maw, took part, a most interesting and well-reasoned address was given by Miss Gladys Pott, who concluded by proposing the Anti-Suffrage resolution. This was seconded by Mr. Stanley Gordon-Clark, and after questions had been invited and answered, the re-

solution was carried by a large majority, only four hands being held up against it. The evening concluded with a clever rendering of a short play, entitled "Women's Wrongs."

Dublin.—Two meetings have been held during December, at Dublin, by the Irish Branch.

At the Mansion House, on December 6th, Mr. Albert Murray was the Chairman, and the Hon. Cecil Atkinson, Mr. F. Fox, and Mrs. F. Pim, spoke. Questions were asked and answered.

A drawing-room meeting took place on the afternoon of the same day at Melfort, Shrewsbury-road, Miss E. Stronge presiding over a good attendance. Mr. F. Fox, Mrs. Starkie, Mrs. Munay, Mrs. Pollock, and Mr. Alten, all spoke.

Dulwich.—The Dulwich Branch held a meeting at St. Clement's Parish Room, Barry-road, on November 27th, to hear addresses from Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. J. H. Morrison Kirkwood, M.P. The meeting was largely attended, and many of the opposition were present.

The Rev. H. E. Jennings was in the chair, and the speakers dealt very adroitly with the interruptions that were caused by Suffragists present, and many questions were answered.

Ealing and Brentford.—The meetings lately held at Ealing and Brentford were decidedly successful. The one which took place on November 20th, at the Drill Hall, Ealing, was very well attended. Mr. H. B. Samuels and Miss Mabel Smith were the speakers. Mr. L. Prendergast Walsh was in the chair and made a brief speech.

At the meeting at Brentford Mrs. Colquhoun spoke eloquently and to the point. Dr. Douglas Cowburn and Mr. Samuel Rowe also spoke.

At the meeting at the Drill Hall on December 8th Miss Mabel Smith again spoke.

Eastbourne.—A very interesting debate took place on the 6th December between Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Miss Corbett. A large number of people were present by invitation of Mrs. Rowland Hunt at whose residence the debate was held. Each speaker was allowed twenty minutes, and then questions were invited from both sides. Miss Corbett could not convincingly answer the question as to where the line was now to be drawn in the granting of the franchise to women. Mrs. Colquhoun dealt in a masterly way with the question of why this subject of Woman's Suffrage is the suitable one for the Referendum.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mrs. Rowland Hunt for taking the chair and for her hospitality.

Folkestone.—Colonel Sir Francis Barker presided over an excellent meeting in Folkestone Town Hall, on December 6th. Mrs. Arthur Somervell and Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel were the speakers, and there were many influential local residents on the platform.

Mrs. Arthur Somervell, who, to our regret, has been prevented by ill-health from speaking for us recently, delivered a brilliant address, and Mr. Wenyon Samuel severely criticised the tactics of the Suffragists.

Fulham and Chelsea.—The combined Branches of Fulham and Chelsea held a very

successful and well-attended meeting in the large Town Hall, Fulham, on December 5th. Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey (Editor of the "Spectator") was in the chair, and Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. A. MacCullum Scott, M.P. for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow, had a most attentive hearing to their eloquent and interesting speeches. Questions in writing were then invited and a large number were handed up, but on account of the lateness of the hour the Chairman found it impossible to allow more than a few to be answered. The resolution was carried by a considerable majority. "This meeting asks the Member of Parliament of this constituency to oppose votes for women until the definite opinion of the country has been taken."

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers was moved by Miss Stuart and seconded by Mr. R. J. Harrison.

Hampstead.—Mrs. Metzler, Mrs. Talbot Kelly, and Mrs. Blomfield gave an "At Home" to the members of the Hampstead Branch and their friends, on November 27th, at 27, Marlborough Hill (by kind permission of Miss Squire). The speakers were Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. Calderon, and the Misses Conway and Miss Finch added greatly to the success of the afternoon by recitations and songs.

Highbury.—Sir Edward Clarke was in the chair at a meeting at Highbury, held on December 1st, and delivered a significant address. Sir Edward said that what was wanted was an intelligent and educated electorate, trained as far as possible to politics. He was convinced that it would materially lower the intellectual standard of the electorate if the franchise were extended to a large number of women. If it were possible to give the vote only to educated women with property, there might be something in the movement. But that was impossible, and that was why the question had been narrowed down to the issue whether or not women should have the vote on the same terms as men.

Mr. L. J. Maxse moved a resolution "that the granting of the franchise to women is contrary to the interests of the British Empire." He said that they were invited by the Suffragists to take a leap in the dark in this matter. Though he had addressed a large number of meetings during the last two General Elections he never heard references in speeches to Woman's Suffrage, and only twice were questions asked about it. Mr. Maxse dealt at length with the militant tactics of a section of the Suffragists. The resolution was seconded by Miss Gladys Pott in a characteristically convincing speech.

Isle of Wight.—On November 20th, at a meeting held at one of the large shops in Ryde, a resolution, asking Mr. Douglas Hall, M.P., not to support Woman's Suffrage until it has been put before the country at a General Election, was passed unanimously, and thirty of the employees joined the League.

In the afternoon of the same day a very successful drawing-room meeting was held by kind permission of Mrs. Perrott (Hon. Secretary of the Isle of Wight Branch) at "Cluntych," Ryde.

On November 21st two "workshop" meetings were held. At both our resolution was



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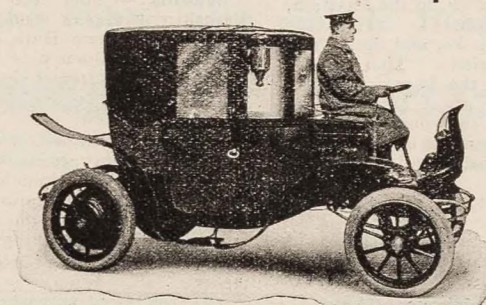
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passed unanimously, and at one everyone present joined the League. At these three meetings Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the speaker.

In the evening of the same day, Mrs. Solomon addressed a debating society for men in connection with All Saints' Church. A very enthusiastic debate followed her speech, and the resolution was passed with only one dissident. One man, when called upon, said he had come to speak in favour of Woman Suffrage, but was now an "Anti."

On November 22nd, a meeting was held in the Institute at Wootton, Mrs. Bennet Brigstock acting as hostess. The chair was taken by Major Brodie. Our resolution was carried unanimously.

On November 23rd, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed a large mothers' meeting at Binsted, and most of the "mothers" joined the League.

On November 24th, a crowded public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Ryde. Colonel Hamilton took the chair and the speakers were Mrs. Gladstone Solomon, Mr. A. Maconachie, and Mr. Councillor Hayden. The meeting was so full that people were turned away and a great many were obliged to stand. After listening very attentively and asking as many questions as they wished, the audience voted by a large majority against Woman Suffrage.

A great number of "protest postcards" are reaching Mr. Douglas Hall from his constituents in the Isle of Wight.

Keswick.—Two meetings have been held by this branch during November at Threlkeld, on the 24th, and at Keswick, in the Pavilion, on the 25th of this month.

At both Mrs. Norris spoke, and the following resolution was carried: "That in the opinion of this meeting the Imperial Parliament should refuse to grant any form of Woman's Suffrage until the country has had an opportunity of pronouncing upon the measure, either at a General Election or by a Referendum."

Mr. A. Spedding took the chair at Threlkeld and Mr. Dykes at Keswick.

These were probably the most successful meetings ever held in this district.

Paddington and Marylebone.—The amalgamation of the East and West Marylebone Branches was announced.

A successful meeting was held on November 13th, at the Portman Rooms, and reported in last month's issue. We omitted to mention in the notice that the meeting was arranged by the United Paddington and Marylebone Branches.

Mrs. Arthur Page very kindly lent her drawing-room, on November 30th, when Miss Gladys Pott gave one of her interesting lectures to an appreciative audience, and on December 12th, a meeting was held at 67, Westbourne Terrace, at 4.30 o'clock, by the kind invitation of Sir Bartle and Miss Frere, when Miss Pott spoke to a crowded room. Lady Beachcroft proposed the vote of thanks to the speaker, and Mrs. Ross to Sir Bartle and Miss Frere.

Penrith.—A very successful café chantant, under the auspices of the Penrith Branch has been held in St. Andrew's Parish Rooms, Penrith. The proceedings began with tea, the arrangements having been made by Miss Joan Howard, Greystoke Castle, the Local

Secretary. Lady Mabel Howard presided, ladies composing the majority of the company. A violin solo was contributed by Signorina M. Gretzlof, and a song, "Spring," by the Hon. Blanche Stanley. The charming little play, "Between the Soup and the Savoury," was admirably performed by the Hon. Blanche Stanley, Miss Cross, and Miss Askew.

During an interval an interesting address was given by Mrs. Harold Norris, London.

Pinner.—Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C., were the speakers at a meeting arranged by the Pinner Branch, held in the Cocoa Tree Hall, on December 15th. The chair was taken by Mr. Ernest E. Williams, and the deepest interest was shown in the interesting speeches by a large audience. It is owing to pressure on time and space that we are unable to give the speeches of Mrs. H. Ward and Mr. Mitchell Innes.

On December 5th, a very successful meeting was held, by kind permission of Mrs. Jimson, at Pinner, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon speaking, and a resolution against Woman Suffrage being passed unanimously.

On December 8th, Mrs. Gardner Williams, on behalf of the N.L.O.W.S., gave a most successful fancy-dress ball for children. Besides giving much pleasure to the little folk, the Anti-Suffrage League was brought under the personal notice of a good many people who had not yet realised its existence—and many were enrolled as members.

Reading.—Under the auspices of the Berkshire Branches a meeting was held in the Reading Town Hall, on December 13th, under the presidency of Mr. John Massie, the Hon. Treasurer of the League, who was influentially supported, and delivered a most interesting speech.

Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C., moved a resolution protesting against the passing of any measure for the enfranchisement of women until a measure was approved by the majority of the electors of the country.

Miss Gladys Pott, in seconding, dealt logically with some plausible Suffrage arguments.

The resolution was well carried.

Reigate and Redhill.—A very successful social evening took place at the Market Hall, Redhill, on November 20th, and was arranged by the Reigate, Redhill and District Branch. The chair was taken by Mr. A. F. Mott, the Hon. Treasurer of the branch, and the speakers included Mrs. Norris and Mr. Maconachie. The attendance was a large one, and included the Mayoress (Mrs. F. E. Lemon), who was largely responsible for the successful arrangements of the gathering.

Sheffield.—Much active work has been done in the Sheffield district during December. A public meeting was held on December 4th in the Hillsborough district, Mr. H. H. Bedford, the late Master Cutler, being in the chair, and the speakers being Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. F. E. Templer. The resolution, which they put to the meeting after their speeches, was carried with only seven dissentients out of an audience of 200, and seven new members were enrolled. The second meeting was held on December 5th, at Ranmoor, when, with an

audience of 150, there were again only seven dissentients. Mr. Edward Bramley was in the chair, the husband of our indefatigable Local Secretary, and the speakers were Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. F. E. Templer. There were many questions, which were all answered to the general satisfaction. Twenty-three new members joined here.

The third meeting was on the 7th, and held at Pittsmoor, with a very fair attendance, a goodly number being voters. Mr. Best occupied the chair, and Mr. John Massie, the Hon. Treasurer of our League, was the principal speaker. Only one questioner rose, and she was admirably dealt with by Mr. Massie. Again only seven voted against the resolution, and it is remarkable that the seven were different people at each meeting which was in a different district each night. A mass meeting is to be held early in the New Year.

Southampton.—There was a large gathering on November 22nd, at the Victoria Rooms, Southampton. Major Dixon presided, and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun delivered a characteristically interesting speech, and answered a number of questions which were put to her. Votes of thanks were proposed and seconded by Mrs. Cotton and Mrs. Barnaby.

Streatham.—An interesting debate took place in the Streatham Town Hall on December 11th, arranged by the Ladies' Conservative and Unionist Association.

The chair was taken by Miss Aldrich-Blake, M.D., M.S., who introduced the Suffrage speaker, Mrs. Corbett Ashley.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon then well and ably answered all Mrs. Ashley's arguments.

After written questions had been sent up and dealt with in the ablest manner, the Suffrage resolution was put to the vote and defeated by a large majority.

Walthamstow.—On December 4th Mrs. Gladstone Solomon took a debate before the Ladies' Liberal Association at Walthamstow. The Association was already pledged to Women Suffrage, but our side obtained a good deal of support.

Wigton (Cumberland).—The Rev. Norman Salusbury, Vicar of Wigton, presided over a meeting in the Wigton Parish Rooms on November 27th. Mrs. Harold Norris spoke ably in face of some opposition from a number of Suffragists who were present. A number of questions were put by the audience and satisfactorily answered.

Worcester.—The Worcester Branch held their annual meeting at the Trinity Hall, on November 17th. The Countess of Coventry presided over a very large attendance, and the reports of Secretary and Treasurer showed a satisfactory state of affairs in the Branch.

Mrs. E. Maggs gave an address, and the Countess of Coventry moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Meeting at the Queen's Hall and the Conference at the Caxton Hall, announced in last month's Review, as to take place on January 22nd, has been postponed.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE.

At a meeting of the Council of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, held in the rooms of the Central Office of the League at 10, Queensferry-street, Edinburgh, a report of the work of the League was read and adopted, and after the transaction of other business, the following telegram was dispatched: "To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith.—The Council of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, meeting in Edinburgh today, desires to draw your attention to the fact that out of 66,955 women municipal voters canvassed by post-card, over 19,000 women were against Woman Suffrage, 10,740 in favour, 1,935 neutral, and 34,261 did not reply. In view of these facts we urge that a referendum of electors be taken before women are included in any Franchise Bill." A similar telegram was forwarded to the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, the hope being expressed that he would use his influence to have a referendum of electors taken before women are included in the Bill.

Dundee.—Lord Provost Urquhart presided over a very large gathering in the Masonic Temple, on December 6th, in connection with the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League. Mr. H. B. Samuels and Mrs. Harold Norris were the speakers.

A meeting in connection with the Scottish National League was held in the Kingston Halls, Glasgow; Mr. D. B. Kyles presiding. Mr. H. B. Samuels delivered the address, and answered a number of questions.

Kirkcaldy.—A most interesting debate took place at Kirkcaldy, in the Beveridge Hall, on December 5th, between Mrs. Harold Norris and Lady Frances Balfour. The arguments of both speakers were excellent, and Mrs. H. Norris was received enthusiastically. Lady Helen Ferguson was in the chair, and though a Suffragist, her attitude was one of absolute impartiality, and her courteous speech from the chair was loudly applauded from both sides.

NOTE.—The latest date for receiving reports of meetings, &c., to be included in Branch News is the 20th of each month. Anything reaching the Sub-Editor after that date cannot appear in the ensuing number. It is particularly requested, however, that all Branch News may be sent in as early as possible before the 20th, addressed to the Sub-Editor.—ED.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss Cameron, 87, Amesbury Avenue, Streatham Hill, S.W.

UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY—
President: The Hon. Lady Montgomery Moore.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tipple.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent Road, South Norwood.

WESTMINSTER—
President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury.
Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

EALING—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirkconnel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common.
Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing.

All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the next four months.

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

EALING SOUTH—Mrs. Ball.
All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan as above.

CHISWICK—
Chairman: Mrs. Norris.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Greatbatch.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury.

HAMPTON AND DISTRICT—
Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court.

HARROW.

President: Sir J. D. Rees.
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Worthington, Kingsleigh, Peterborough Road, Harrow.

PINNER—
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gardner Williams, Invengarry Pinner; Miss K. Parkhouse, Mayfield, Harrow Road.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

NEWPORT—
President: Mrs. Bircham of Chepstow.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothero, Malpas Court.

NORFOLK.

NORFOLK COUNTY BRANCH—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Carr, Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

WELLINGBOROUGH—
President:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Heygate, The Elms, Wellingboro'.

OUNDE—
President: The Hon. Mrs. Fergusson, Polebrook Hall, Oundle.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Newman.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

NEWCASTLE AND TYNESIDE—
President: Miss Noble, Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq.
Secretary: Miss Harris, 9, Ridley Place, New castle.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS—
President: Countess Manvers.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. A. Hill.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bumbly, 116, Gregory Boulevard.

OXFORDSHIRE.

GORING—
Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Evans, Ropley, Goring-on-Thames.

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

Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickins.

SHROPSHIRE.

SHROPSHIRE COUNTY—
President: The Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Fielden.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. C. Buss, Cardington Vicarage, Church Stretton, Salop.

CHURCH STRETTON—
President: Mrs. Gordon Duff.
Hon. Treasurer: Dr. McClintock.
Hon. Secretary: Miss R. Hanbury Sparrow, Hillside.

LUDLOW—
President: Hon. G. Windsor Clive.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:

OSWESTRY—
President: Horace Lovett, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer, Miss Kenyon.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Corbett, Ashlands, Oswestry.

SHREWSBURY—
President: Miss Ursula Bridgeman.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Parson Smith, Abbotsmead, Shrewsbury.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

BATH—
President: The Countess of Charlemont.
Vice-President and Treasurer: Mrs. Dominic Watson.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Codrington, 14, Grosvenor, Bath.

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

TAUNTON—
President: The Hon. Mrs. Portman.
Vice-President: Mrs. Lance.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square, Taunton.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE—
President: Mrs. Portsmouth Fry.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss W. Evans.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. M. S. Parker, Welford House, Weston-super-Mare.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

President: Mrs. Sleigh.
Hon. Sec.: Miss Wardle, Leekbrook, Leek.

SUFFOLK.

FELIXSTOWE—
President: Miss Rowley.
Vice-President: Miss Jervis White Jervis.
Chairman: Mrs. Jutson.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Haward, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe.

SOUTHWOLD.

Hon. Secretary:
WOODBRIDGE—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Ogilvie.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate, Woodbridge.

SURREY.

CAMBERLEY, FRIMLEY, AND MYTCHELL—
President: Mrs. Charles Johnstone, Graftney, Camberley.
Vice-President: Miss Harris.
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athallan Grange, Frimley, Surrey.

CROYDON.

President:
Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jefferis.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry, 39, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

DORKING.

President: Mrs. Barclay.
Treasurer: Major Hicks, The Nook, Dorking.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Loughborough, Bryn Derwen, Dorking; A. Percival Keep, Esq., The Hut, Holmwood.

EPSOM DIVISION.

President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Buller.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sydney Jackson, Danehurst, Epsom.

BANSTEAD.

President:
Banstead—
Tadworth—
Walton-on-the-Hill—
Headley—
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Page, Tadworth.

COBHAM.

President: Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet.
Cobham—
Hon. Secretary:

OXSHOTT.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott.
Walton-on-Thames and Hersham:
Hon. Secretary:
Stoke d'Abernon—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Nelson, Stoke d'Abernon.

ESHER.

Esher—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hervey, Hedgerley, Esher.

LONG DITTON.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Agar, 9, St. Philip's Road, Surbiton.

THAMES DITTON.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Sandys, Weston Green, Thames Ditton.
East and West Molesey—
Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Garland, "Farrs," East Molesey.

EWELL.

President: Miss Auriol Barker.
Ewell—
Hon. Secretary:
Cheam—
Hon. Secretary: Miss West, Cheam.

WORCESTER PARK.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park.

LEATHERHEAD.

President: C. F. Gordon Clark, Esq.
Leatherhead—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cunliffe, Tyrels, Leatherhead.

FETCHAM.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. C. F. Gordon Clark, Fetcham Park, Leatherhead.

BOOKHAM.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pick, The Nook, Great Bookham.

SUTTON.

Hon. Treasurer: Col. E. M. Lloyd, Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Prance, "Abadare," Cedar Road, Sutton.

GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT.

President: Miss S. H. Onslow.
Vice-President: Lady Martindale.

Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Anderson, Roslin, Jenner Road, Guildford.

KEW—
Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Road, Kew.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES—
Hon. Treasurer: James Stickland, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cooke, Tankerville, Kingston Hill.

MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN—
President: Mrs. Kelsall.
Hon. Treasurer: George W. Moir, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Franklin, Westhay, East Sheen; John D. Batten, Esq., The Halsteads, East Sheen.

PURLEY AND SANDERSTEAD—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Atterbury.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sadgrove, "Clonard," Foxley Lane, Purley.

REIGATE AND REDHILL—
Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.
Reigate—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate.

Redhill—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.

RICHMOND—
President: Miss Trevor.
Hon. Treasurer: Herbert Gittens, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Willoughby Dumergne, 5, Mount Ararat Road, Richmond.

SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE—
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottermill, Haslemere.

SURBITON—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dent, Chesnut Lodge, Adelaide Road, Surbiton.

WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT—
President: Mrs. Charles Churchill.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gore-Browne.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Weybridge; Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.

WIMBLEDON—
President:
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:

WOKING—
President: Susan Countess of Wharnclyffe.
Vice-Presidents: Lady Arundel, H. G. Craven, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Quex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.
Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 25c, Albert Road, Brighton.

CROWBOROUGH—
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Conan Doyle.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crowborough.

EASTBOURNE—
President: Mrs. Campbell.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary, *pro tem.*: Mrs. Campbell, St. Brannocks, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.

EAST GRINSTEAD—
President: Lady Musgrave.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Stewart.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Woodland, Turley Cottage, East Grinstead.

FOREST ROW—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. de Rougemont, Pickridge, Forest Row

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—
President: Lady Webster.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Pinckney.
Hon. Treasurer: Stephen Spicer, Esq.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Madame Wolfen, 6, Warrior Square Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Walter Breeds, Esq., Telham Hill, Battle.

Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—
Local Hon. Secretary: Miss Madeleine Rigg, East Lodge, Dorset Road.

MIDHURST—
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Vigers.
Hon. Secretary: Miss L. D. Fenn, Dodsley Gate, Midhurst.

LEWES—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.
Hon. Secretary: Lady Shiffner, Bevern Bridge House, Cooksbridge.

WEST SUSSEX—
President: The Lady Edmund Talbot.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Travers, Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Rhoda Butt, Wilbury, Littlehampton.

WARWICKSHIRE.

BIRMINGHAM—
President: The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.
Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.

Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; W. G. W. Hastings, Esq.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row, Birmingham.

Handsworth (Sub-Branch)—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. C. A. Palmer, Park Hill, Handsworth.
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Berners Lee, The Pool House, Great Barr.

WARWICK.

LEAMINGTON AND COUNTY—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Willoughby Makin, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Gilpin Brown, Elmley Lodge, Holly Walk, Leamington.

Solithull (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Maud Pemberton, Whitacre, Solihull.

WILTSHIRE.

SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—
President: The Lady Muriel Herbert.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Fussell.
Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson, The Red House, Wilton.
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Ethel Cripps, Hillbrow, Fowler's Road, Salisbury.

Alderbury (Sub-Branch)—
Vice-President: Mrs. Ralph Macan.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

MALVERN—
President: Lady Grey.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.
Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey Terrace, Malvern.

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

BRADFORD-YORKSHIRE.
President: Lady Priestley.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon, Esq., J.P.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Halbot.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071, Leeds Road; Miss Casson, 73, Ashwell Road, Manningham, Bradford; Mrs. G. A. Mitchell, Jesmond Cottage, Toller Lane, Bradford.

BRIDLINGTON—
No branch committee has been formed; Lady Bosville Macdonald of the Isles, Thorpe Hall, Bridlington, is willing to receive subscriptions and give information.

HULL—
Chairman (provisionally): Miss Ferguson.
Hon. Treasurer: H. Buckton, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Legge-Roe, Pryme Street, Hull.

ILKLEY—
President: Mrs. Steinthal.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

LEEDS—
President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 3, Woodsley Terrace, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 15, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

MIDDLESBORO—
President: Mrs. Hedley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Gjers, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, Northallerton.

SCARBOROUGH—
President: Mrs. Cooper.
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness, 19, Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss Kendall, Oriel Lodge, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD—
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tapton Crescent Road, Sheffield.

WHITBY—
President: Mrs. George Macmillan.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss Priestley, The Mount, Whitby.

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

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.
LONDON—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earls Court.

Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

ISLE OF WIGHT—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland, Ryde, Isle of Wight.

NEWPORT (Mon.)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

OXFORD—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jelf, 34, Norham Road, Oxford.

IRELAND.

DUBLIN—
President: The Duchess of Abercorn.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
Secretary: Miss White, 5, South Anne Street, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)
President: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.
Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCHES:

BERWICKSHIRE—
Vice-President: Mrs. Baxendale.
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, LL.A., Elder Bank, Duns, Berwickshire.

DUNDEE—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochee.

EDINBURGH—
President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.
Chairman: Lady Christison.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. J. M. Howden.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Johnston, 19, Walker Street; Miss Kemp, 6, Western Terrace, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.

GLASGOW—
President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John N. MacLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. James Campbell.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

Camlachie (Sub-Branch)—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 32, Belgrave Street, Camlachie.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—
President: Lady Lovat.
Hon. Treasurers and Hon. Secretaries: Inverness—Miss Mercer, Woodfield, Inverness; Nairn—Miss B. Robertson, Constabulary Gardens, Nairn.

ST. ANDREWS—
President: The Lady Griselda Cheape.
Vice-President: Mrs. Hamar.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

CARDIFF— WALES.

President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richard's Terrace.

NORTH WALES (No. 1.)—
President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.