

# THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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Telegraphic Address: "Adversaria, London."  
Telephone Number: 8472 Gerrard.

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## THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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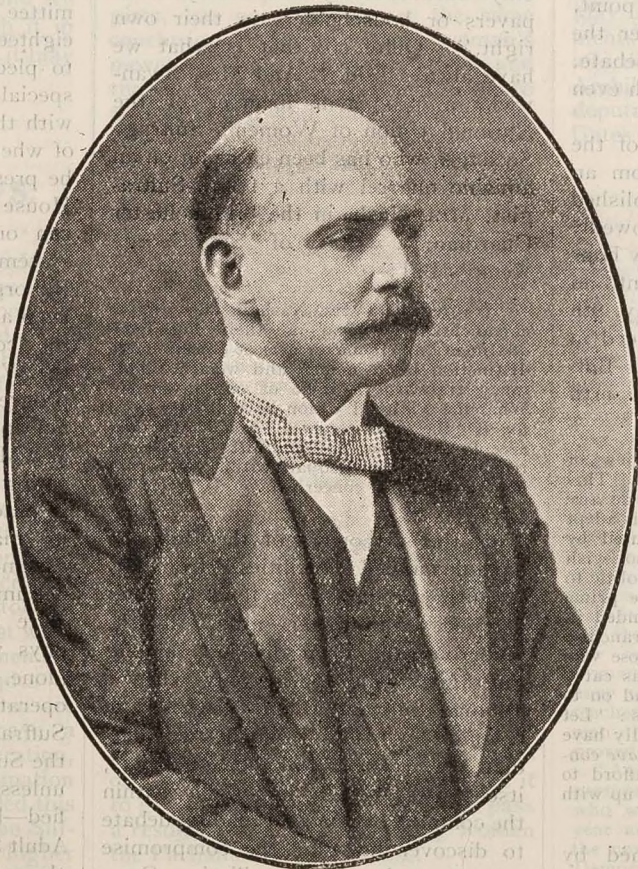
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"It is not because I do not recognise, and because I am not grateful for, the splendid part which women have played in our national life and are playing to-day. It is not because I am afraid they are unworthy of the trust. It is because I believe that we ought not to make a change so vast and far-reaching as this without much stronger proof that it is needed, and if adopted will be beneficial to the country. I oppose it because I believe that in the interests of the women themselves it is desirable that they should not be called upon to accept the responsibility which some of them are asking for." It was in these words that Mr. Walter Long concluded his fine speech against the Conciliation Bill in the House last July.

It was a speech characteristic of the combination of qualities which make Mr. Long one of the most valuable public servants of our day. To moderation he joins sympathy, and to businesslike and practical methods the ardour of a social reformer. To hear a speech by him is to appreciate the value of quiet, explicit, and disciplined utterance, and to understand what kind of service and

### PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. THE RIGHT HON. WALTER HUME LONG.



*Walter H. Long*

knowledge England draws from the fortunate habit of public service among the large landowners.

Born in 1854, Mr. Long was educated at Harrow and Oxford. He began his public life as Conservative member for North Wilts from 1880 to 1885. From 1885 to 1892 he represented the Devizes division; West Derby and Liverpool, from 1892-1900; South Bristol, 1900-1906; and South Dublin, 1906-1910.

He was Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board from 1886-1892. From 1895-1900 he was President of the Board of Agriculture, and from 1900-1905 President of the Local Government Board. From 1905-6 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is now member for the Strand Division.

Mr. Long's connection of nearly eleven years with the Local Government Board makes his testimony to the value of women's work in local government of unusual value. He has never doubted that women have here boundless opportunities for service, and that in seeking the Parliamentary franchise they are turning away from the path of benefit to their country and credit to themselves.

L. V. M.

## THE BILL AND THE FUTURE.

WE print elsewhere a report of the speeches made on the second reading debate of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The feeling of the House about Woman Suffrage is much more important than the figures in the division, and we venture to say that the professed Suffragists in the House are a good deal less enthusiastic than they were. To be sure of that, one need only compare the listless debate on May 5th with the debate a year ago. A large majority on the second reading is nothing new. Six Women Suffrage Bills have passed their second reading since 1870; and since 1886 there has been a regular majority in favour of the principle. But it has been one of those heterogeneous and nominal majorities, which, being quite divided in purpose beyond a certain point, must fall utterly to pieces under the stress of any kind of detailed debate. Nor was the majority on May 5th even the largest on record.

How divided the supporters of the Bill are may easily be seen from an examination of a few of their published opinions. The Labour Party avowedly support the Bill only because they hope to turn it into something else—into an Adult Suffrage Bill. On May 8th Mr. Henderson actually introduced in the House of Commons a rival Bill. The "Common Cause" of May 11th said of this Bill:—

"It is understood to represent the views of the People's Suffrage Federation. This curious association scarcely seems to do any great public educational work, but it is adept at pulling wires, and it is much used by journalists and politicians who do not wish to enfranchise women, but feel it impolitic to say so. We are well aware that the prime movers in it are absolutely singleminded in their desire really to extend the franchise widely, but the fact remains that those who do not desire this result use them as cat's-paws. It really is necessary to hand on to them Mr. Lloyd George's advice to us: 'Let them convert the country. They really have not done it.' Meanwhile we, who have converted the country, really cannot afford to wait till—if ever—the adultists come up with us."

Such is the opinion entertained by many Woman Suffragists of an important section of their allies. The People's Suffrage Federation, for its part, in a pamphlet recently published,

called "Present Proposals for Women's Suffrage," says:—

"The People's Suffrage Federation believes that the only satisfactory method of dealing with Electoral Reform is by a Government Reform Bill on Adult Suffrage lines. Adult Suffrage will make a simple system of registration possible. It will give fair representation to men and women, married and single, and to rich and poor. In no other way can the House of Commons be made truly representative of the people."

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, whose organ is the "Common Cause," admits that the Conciliation Bill will not do justice to married women. No scheme of limited franchise, of course, can fail to make the appalling mistake of distinguishing against married women. The "Common Cause" says of Sir George Kemp's Bill: "If comparatively few married women will be qualified, it is only because they are rarely rate-payers or householders in their own right." Quite so; that is what we have always said. And Mrs. Swanwick, a prominent member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who has been carrying on an amiable quarrel with a fellow-Suffragist, Mrs. Nash, in the "Manchester Guardian," writes of Sir George Kemp's Bill:—

"I agree with Mrs. Nash in objecting to enfranchising women on their husbands' qualification. It makes a most objectionable distinction between men and women. This fancy franchise is none of our invention. What the National Union have always stood for is 'the same terms as men.' We only accept the Conciliation Bill because it removes the sex disqualification as far as householders are concerned."

Thus the supporters of the Bill who have demanded "facilities" from Mr. Asquith are not very fond of their adopted child after all. All the numerous and deep divisions among Suffragists will appear only when a Woman Suffrage Bill is discussed in Committee. The "Manchester Guardian," a firm friend of the Suffragists, itself says: "It is impossible within the compass of a second reading debate to discover how far the compromise arrived at in the Conciliation Committee commends itself to the different Suffragists inside the House."

As to the prospects of proceeding

further with Sir George Kemp's Bill in the House of Commons, the Suffragists have got themselves into a remarkable pickle. The reason, probably, is that the Committee which has "run" the Bill, being largely a Committee of people outside the House, has fallen into that ever-open trap, the difficulties of procedure in the House. The supporters of the Bill arranged to leave it to Committee of the whole House, instead of moving that it be sent to a Standing Committee. It was not until after the second reading that they fully saw what they had done. They found themselves confronted with the fact that "facilities" would now mean a Committee stage in the whole House, with the party Whips not at work, and a private member in charge of the Bill. Such facilities are not, in effect, worth asking for, and the Conciliation Committee decided to have recourse to an eighteenth-century expedient, and try to pledge the House by means of a special motion to proceed effectively with the Bill. We write in ignorance of whether this curious idea will really be pressed. Modern conditions in the House are such that a Committee stage can only be managed on the party system. Supposing supporters of the Bill organised themselves sufficiently to keep a House together (work in which they could not exercise the authority of the Whips), what would be the rate of progress? A private member could not appeal to the Chair for the closure as a Minister can, and a resolution allocating time moved by a private member is practically inconceivable. But let us make further suppositions, and assume that progress could be made. Assume even that dilatory amendments were overcome, though a couple of days would be likely to go to them alone. What would happen when the operative clauses were reached? Anti-Suffragists and Adult Suffragists and the Suffragists who will not be content unless married women are fully qualified—by some illusory scheme, short of Adult Suffrage—would combine against the qualification in the present Bill. If an Adult Suffrage amendment were moved, a great many members who count themselves Suffragists in a

theoretical way would vote against it or abstain; and if it passed, the character of the Bill would be so profoundly altered that it would have no further chance. The talk of "facilities" for this Bill means, in fact, nothing at all.

As we were going to press the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement in the House of Commons on the Government's attitude towards the Bill. The facilities asked for could not, he said, be given this Session. The Government promised a week for the Committee stage next Session, following a second reading, for which the Government would provide a day if the chances of the ballot were not favorable. But nothing was said to make the course of the Bill next Session less than it would have been this Session. Mr. Lloyd George's statement was not considered to be very precise, and we shall be better able to deal with it in our next number, by which time it may have been somewhat elucidated.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

In the current number of the "Eugenics Review" there is an article by Dr. R. Murray Leslie which follows the line of thought we took last month in our paper "The Family and The Nation." Dr. Leslie asks whether the present women's movement is "favourable or prejudicial to race progress." He admits advantages in the movement—the better education of women, their advance in the arts, sciences, and professions—but he thinks that the modern tendency to sink the distinguishing differences between men and women is bad from the point of view of race progress. Of course, the demand for the parliamentary franchise is the last word in this tendency. It invites women not to cultivate the peculiar aptitudes of their sex in matters in which men are helpless and in which men have a continual need of help and co-operation, but to aim at an identity of occupation with men. We have always called this flying in the face of Nature. The Suffragists have discovered some higher interpretation of Nature which seems to us mere vapour and illusion. Dr. Leslie says:—

May it not be that the "manliness" of

men (as judged by women) and the "womanliness" of women (as judged by men) are, after all, the most valuable of all qualities from the standpoint of Eugenics, being but the modern expression of Natural Selection? If this be so, let men be manly and women womanly at all costs; everything else is incidental. I have not attempted to give the definition of the two terms, as they connote a group of attributes which one feels to be true but cannot express in so many words.

It was the "sympathy" after all, not the intellect, of Florence Nightingale, which was the secret of her power.

DR. LESLIE reminds us of Lord Curzon's speech at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, in which he praised and encouraged the intellectual advance of women, but declared that the time had come to sketch out a plan of action for the future and indicate those fields of activity in which women are vastly more competent than men. Mrs. Billington Greig, perhaps the most acute intellect on the side of the Suffragists, has come to almost the same conclusion—that the present woman's movement is on the wrong track, and that it is necessary to think back to the beginning and start again. We have already had enough of what Mr. G. K. Chesterton calls "plodding, elaborate and elephantine imitation." Dr. Leslie says:—

It is impossible, nor would it be advisable, to attempt to check woman's intellectual development, but might it not be scientific to suggest that there may be certain intellectual pursuits less likely than others, as being more congenial, to be associated with sex starvation and sterility? May it not be that woman's determination to invade all the spheres of men's activity is fundamentally wrong and prejudicial to her own best interests? May there not be, after all, a scientific "woman's sphere" outside the bounds of which she goes at her own peril?

History has shown that wherever women invade the peculiar province of men, race decay follows. "In Finland and Australia—two countries which enjoy Women's Suffrage," says Dr. Leslie, "the birth-rate is almost the lowest in the civilised world."

WE congratulate the Bristol City Council on resisting the attempt to induce it to go outside its proper duties and pass a resolution in favour of giving women the Parliamentary Franchise.

AMONG the other Municipal Councils which have recently refused to pass a

resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage are Bournemouth, Chelsea, Croydon, Guildford, Salford, Torquay, Tunbridge Wells, and York. These have rejected the Suffragists' proposal by decisive majorities. We notice that at Croydon a letter of thanks was addressed by the members of our League to those Councillors who voted against the resolution. "As the question of the Parliamentary franchise is undoubtedly outside the proper functions of municipal bodies, it seems to us that the women who urge the councils to fly in the face of their standing orders are giving a queer demonstration of their fitness to administer the laws of the country. The deputation from our Kensington Branch to the Kensington Borough Council has resulted in a majority of 34 to 18 against the petition of the Suffragists that the Council should appeal to Parliament for facilities for the Conciliation Bill. Both the Anti-Suffrage and Suffrage deputations were received on the evening of May 23rd, and both laid their arguments before the Council, and were afforded a courteous hearing. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun spoke for our deputation, and Miss Sterling and Mrs. Gates represented the Suffragists.

THE "Ladies' Home Journal" publishes the following recantation by Mrs. F. W. Goddard, who has for years been a Suffragist leader in Colorado:—

"I have voted since 1893. I have been a delegate to the City and State conventions, and a member of the Republican State Committee from my county; I have been a deputy-sheriff and a watcher at the polls; for twenty-three years I have been in the midst of the woman's suffrage movement in Colorado. For years I believed in woman's suffrage, and have worked day in and day out for it.

"I now see my mistake, and would abolish it to-morrow if I could. No law has been put on the Statute-book of Colorado for the benefit of women and children that has been put there by the women. The child-labour law went through independently of the woman's vote. The hours of working women have not been shortened; the wages of school teachers have not been raised; the type of men that got into office has not been improved a bit.

"As for the effect of the vote on women personally, I have known scores of women who worked for the Republican party one year and worked for the Democratic party the next year, telling me frankly that 'the Democrats gave us more money.'

"Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good; it has done woman no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women could be abolished."

In a letter to the "Daily Mail" of May 8th, Mr. Moreton Frewen explained why he did not vote for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill on May 5th, though, in a sense, he sympathises with women's demand for the vote.

"During the ten years before 1895," he says, "I watched with much sympathy a brilliant women's campaign in the splendid old Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Julia Ward Howe, Susan B. Anthony, and others perfectly prepared the ground, and from the evidences from pulpit, Press, and platform it seemed clear that public opinion in the old 'Bay State' was ripe for this great change. Accordingly, on May 31st, 1895, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an Act authorising 'all persons qualified to vote for school committees'—practically all the men and women of the cities, breadwinners, not dependants—to 'express their opinion by voting 'Yes' or 'No' in answer to the following question:—'Is it expedient that municipal suffrage be granted to women?'" It was anticipated that at least a quarter of a million women of a possible four hundred thousand would take advantage of this great and novel opportunity."

Mr. Moreton Frewen then gives the results of this celebrated Referendum with which our readers are probably familiar. It was as follows:—

	Yes.	No.
Male	86,970	186,976
Female	22,402	861

SUFFRAGISTS whose enthusiasm exceeds their humour insist, as Mr. Frewen points out, that 96 per cent. of the women voting wanted the franchise. They ignore the fact that only five per cent. of the women took the trouble to vote at all. Mr. Frewen asks for a Referendum on Woman Suffrage at the next General Election, meaning, evidently, a vote on the abstract question by women themselves. Such a forfeiture by men of their sovereign political power is out of the question. Nor do we think it desirable to use a Referendum, if even it should be included in our Constitution, except in relation to a particular Bill already passed by both Houses. But we thoroughly agree with the spirit of Mr. Frewen's concluding question:—

The Parliamentary vote involves a great responsibility. You cannot treat it as you do vaccination, and if 95 per cent. of our women say, "We have not the time to give to our adequate political equipment, for if we do other things must go by the board," are we justified in regarding the desire of 5 per cent. as a mandate for an electoral revolution?

THE debate on Women's Suffrage at Convocation of London University on

May 9th was a flimsy affair. Its nature may be judged by the fact that the ground upon which a deputation is to be sent to the Prime Minister is that the University of London Act, 1898, provides that "no disability shall be imposed on the ground of sex," and that if men graduates can vote, and women graduates cannot, there is such a disability. But that has nothing to do with the University statutes, which did not "impose" the disability, and could not have removed it. The Prime Minister might reasonably reply that if the deputation really represents the logical powers of Convocation, its men graduates had better not vote either.

MR. HERBERT NIELD, Member for Ealing, who voted for Sir George Kemp's Bill in the House of Commons, was requested afterwards by Mrs. Harold Norris, to take the first opportunity of declaring in public that he voted for this Bill on his own conviction, and not as representing the views of his constituents. Mr. Nield kindly did so at a General Meeting of the Chiswick Habitation of the Primrose League, and took a vote on the subject of Woman Suffrage. In an audience of approximately one hundred, two hands alone were raised in favour of Woman Suffrage, the rest of the room voting against it with very few abstentions.

THE Women's National Liberal Association on May 24th rejected a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill by 635 votes to 440. If a group of Liberal women, who might be expected to be predisposed in favour of the Bill, thus declare their opposition to it, it is ludicrous for Suffragists to say that they have converted the country. Miss Maude Illingworth stated the case for the Conciliation Bill, and our League has to thank Mrs. Massie for taking the place of Miss Markham at the last moment and stating the contrary case with great ability.

THE LADIES' BATTLE.

UNDER this title the well-known American writer, Molly Elliot Seawell, has just

\* "The Ladies' Battle." The Macmillan Co.

published one of the most striking contributions to the literature of the suffrage question which have come under our notice. Although she approaches the subject mainly from the point of view of the United States, discussing in some detail the objections to woman suffrage which arise out of the constitution and peculiar conditions of American republican government, yet much of her argument is equally valid on this side of the Atlantic, and the whole of this little book should be carefully read and studied by all who wish to understand the question. She begins by commenting on the fact that women who have given neither time nor trouble to the study of the science of government, or to the history and meaning of the franchise, still pose as authorities on woman suffrage, calmly propounding revolutionary changes in institutions of whose functions and structure they are absolutely ignorant. How true this is of the British suffragist may be judged from a little pamphlet given away at a recent meeting, in which the "true aims" of suffragists were set forth. Under the heading "What we wish to do," was a list of "social activities"—care of children, sanitation, housing, &c. Under "What we do not wish to do," was the following:—"To interfere with the work of the Army, Navy, or foreign diplomacy." And yet the suffragists frequently despise the municipal vote, which gives them such a wide opening for social work, and clamour for the Parliamentary vote, which, if it means anything at all, means the election of a government to control Army, Navy, and foreign diplomacy.

Miss Seawell points out the futility of supposing that, merely by registering a vote, the most enlightened and well-intentioned person could do anything to help on social reform. "Great benefits," she says, "are never secured so cheaply." She quotes a prominent suffragist as saying: "Women suffragists stand for sanitation, education, and the uplift of six million working women." Her answer to this is, first, that it is a fallacy to assume that all women will vote alike, and will vote right. Many women in this country, who are seriously engaged in social reform work, would not be prepared to trust the success of measures in which they are interested to the suffrages of the people whom they desire to benefit. How many working-class women could be relied upon to support a measure raising the school age, and still further preventing child labour? Miss Seawell's second objection is specially sound, and free from the taint of sentimentality which affects most women's views of political activities. "Neither sanitation nor education," she says, "can be the first or even the most important object of government. Good laws, well administered, a pure and competent judiciary, internal order, national defence . . . must take precedence." One is tempted to amplify this argument for home consumption. Suffragists frequently lay stress on their desire to press

domestic legislation more and more on Parliament through women's votes. But there are many people who feel that our Imperial Parliament already spends far too little time on Imperial questions, and to aggravate that state of affairs would, in the long run be disastrous to our Empire and our race.

In considering the taxation and representation fallacy, Miss Seawell is particularly clear and decisive. Taxation, she says, is not the price of a vote, but the price of protection for property—and a woman gets that quite as much as a man, and without any obligations on her sex. It is the man's duty to defend her property or redress any wrongs that may be committed against her or it. Moreover, if tax-paying gives a right to a vote, then aliens, criminals, minors, and lunatics are entitled, equally with every other person in the country, for all are taxed.

The most interesting feature in this book to British anti-suffragists is, however, Miss Seawell's clear demonstration that without the vote women are a privileged class, and that, if they demand political equality, their privileges will go by the board. Most important of these are the property privileges of the wife and mother. (These are slightly greater, in most of the United States, than in Great Britain, but British men would adopt any reasonable standard.) It is a commonplace that a husband is bound to support his wife. Both the legal code and the moral and social laws enforce this. Exceptions prove the rule. In this country and in the United States a man can be imprisoned for refusing this support. No corresponding obligation rests upon the wife except in the suffrage States of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho, where a wife is jointly responsible for the upkeep of the family and for the support of her husband under certain circumstances. Moreover, in those States she does not enjoy the privilege of "dower" which is accorded to her in other, non-suffrage States. In some of the suffrage States failure to support is a ground of divorce, and in 1900, in Utah, six men divorced their wives for failing to support them. Miss Seawell says well that the property privileges of women are a great stumbling block to suffragists, as is also the fact that the vast majority of women are maintained by men, and are dependent on them. A fundamental principle of the franchise has always been that it should only be exercised by independent or self-supporting persons, but if women are to perform the functions bestowed on them by nature they must be maintained by men; must be endowed and privileged, and political equality would lead to their social undoing.

It is quite impossible to do justice in a brief review to a book which, though quite brief, is packed with thought and concentrated to a degree which makes quotation difficult. Such a sane and powerful appeal to reason, coming from a woman whose experience of life has brought her in touch with the great problems of modern

womanhood, cannot fail to be of the greatest service in promoting a truer appreciation of a difficult question.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN.

THE SECOND READING OF THE WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

AN UNREAL DEBATE.

THE cheerless air of the House of Commons on Friday, May 5th, when Sir George Kemp moved the second reading of the revised form of the so-called "Conciliation Bill," was a strange contrast to the vivacity and excitement of the debate a year ago. The leaders of the two great political parties were mostly absent—Mr. Asquith had paired with Mr. Balfour—and not one of them took any part in the debate. The majority for the second reading was a large one, but not so large as on a previous occasion, when Women's Suffrage was before the House, and it was swollen by the votes of the Labour Party, who expressly declared that they would vote against the third reading unless the Bill were transformed into an Adult Suffrage Bill in Committee. As we have explained elsewhere, the division at a second reading means little. The fact is that Women's Suffrage is not prospering at present in the House of Commons, and if one proof of this is more striking than others, it is that when such a gigantic revolution is proposed in the House of Commons, the leaders of the two great parties feel themselves able entirely to ignore it.

Sir George Kemp, in moving the second reading, explained that the measure differed from the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill which was introduced last June. The title was different, and the £10 qualification was omitted in order to meet the objections of those who feared that this qualification might lead to an increase of plural or faggot voting. The object of his Bill was to give the franchise to women who were householders, and marriage was not to disqualify, but a husband and wife were not both to be registered as voters in the same borough or county division. The measure had the unanimous support of the Conciliation Committee, and the number of women who would be enfranchised would be 1,000,000. There were more women than men in the country, and they suffered under disabilities. For their labour they were paid less than men; fewer posts under Government were open to them; and they did not receive fair treatment under the marriage laws. They had a great stake in the country and they paid a considerable proportion of the taxes. The tradition of subordination of women accounted for the reluctance to enfranchise them. If he were told that the logical result of his policy would be the admission of women to that House and to the Cabinet, he would reply, "Let the women have the vote now, and let the question of their admission to Parliament be decided by our children or children's chil-

dren." He attached much importance to the fact that sixty-nine city councils and town councils had passed resolutions in favour of woman's suffrage. If the Bill were read a second time its supporters would consent to its being referred to Committee of the whole House.

After Mr. Couling had seconded the motion, Sir M. Levy, the Liberal member for Loughborough, moved the rejection. If, he said (we take the following reports of the speeches from "The Times"), the proposers of the Bill were in earnest in their desire to enfranchise women why had they brought in so exclusive a Bill? Who were the women who would be enfranchised under it? Women who lived apart from their husbands in different constituencies, women who lived their own lives, women who were mistresses, but not wives. A more unfair and lopsided addition to the register of the country had never been seriously proposed in that House. If the promoters of this Bill were sincere in their desire to have the wisdom and experience of the women of this country to guide them at election times, why did they exclude from the Bill the wives and mothers of the nation?

WIVES AND MOTHERS EXCLUDED.

Surely the wives and mothers must have greater experience than any other class of women, and it was unreasonable to exclude them. If the enfranchisement of women was necessary to protect women from man-made law, then it was those who were most dependent upon that law who had most need of the vote. But the women who worked, the women who formed the industrial classes of the land, were denied the vote. They were in the majority, but they were to place their interests in the hands of the propertied women. In the past the men of this country had jealously guarded the interests of women, and no charge could be laid upon the men of having neglected the interests of women in this country. It was said that women suffered. Of course they suffered. Men suffered also. This Bill discriminated unfairly and said that women with wealth were more fit to vote than women with knowledge and experience. It proceeded on the false assumption that women who fulfilled the ordinary and normal functions of womanhood were really unrepresentative of their sex and less likely to know and to appreciate the needs of the women of this country.

Mr. Mackinder seconded the motion for rejection. He said that the House of Commons was bound to take seriously a movement which had such a long history and which was supported by such obvious and genuine enthusiasm. But while last year this subject was discussed in a crowded House, now there were empty benches in all quarters. He believed that was largely due to the fact that last year for the first time there was real opposition.

THE EFFECTS OF OPPOSITION.

Before that time no considerable body of people had taken the trouble to think the matter out. The effect had been considerable, for it had induced the promoters to alter their Bill. From the postcard polls which

had been taken he thought the evidence showed that there was a large body of apathy among women, that there was another large body of women opposed to the suffrage, and that there was a small but enthusiastic body of women anxious for it. The opponents of the suffrage believed it would so alter the conditions of women as to inflict a disability on them. The supporters of woman suffrage were not united. This Bill proposed to enfranchise one-tenth of the women, but there was another Bill before the House which would enfranchise nearly one-half. If they sent the Bill to a Select Committee they did not know in what form it would return to the House. Last year's Bill gave an undue advantage to women with property, while this Bill would give the vote mainly to widows and spinsters, the class of women which competed with men. The opponents of the enfranchisement of women had not adopted a purely negative attitude. They had carefully prepared, and would in due course introduce, Bills to facilitate the access of women to local bodies. They had taken that line because they regarded the local vote as entirely different from the Imperial vote. The first argument which had been put forward in support of the Bill was that women had to pay the same taxes as men. To adopt a phrase of the Prime Minister, there was a little sloppiness about that. No man had a vote by virtue of paying Imperial taxes. A man got a vote by virtue of paying local taxation, on the ground that in that way, presumably, they obtained a large body of men qualified to give strength to the State. He turned to the argument that because these women were in competition with men they must be allowed to defend their interests and to secure the best conditions for their work. That was part of the spoils to the victor argument. If they granted the vote to these women they would have to face the fact that there would be an almost immediate organisation of these voters for single and special objects, and that organisation, in constituencies where voters were pretty equally divided between the two parties, would be able to exercise a considerable influence in the politics of the country.

#### THE DOMINIONS AND THE UNITED STATES,

Australia, New Zealand, and the Western States of the United States were countries in which there was a considerable majority of men, and in which the economic conditions were wholly different from those in this country, where they had over a million more women than they had men. Lord Selborne had said, "It is a very dangerous thing for half the people to try to coerce the other half." They were always doing a dangerous thing in this country in that way. They did not recognise it, because up to the present, fortunately, they had not had such an issue as had forced them to consider the fact. He knew it was not altogether a popular view, but the sanction of the final fact behind party government was civil war. Anything which would turn a minority into a majority, if the turning force in the voters was not physical force and was not part of what Professor

Dacey called the "political sovereignty of man," was placing us in a very dangerous position. If in constituencies where voters were nearly balanced they had any organisation of women for their economic purposes—and he said this was not improbable in the conditions under which the Bill proposed to give the voting to women competitors rather than to mothers alone—and so turned a minority into a majority, throughout the length and breadth of the land there would be a spirit of revolt in regard to the majority and especially in regard to those great powers of coercion which would be placed in the hands of a majority so constituted.

Mr. Lansbury passionately represented women as the victims of sex domination, and threatened that if the House refused to convey to them a message of hope there would be a revival of the scenes of "hideous rioting, noise, and disorder."

Mr. Burdett-Coutts said that he should vote against the Bill quite undeterred by the methods adopted on its behalf outside the House—generally just outside the House. If they abandoned the principle that political power in the State ought to be in the hands of men they would have no logical position from which to resist complete adult suffrage. Did the House pretend for a moment that there was anything like a majority, or even a respectable minority, of the electors of the country in favour of this great change? He knew of no evidence that would establish such a proposition.

#### THE LOGICAL SEQUENCE.

The House had just witnessed the inclusion of all the women workers in the country in the great and beneficent scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was not due to votes having been granted to women. He could not see what benefit would be obtained by the proposed great change, but it might involve an enormous loss. The matter could not be decided as a woman's cause alone. If women were given votes the interests of the nation would ultimately be placed in their hands, for they were in a majority. Once the barrier of sex was broken down women must be admitted to the House. Did the country want a mixed House of Commons, composed of men and women? There was only one step further in this "March to Finchley"—under which title Hogarth depicted one of the maddest comedies respectable citizens and their women-kind could indulge in. If women became members of Parliament they were bound to become Ministers. Were the present electorate or any male electorate to which the franchise might be extended in favour of such a change? Was it possible that this nation would present to the civilised world the spectacle of England and the Empire being ruled by a majority which could not execute the laws they would make and could not defend the country whose destinies they would control?

Mr. Hugh Law, who spoke in favour of the Bill, was followed by a fellow-Nationalist, Mr. Haviland-Burke, who spoke against it.

Mr. Haviland-Burke said that the relations between the sexes were not best regulated by cheap sentiment, but by mutual respect and

esteem. As a man of the world with varied experience, he trusted no man who was addicted to speaking in a disrespectful, sneering way of women, and he lost respect for the woman who had the habit of alluding to the inferiority of the sex to which her father, husband, or brothers belonged. The seconder of the Bill, dwelling on the dreadful wrongs of women owing to non-participation in the election of members to the House, introduced the case of Mrs. McCann as a hideous wrong. Was this an argument upon which they were to go into the lobby? What did the hon. member urge? That the present system of parental control should be altered, that the Bill should be adopted, that the central authority over a child might be shattered and a legal tribunal set up to settle parental differences of opinion as to the teaching of children. Nothing would be more likely to shatter the respect of children for parents or the proper control of parents over children. He totally disagreed with the contention that they had nothing to do with the use women might make of the vote. When there was a deliberate proposal made to reduce marriage to a mere civil contract terminable at will practically, and when the overwhelming majority of women approved of this, no man in conscience and honour could put that consideration aside and as a matter of abstract principle and logic necessarily give votes to women.

#### ARTIFICIAL SUPPORT.

This question had no real backing in the country. Every extension of the franchise had followed years of agitation and after being taken up by one of the great political parties, but now the supporters of this Bill made an extraordinary proposition. At a time when legislative business was congested and great statutes contemplated, they asked the Government to take in hand a question that had not been before the electors at the last two elections, and without a mandate to forestall public opinion and pass a Bill creating a brand new electorate of a million, and then to pigeonhole the Act to come into force at an election in perhaps two or three years. An absolutely unconstitutional, unprecedented proposal. It was an insult to the intelligence of electors, who were not to be consulted before this powerful disturbing element was to come into play.

Mr. Henderson, the Labour leader, expressed apprehension as to the consequences of the legislation proposed in this Bill. To a certain extent Clause 2 involved a property qualification, and he feared that the suffrage conferred by the Bill would be used to prevent the enfranchisement of the majority of women. While agreeing with all that had been said by the hon. and gallant member who moved the second reading, yet the Labour Party were not blind to the dangers of enfranchising those who would use their power to retard the extension of the vote.

#### POLICY OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

The Labour members were certainly prepared to reaffirm the principle of woman suffrage. They were going to vote for the second reading of this Bill, but in Committee they would use all their power and influence

to extend the measure in the only consistent and logical direction—namely, to give all women the vote. If they did not succeed in getting that extension, then, as adult suffragists, they would on the third reading reconsider their attitude.

Mr. McCallum Scott, at the beginning of his speech, drew from Sir George Kemp the admission that he was not opposed to women becoming members of parliament. When the League against Women Suffrage was formed (he continued) he was sent a paper giving 15 reasons against woman suffrage drawn up by Lord Curzon. He read those 15 reasons, and found that he was in complete disagreement with 14 of them. He did not agree that women were not qualified intellectually to have the vote. They were intellectually every bit as qualified as men. Then it was said women had not the faculty of judgment. He would sooner trust the judgment of women like Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Pankhurst, or Mrs. Lawrence than that of the average member of Parliament. The average unskilled labourer, by the routine nature of his occupation, had his intellect stunted, but his wife worked at the oldest skilled trade in the world—that of framing a Budget every week.

#### THE PHYSICAL FORCE ARGUMENT.

His objection to woman suffrage was that which was crudely called the physical-force argument. The only safe form of government was one in which the balance of political power was in the same hands as the balance of physical force. The foundation of a State and the guarantee of its permanence and stability lay in physical force. Some people laughed at physical force. By how many policemen was the House guarded, and what was the expenditure on the Army and Navy? The noble lord, the Member for Oxford University, had said in a previous debate that when he came out of the polling-booth he did not mop his brow and say: "That is a man's work." On another occasion, however, the noble lord had said: "The nation is that for which one good man may rightly or justly kill another good man." That was a profound truth which lay at the back of every system of organised government. In a country like ours, the balance of physical force was, as a rule, found in the majority of physical force units. The only argument in favour of woman suffrage was that there was something inherent in human dignity which gave the right to vote. If the right to vote was absolute, would they extend it to India? Every argument in favour of woman suffrage was also in favour of the extension of the vote to India.

#### WAGES AND THE VOTE.

The argument was frequently used that one of the grievances from which women suffered was that their wages were much lower than those of men, and that the result of the suffrage would be to increase their wages. They were told that women, in common justice, ought to be paid equal wages for equal work. He submitted that to enforce that doctrine would be to inflict an intolerable injustice upon the married women, whose share of the world's goods was earned

through their husbands, who were in the vast majority, and who, in rearing children and maintaining homes, were doing as great and useful a service to the State as the unmarried women who were working for their living. The argument about the equality of the wages of men and women was based on a complete misunderstanding of the relative economic positions, and before they could establish absolute equality, they would have to revolutionise the whole basis and constitution of society and organise it on a different system from that on which it was organised at present. He was opposed to this Bill because he believed it would introduce a fatal flaw into the structure of the State.

After Mr. Griffith had supported the Bill, as the best that suffragists had any chance of getting for the present, Lord Kerry said that the measure, if carried, would undoubtedly lead to a much wider measure in future. In that case there was every chance that the country would potentially be ruled by a majority of women, and sooner or later they would enter the House and sit on the Government Bench. This experiment was a leap in the dark. The anti-suffragist societies had shown as the result of their inquiries that a very small number of women were desirous of obtaining the vote, and the House could not dismiss the figures they had collected with indifference.

Lord Hugh Cecil, who supported the Bill, remarked that the Olympians of the front benches had left it to the Greeks and Trojans to fight it out among themselves. He hoped that the Government, having raised hopes, would not disappoint them, and allow the debate to be as barren as earlier debates on the subject.

Mr. King pointed out that the wisest course was to discuss the Bill, which was open to amendment, thoroughly in Committee.

The House divided on the second reading, and the numbers were—

For	255
Against	88
Majority	167

The Bill was then read a second time.

On the motion of Sir G. Kemp, the Bill was referred to a Committee of the whole House.

#### SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

By the Honble. MRS. EVELYN CECIL.

The fable of the dog which had the piece of meat in its mouth, and was tempted to drop it to catch the reflection in the water, would serve as a very good text for a lecture on Women's Suffrage. The opponents of Votes for Women have many strong and weighty arguments on their side, but none, perhaps, are more important than those which show that women have much real power in their hands as it is, and that by grasping at the Parliamentary franchise they would find that in reaching out towards a shadow they had lost the substance.

One of the surest ways to remedy the

evil influences which follow in the train of the militant suffragist, is for women to throw themselves actively into work which is already open to them. By doing this it would become more clear to all fair-minded people that the opponents of Women's Suffrage have the advancement and welfare of their sex just as much at heart as those in the opposite camp. Greatly as law-abiding citizens despise suffragists' violent methods, they cannot but admire their energy. But it seems to the anti-suffragist that even half that amount of energy spent in doing work to which they now have access would produce far more salutary and substantial results.

A most obvious field is the Municipal one; in it women are undoubtedly wanted, and there is work for them to do which cannot be so well performed by men Councillors. But, although the door was opened to women by the "Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act of 1907," there is still much to be done to clear the way for action, and to make it possible for the best and most capable women, married as well as single, to take part.

In the first place, however, women must appreciate the possibilities of real usefulness entirely suited to their sex that Local Government affords. The work to which they should contribute their best energies is very far reaching. Under the "Public Health," "Housing," and "Local Government" Acts, as councillors, they would be concerned with sanitary conditions and over-crowding generally, with asylums, fever hospitals, infection and isolation, inspection of noxious trades, laundries, home-workers' dwellings, common lodging-houses, baths, washhouses, dispensaries, etc. Under the "Children's Act 1908," they would work for the protection of children from evil influences and cruelty, and for the restriction of their employment. Under the "Midwives Act," they would have large powers with a view to reducing infant mortality and decreasing the suffering and ignorance of mothers. Under the "Education Act" (1902) they would have a much wider scope for work than merely the regulation of the teaching curriculum; all physical and health questions, gymnasiums, playgrounds, industrial schools and schools for feeble-minded and defective children would be within their jurisdiction. In addition, there are duties under the "Municipal Corporations Act" touching on questions of drunkenness, morality, and decency, and others under the administration of the Old Age

Pensions, and Unemployed Workmen's Acts. Even this short summary shows what is open to women without encroaching on paving, lighting, water, tramways, buildings, finance, and other matters where the experience of men should prevail.

The next step is for women to recognise that it is a dereliction of duty to evade the responsibility of a citizen, and there must be a determination to take up the burden placed upon them. Those who are alive to the immensity of the work must throw off the apathy which is fatal to any cause, and do all in their power to assist capable women of sound and moderate views to undertake the task.

In clearing the way for action, it is particularly desirable to press for an alteration of the law, with a view to establishing a residential as well as an occupying qualification for candidates for councils, as is already the case with Guardians. Until this is done, the access to the County or Borough Council is difficult for many, especially married women. The ultimate aim should be that of establishing a recognised custom, that a due proportion (say about 10 per cent.) of all seats on Municipal Councils, should rightly be filled by women; and legislation might eventually secure a certain number of places for them among the Aldermen. If the anti-suffrage party would show a united front in endeavouring to obtain this change in the qualification, they would have done much to prove the sincerity of the anti-suffragist in the cause of women and to show that the accusation of lukewarmness is unfounded. It is, however, true that anti-suffragists have not been the most energetic in doing work already open, such as that of Poor Law Guardians. There are still many Boards without any women at all, and on others moderate women have tamely allowed their sex to be represented by their more "advanced" sisters. It is indeed regrettable that work so eminently adapted to women should not have been taken up more warmly.

In dealing with all these subjects, it is the very virtues despised by the suffragist that are most needed. If women are to carry weight in a council of men, there must be calm and tactful reasoning, without violent self-assertion, and they must show themselves capable of firm but sympathetic management, devoid of ostentatious aggressiveness. If educated women with leisure are sincere in their desire to help to lift something of the weight which crushes women toilers, they

must get into close touch with them and their surroundings, and there could be no better opportunity than by serving on public bodies.

The break-up of the Poor Law—if that should take place—would make it even more necessary for women to come forward. Whatever scheme is finally adopted, it is certain there will be room for women. The Royal Commission Report, in recommending a "Public Assistance Committee," to which many practical reforms would be entrusted, advocates "a proportion of women, not ordinarily less than one-third," and they further propose that the committee advising on maternity cases should be entirely composed of women. It cannot fail to strike any woman reading reports of commissions, or of medical men, or would-be reformers, on the condition of the poor, how much could be done even under existing laws, by replacing the cold and perfunctory discharge of duties of some of the men now employed, by whole-hearted devotion on the part of well-trained, sympathetic women.

The report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration says "The people perish for lack of knowledge," and again in another place, "there is every reason to anticipate RAPID amelioration of physique so soon as improvement occurs in external conditions, particularly as regards food, overcrowding, cleanliness, drunkenness, and the spread of common practical knowledge of home management. In fact, all evidence points to active, rapid improvement, bodily and mental, in the worst districts; so soon as they are exposed to better circumstances, even weaker children recovering at a later age from the evil effects of infant life." Who so capable of conveying knowledge to ignorant mothers, or purifying the atmosphere of home and bringing "sweetness and light" to the darkest slums as women? And how much more effectual would be the efforts to dispel ignorance, and bring brightness, of well-trained women in an official capacity, armed with all the authority of the local governing body, than those of the philanthropic amateur!

It will be a great misfortune if women who are against the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to their sex do not rouse themselves, and become alive to their responsibilities. It is their duty to show by their example that the suffragists, in concentrating attention on the Parliamentary franchise, are pointing women away from the path of their chief usefulness. The opinion of women taking a quiet but active part in the forefront of

women's legitimate work would command much more respect than the noisy parade and demonstration of the Suffragist. Unfortunately, women, until recently, hardly took the trouble to use their municipal vote, and even among the more keen, there seems to have been a shrinking from working on a public body.

In Local Government work, the very fact that women do not have a Parliamentary vote is a source of strength. They stand apart from the turbid turmoil of party politics, and can work on municipal councils in the interests of the poorer classes and the prevention of misery, untrammelled by party prejudices. It is vain, however, to assert that one reason for opposition to the vote is because women have more influence from their independent political position if they never use that influence. Let all those who are able to devote their time and faculties to interests outside the home overcome their reluctance, and work to facilitate the taking up of municipal duties of all kinds by women. By this means, perhaps more than by any other, can they prove the true worth of women, who, instead of clamouring for imaginary "rights," will appreciate their substantial privileges and accept their real responsibilities.

ALICIA M. CECIL.

### PROTEST MEETING AT THE CRITERION.

THE second public meeting held under the auspices of the Speakers and Meetings Sub-Committee of the Central Executive, took place on May 3rd, at the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, Mr. St. Loe Strachey being in the chair, and the speakers being Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Lord Ronaldshay, M.P. The room, which seats 600, was nearly filled. A number of M.P.'s had been expected to support the chair, but owing to the importance of the debate in the House they were prevented from coming, apologies and wishes for the success of the meeting being received from them. The large audience was very enthusiastic, and the small band of suffragists present did not make any disturbance, and reserved their questions till the proper time, when they were dealt with by the speakers. The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority, a fact which confirms the belief of many of our most experienced organisers that we should never lose our resolution in any genuinely open meeting.

Mrs. Colquhoun said they realised that if the majority of men and women in a democratic country desired change in their system

of government, they must have it, even if it involves revolution. What they denied was that the Imperial Parliament had the right to alter our system of government without any reference to the people.

It was stated that since 1854 500,000 persons have signed petitions in favour of woman suffrage, but as those names were contained in over 1,000 petitions, it was obvious that the same names may have recurred again and again. The number of meetings held is evidence similarly lacking in conclusiveness. A more illuminating view was given by Suffragists themselves. For forty years they worked quietly, and, according to their own testimony, with little success. Then came the Suffragette movement, and by sensational methods public attention was at last captured. The success was temporary. Suffragists of all kinds now complain bitterly that they are boycotted by the Press. Even the last "Great Procession" was accorded only a brief paragraph in the London daily papers. The reason was simple. Editors have to consult wishes of their public, and the public is tired of the question, and is bored by the very word Suffragette. Where was the evidence of a great body of public opinion behind the movement? Only a few weeks ago, by a majority of 28,000, the Teachers' Conference refused to have the subject discussed!

In three years the Anti-Suffrage League has started 120 branches all over the United Kingdom, and had presented to Parliament the largest petition ever collected by women, 329,878 (women only) in the first and second instalments, 53,049 just presented, making a total of 382,927. Finally, through a canvass of the women municipal voters in 76 districts, it had been ascertained that out of 94,181 women, 35,879 are opposed to woman suffrage, 14,008 only are in favour of it, and the rest are either neutral or did not trouble to answer. Nearly half these women were canvassed through the post, being asked to fill in and return a stamped post-card. 50 per cent. did not reply, and the rest were 2 to 1 against the suffrage.

She contended, therefore, that there is no evidence which would justify Parliament in the presumption that woman suffrage has the support of the women of the country.

The reasons advanced for the proposed change fell under two heads:—

1. The injustices suffered by women for want of political power.

2. The need of "the woman's point of view" in social and domestic legislation. Both arguments rested on the assumption that the vote was the one effective weapon, and that women were powerless and unrepresented without it. Anti-suffragists had frequently challenged Suffragists to give an idea of the legislation they would promote if they had votes, assuring them that the Anti-Suffrage League would co-operate in pressing that legislation on men if assured of its beneficial results. There was no answer, except that "If the vote helped men, why should it not help women?" a question showing fundamental ignorance of the difference, economically, of the sexes. The vote would have been useless to the working man without the full machinery of trade union organization, and that would have been impossible if men's work was subject to the uncertainties, interruptions, and other inevitable drawbacks that affect women. As for "woman's voice," the long and honourable achievements of English women philanthropists and social workers gave the lie to the assumption that women

are powerless. But behind these great women was a vast silent army, never heard of in public, able and willing to perform the great task of moulding the citizens of the future, of influencing the citizens of the present, of holding up the torch of spiritual insight to guide the practical politician—in short, of framing the great tribunal of public opinion by which all causes, political or social, must eventually be tried. The vote was an appeal to force; woman's true weapon was the appeal to reason, the spiritual and moral influence which it was specially her function to wield.

On these grounds, therefore, those present were asked to support the protest:—

1. Because there was no evidence that the majority (or even a large proportion) of women want the vote.
2. Because there was no conclusive evidence that woman suffrage has been beneficial in its results elsewhere.
3. Because it is contrary to the spirit of a democratic country that a great change should be made in its system of government without a direct mandate from the electorate.

Lord Ronaldshay, in seconding the resolution, said it must not be understood that his opposition to woman suffrage suggested any reflection upon women's intellectual ability. As a matter of fact, intellect and intelligence were attributes the possession of which by themselves gave no human beings the right to a Parliamentary vote.

Ability to enforce the laws which they made by their votes was an essential qualification for the franchise. This ability to enforce their decisions was represented by the Army, the Navy, the police force—in none of which were women capable of serving.

It was quite certain that women would not be granted the franchise until there was evidence that the majority of the electors in this country desired such a change, but at present there was no indication of the kind. He objected to woman suffrage because, in the first place, owing to laws over which they had no control, women would not be able to enforce their legal decisions. In the second place, he believed women were more subject to bursts of emotion at times of great political excitement and political crisis. Emotion might be an admirable thing, pure and elevated. On the other hand, it was also capable of producing, to put it very mildly, deficient action. If we had a vast portion of the electorate consisting of women, it might be subject, at times of political excitement and stress, to be carried away by emotion; it might be a very serious, a disastrous thing, not only for this country, but for the whole Empire.

It was essential in the case of an Empire like ours, governing as we did many and varied races in all parts of the world, that our Government should stand upon a strong, firm, and masculine basis.

A vote of thanks to chair and speakers was moved by Mr. George Macmillan, and seconded by Miss Pott, and in reply to this the chair drew attention to the organ of our League, saying that, in his long experience he had never seen a similar organ of more interest or worth. The result was to secure a number of orders for the REVIEW, and to exhaust the supply in the room.

A feature of the meeting was the presence of representatives of the foreign Press.

### MEETING AT THE PORTMAN ROOMS.

The West Marylebone Branch held a most successful meeting at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on May 17th. Lord George Hamilton presided, and Lady George Hamilton, the President, was also on the platform. The Committee was represented by the Treasurer, Mrs. Alexander Scott, and Mrs. Herbert Walker.

Lord George Hamilton made a forcible speech, and introduced Mrs. Greatbatch, whose carefully reasoned arguments made a great impression on the audience. The hall was well filled, and the small group of Suffragists did not venture to ask questions, although warmly invited to do so by Mrs. Greatbatch. The resolution against the Conciliation Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority. Dr. J. H. Walker proposed the vote of thanks to the chair, which was seconded by Dr. Alexander Scott, F.R.S.

The meeting concluded with an excellent performance of a one-act play entitled "When the Vote was Won," written by the lady who writes under the name of "E. Lock." The company included Miss Sybil Ruskin and Mrs. Herbert Bennett—the latter having devoted a good deal of time and trouble to the production of the play, is to be warmly congratulated upon its successful presentation. The platform was beautifully decorated with red and white flowers, reproducing two of the colours of the League.

### ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE following articles, which have appeared during the past month in the newspapers and magazines, will probably be found of interest by our readers:—

A series entitled "Women and the Empire" is appearing in "The Lady," weekly. The "Times" for May 5th had an interesting article on "The Origin of the Woman Suffrage Movement." In the May "National Review," Lord Ebury writes "A Commentary on the Case for Woman Suffrage." The "Liverpool Courier" for May 3rd reports an excellent address on "Heredity and Environment as Factors in Social Evolution," given by Mrs. W. Whetham, of Cambridge, before the Eugenics Education Society at Liverpool. "My Ideal John Bull," by Yoshio Markino, in the May "English Review," is interesting, and the "Financial Review of Reviews" contains a valuable article respecting women and finance.

### NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND BRANCHES.

FLAGS and banners can be lent for meetings on due notice being given to Central Office. The following can also be obtained on application (when prices will be quoted). Application forms, Associate cards, Invitation cards printed with or without badge, blank handbills for meetings, with columns across, Branch receipt books, badges (gold, silver, white metal, and celluloid), ribbon, in three-quarter and two-inch widths.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 83 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply. 115,758 42,115 17,928 8,568 47,267

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

Table with 6 columns: District, Electorate, Anti, Pro, Neutral, No Reply.\*. Lists 83 districts including S. Kensington, Croydon, N. Paddington, Chelsea, Birkenhead, Bournemouth, Hastings, N. Hackney, East Berks, Mayfair, N. Kensington, Oxford, Brixton, Birmingham Central, Torquay, North Hants, Mid Bucks, N.-W. Manchester, Gloucester, Richmond, Chiswick, Watford, Reigate, Hereford (part personal), St. Andrews, St. George's-in-the-East, Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted, Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group, Hampton, Berkhamstead, and Kew.

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

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

Table with 6 columns: District, Electorate, Anti, Pro, Neutral, No Reply.\*. Lists 40 districts including Nottingham, Liverpool (4 constits.), Bristol, Hampstead, Fulham, S. Paddington, York, Southampton, Bath, Scarborough, Cambridge, Westminster, Mid-Surrey (13 districts), Reading, S.-W. Manchester, South Berks, North Berks, Newport (Mon.), Central Finsbury, Isle of Thanet, Weston-super-Mare, Guildford, Whitechapel, Penrith, Keswick, Camberley & Frimley, Wigton, Woodbridge, Ashbourne, Crowborough, Cockermouth, Hawkhurst, Cranbrook, Midhurst (part reply postcards), Melton, and Rogate.

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

OUR MUNICIPAL CANVASS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

nothing more than that in the Review we stated that a canvass had been carried out by women on the municipal register. Total electors 61,714. Anti 25,587. Pro 9,209. Neutral 7,181. No Reply 19,837.

OUR MUNICIPAL CANVASS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

THE introduction of Sir George Kemp's Bill in the House of Commons was heralded by salvoes of misrepresentations about our Municipal Canvass. We have answered these misrepresentations so frequently that we fear our readers must be weary of the subject. But, unhappily, Suffragists do not grow weary of repeating their misstatements. It seems, therefore, a bare duty to contradict once more, as briefly as may be, inaccuracies which we still venture to hope will be abandoned by those Suffragists who seriously care for avoiding persistent unfairness.

I. Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Palliser, in a letter to the newspapers, dated May 2nd, said of our Municipal Canvass "the figures given are mostly worthless. Even Lord Cromer himself admitted this with regard to Cambridge." The "Common Cause" of April 27th, similarly said, "Lord Cromer has himself publicly admitted that, at least in the case of Cambridge, the figures are worthless." On May 4th it repeated the sense of this statement.

Lord Cromer himself writes that these statements are entirely devoid of foundation. His letter will be found under "Letters to the Editor."

II. In their letter Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Palliser objected that our canvass was of no value because the wording of the questions was ambiguous.

In answer to this the Secretary of our League, Miss Lucy Terry Lewis, wrote to "The Times," of May 4th—

"In reply to the letter written by Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Palliser that you insert in your issue of to-day, I ask you in fairness to print the following statement:—

"To quote four only of the seventy-five districts already canvassed as being typical of all classes. Every woman upon the registers of the constituencies of Mayfair, Brixton, North Hackney, and St. George's-in-the-East has during the last three months been canvassed by post, being merely asked to reply 'Yes' or 'No' and sign her name or initials upon an enclosed post-card containing the question 'Do you desire the Parliamentary vote to be given to women?'"

	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neu- tral.	No re- ply.
Mayfair ...	2,217	1,114	445	13	645
Brixton ...	1,826	730	267	8	812
N. Hackney ...	2,044	961	451	9	623
St. George's- in-the-East	457	123	81	2	251

In face of this perfectly straightforward and unquestionable canvass there can be no justification for the criticism of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies that the canvass was either not thorough or that there was any confusion of wording or method."

III. The "Common Cause" of April 27th, in writing of our canvass, says: "The National Society for opposing Woman Suffrage repudiates its own figures!"

The foundation for this curious assertion is

nothing more than that in this REVIEW we stated that a real pressure has been exerted by women on Town Councils to induce them to pass Suffrage resolutions. "How is it," asks the "Common Cause," "that 'strong pressure' has been brought to bear on the women's representatives in Municipal Councils, to pass Women's Suffrage resolutions, if the women voters themselves are anti-Suffragists? The answer is, that they are not anti-Suffragists, and the Editor of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW knows it. So do we." The Editor of this REVIEW knows nothing of the sort. He is firmly convinced to the contrary. If the writer in the "Common Cause" has never heard of the strong pressure which can be exerted by minorities—even very small minorities—whose cause may be thought to represent a sufficient number of votes to turn the balance in a closely contested election she can know very little indeed of the political life in which she wishes to take part.

IV. The "Common Cause" of May 4th published a letter from Mrs. Dixon, of Witley. In the course of that letter, Mrs. Dixon says of our canvass at Southampton:—"A list of women municipal voters was prepared and an old man who was out of work was paid to take the paper round—from door to door to obtain crosses. There were three headings on each paper, 'For,' 'Against,' and 'Indifferent.' No signatures were required; any persons could fill crosses in where they chose. The old man brought the paper back with crosses against most of the names. What was there to prevent him sitting under a hedge and filling them in himself? Would you believe figures collected in that irresponsible way by an uneducated old man who was paid to do the job? One lady hesitated in making her cross, saying she wanted to wait till her son came in. She afterwards found a cross had been put against her as 'indifferent.' No space was allowed for absence, illness, or refusal to sign (many people, I find, refused to sign although they are in favour of women having the vote)—all were lumped as 'indifferent.'"

Vouched for by Mrs. H. (A grocer's wife; she does not wish her name to appear, but I have it for reference.)

The Hon. Secretary of our Southampton Branch writes:—"I shall be much obliged if you will make known the facts. There are thirteen wards, and these were canvassed by ten men, mostly agents of political unions. The paper had the names and addresses filled in for each ward, with two columns 'Against' and 'For,' in which the voter made a cross beside her own name. 'Neutral' was written when she did not wish to vote. The canvasser writing 'ill, dead, or absent' against those he did not see. The papers for each ward were checked first by Mr. Knight, who organised the canvass for me, and secondly by myself. The result, as already published in the REVIEW, was: Against the vote, 1,361; for it, 147; neutral, 229; no reply, 496—a total of 2,206. The whole electorate being 2,243."

V. Mrs. Dixon says:—"Cambridge has been singled out as a place where their canvass is 'singularly complete,' and they published these figures in several local papers, saying

'they had addressed a reply-paid postcard to every woman on the municipal register.'

Total electorate ...	2,145
Anti-Suffragists ...	1,168
Suffragists ...	590
Neutral ...	271
No reply ...	116

"The members of the Cambridge Suffrage Association made inquiries into the conduct of this canvass. They found, first: Not a single postcard had been used.

"Second: A paid messenger had been employed, not to obtain signatures, but to record in a book his view of their views. In many instances the question asked related to approval or disapproval of 'militancy and Suffragette tactics.' Those who disapproved of these were noted down as 'antis.' (Far more than half of the Suffragists in England disapprove of militant tactics.)

"Third: In every part of Cambridge in which inquiries were made, numbers of women voters were found who had not been canvassed at all.

"Fourth: A systematic canvass was then made in one district of Cambridge, which yielded a majority in favour of the Suffrage of seventy per cent."

The substance of these accusations was answered in a letter to the "Common Cause," of March 9th, and in the April number of this REVIEW. Anyone sufficiently interested in the subject can see there how inaccurate Mrs. Dixon's statements are. The Cambridge Branch of our League never said that the canvass was conducted by postcard. It is most regrettable that the Editor of the "Common Cause" should permit statements to be repeated in her paper of the inaccuracy of which she had already been informed. The officials of our Cambridge Branch invited inspection of the returns of the canvass, but the Suffragists have not thought fit to make any use of this offer.

VI. Mrs. Dixon says of the Haslemere and District canvass: "This canvass was questioned and partly tested by Suffrage workers, and the following facts elicited:—M. A. Marshall, a voter, had not been approached in any way, and we inquired of twenty other voters at Shottermill, and found that none of them had been polled either. Mrs. Beveridge, the Hon. Secretary of the Shottermill Anti-Suffrage League, who had compiled the Anti-Suffrage figures for Haslemere district, of which Shottermill is a part, then admitted in a letter to the paper on July 16th, 1910, that 'something had been assumed' as to the opinions of the ratepayers, and that she had counted as Anti-Suffragists (without asking them) those who had ever been known to have signed an Anti-Suffrage petition, or had expressed Anti-Suffrage opinions."

"Now, sir, opinions we know change, and in the course of many years of active Suffragist propaganda, have changed very materially. What right has Mrs. Beveridge to conclude that opinion does not change in Shottermill, and how can canvasses made up by 'assumption' carry any conviction to anyone, or serve any useful purpose?"

Mrs. Beveridge, on May 17th, wrote to the "Common Cause":—

"Your issue of May 4th contains a letter

from Mrs. Dixon, of Witley, in which she misquotes and mistakenly criticises our Women Occupiers' ancient poll of 1910. You yourself have accepted Mrs. Dixon's statements without examination; she has not verified her references. The upshot is that you have been misled into publishing a tissue of untruths. For my warrant in making this assertion, I refer you to the following authorities:—

(1) To the registers of the parishes polled, viz., Haslemere, Shottermill, Grayshott, Fernhurst, Lynchmere, and Hindhead. There you will search in vain for "M. A. Marshall, a voter," who, according to Mrs. Dixon, was omitted from a poll we declared to be complete. There is no such voter.

(2) To the "Farnham Herald," of July 16th, 1910 (copy enclosed), where you will find the poll—(N.B.—With error of a 7 for a 6)—and my account of its bases. To this as her authority Mrs. Dixon also refers. If you compare her words with mine, you will find not only that she has exactly reversed my statements, but by insertion of a "then" has made a *suggestio falsi*. I send you also a copy of the printed letter in which the poll first appeared; it was sent to the House on May 11th, 1910, jointly signed by my late colleague and myself—a fact determining me now to re-assert its reliability.

(3) To the "Farnham Herald," of January, 1911, where you will find our latest published poll. As you have allowed an attack upon our dead poll, you will in fairness give space to print our live one. Its figures are:—

	Balance
Total Anti-Suffragists ...	1,168
Total Suffragists ...	590
Total ...	1,758
Anti-Suffragist majority ...	95

This poll was examined upon the documents and found correct by Commander Stock, R.N., and Mr. Cecil Wray, of Grayshott. Mrs. Marshall and other local Suffragists are able to assure you that we invited Suffragist co-operation at the count of this poll. The returns of the parish of Midhurst, which it includes, have been doubly tested, the second time by two Suffragists, one of whom had voted for the Bill of 1910."

VII. Mrs. Dixon says of our canvass at Camberley:—

"They claim that 'They made a complete canvass of this district amongst all permanently resident women of twenty-one years of age and upwards.' This district consisted of Frimley, Camberley, Mytchett, Yorktown, and St. Paul's, which have, according to Norman's directory, a population of 14,332."

For the Vote ...	197
Against the Vote ...	1,263
Neutral ...	2,390
Total ...	1,850

"Is it possible, sir, in a population of 14,332 souls there are only 1,850 adult women residents? For it claims to be a complete canvass of all the resident women, not municipal voters only."

"It has come to the knowledge of Maud Bassett, Chairman, and Evelyn Atkinson, Hon. Secretary of the Camberley Suffrage

Society, that nearly twenty members of their branch had not been canvassed at all. Out of these, two had resided in the district over forty years, two over thirty, others for twelve years. In what sense were these not included as 'permanently resident?'—(Signed, Maud Bassett, Evelyn M. Atkinson). To test this canvass the Suffragists chose three or four streets at random, which gave forty-six houses inhabited by women householders. Of these twenty-one were Suffragists, seven anti-Suffragists, nineteen indifferent, away, &c. Total forty-seven."

The statement of Mrs. Bassett and Miss Evelyn Atkinson was answered in a letter to "The Times," of March 25th, by Mrs. Johnstone, President of our Camberley, Frimley, and Mytchett Branch. Mrs. Johnstone explained that members of our League were not canvassed, nor were persons who were known to be active Suffragists. Moreover, domestic servants, and the wives of officers and soldiers, in what seemed to be the interests of fairness, were not counted as permanent residents. Mrs. Johnstone then went on:—

"At the last census the inhabited houses of the Frimley Urban District amounted, from the official returns, to 1,550—they may now be 2,000—and, deducting 73 per cent. for places where we may not have got replies, we have the result of 1,850. We believe these 1,850 whose opinions were ascertained decisively represent the views of the women of this district, and they are by an enormous majority opposed to the vote for women. To cite against this a canvass of forty-six houses is almost farcical. The population at Deepcut and Blackdown Camps alone amounts to 2,907."

VIII. Miss A. M. Royden stated, in the "Common Cause," that our canvass at Bath was "admittedly incomplete," and that the form of the canvass papers was "rejected as unfair" by our Bristol Branch.

The Hon. Secretary of our Bath Branch wrote to the "Common Cause," of May 18th:—

"I write to protest against the unfair accusations made in your paper re the Anti-Suffrage canvass in Bath."

"First: That it was admittedly incomplete." It was as complete as is ever possible, when such an enormous poll is demanded, with so many changes, absences, and removals. In every list of the sort there are always many unaccounted for. I would call your attention to the fact that 575 in Bath refused to sign. In my own experience when canvassing, the anti-Suffragists refused to sign against their sisters who disagreed with them! In Bath there are many such households and the fact needs no comment.

"Second: The accusation that the Bath form of canvass 'was rejected as unfair' is absolutely untrue and impossible. The Bristol canvass was over before ours began and our paper was drawn up by our committee and, as far as I know, was never shown out of Bath—certainly never sent."

We are informed that the statement about the form of the Bath canvass has been repeated in a pamphlet by Miss Royden. If this be so, we trust she will correct or withdraw it.

IX. We may add a communication we have

received from the Hon. Secretary of our Gloucester Branch, though it refers to a statement made by Suffragists after the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.—

"The Suffrage Society here has written to the local papers saying that the canvass is utterly worthless as we allowed signatures to be optional. They have written this before we have published our results. As a matter of fact the returns show that unsigned cards are precisely twenty-four per cent. on each side, and that ignoring all unsigned, we still have 312 to their 140—with signatures which we have verified by the Municipal Register."

There are other misrepresentations which we must leave alone for want of space. We have never pretended that our canvass, or any canvass, can give more than a rough idea of the true figures. That there is a large majority against Women's Suffrage, however, we have no doubt whatever. A personal canvass introduces the element of persuasion, and is less valuable than a canvass by post. We understand that the Suffragist canvasses have been generally personal canvasses. It is a significant fact, which has never been explained by Suffragists, who prefer assertion to proof, that in the districts where Suffragists consented to audit our canvass, the results were not different in character from the rest which we have published.

THE MATERNAL IN POLITICS.

By Mrs. Havelock Ellis.

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THE struggle for the suffrage has intensified many problems which it will take all the intellectual energy of women to solve. Men are awakening, through the sane and insane methods of political women, to a new situation. Women themselves are also being roused to a clearer idea of what they will be in the State when the clamour for the vote is over. Hitherto it has been a fight for mere rights as against monopolies. In the near future this struggle must lead to a realization of duties, founded on a level-headed facing of physiological realities.

The normal woman is maternal. The possibility of becoming a legislator, a county councillor, a mayor, or even a Prime Minister, cannot alter that fact. The woman with little knowledge and less wisdom denies this. She insists on trying to be a poor imitation of man, or else a mere neuter, possessing neither the virility of manhood nor the charm of womanhood. Sex hatred becomes almost as significant a characteristic of this type of the moment as ivory buttons and law-breaking.

The absurdity of such an attitude does not free it from danger even to the clear-headed women who are working for peace and not for discord, and whose aims are as sincere and dignified as those of most of their brothers in the region of politics. When women either deny their own

natures or become disloyal to one another they are practically hindering their cause more than those who oppose the enfranchisement of women tooth and nail. For a woman to crave a man's place, instead of her own, in the world at large, is to arrest progress. It is just the maternal element we need so badly in politics, and it is short-sighted to endeavour to minimise woman's most significant warrant for political usefulness. In so doing woman is not only damaging her own small world, but the larger one she hopes to change through her influence in the State. The question of loyalty to her own sex and party is only secondary to the inner voice which demands the fulfilment of maternal ministrations to the State as well as to the private home. The loyalty of woman to woman is quite as important as the loyalty of one sex to another.

The militant woman to-day is not, to outward seeming, the maternal woman. If she were she would not, in the political nursery, imitate her naughty boy, who, because he cannot immediately get what he wants, knocks the head off the rocking-horse and throws bricks in the face of the nurse. When she means to attain a given end in her own nursery or schoolroom, the maternal woman relies on her insight and on her resolution. Noise is not her refuge. She makes herself so necessary in the nursery that both the roguish boy and the demure girl find out at last that it is not good policy to try to kick so good an administrator and so delightful a play-fellow out of the door, or to humbug her any longer with statements that are false on the face of them. She makes herself indispensable, and dominates while smiling. The woman who counts to-day is the woman who persistently and quietly makes herself necessary by capably filling the posts already conceded to her, so that she gradually becomes regarded as indispensable. Uproar is neither dignified, dangerous, nor drastic, in spite of all the arguments in its defence. It more often than not defeats its own ends.

The one and only way to gain the vote is to educate women; not only to want it but to realize its significance when won. The maternal woman realizes not only its significance, but also its insignificance. One would think, to hear some of our women talk, that the day the vote is won, England will be a new Garden of Eden, with Adam thrust outside to commune with the serpent as companion. The vote will not do more for women than it has done for men. For them it has been a small means to a possible end. Other and more potent factors are needed in the development of men and women alike to give the vote all the possibilities that are claimed for it. The vote will not necessarily free us from petty aims and malicious actions, nor will it give us courage to progress until woman brings to its aid the tremendous maternal force within her. The true mother forgets herself in the general good. She is happy in giving, rarely in grasping. She never deals blows, but cures through firmness

and tenderness. Through her very maternity she realizes that new births do not come about in an hour, and that pain and struggle are inevitable in all great developments. She is "without haste and without rest." She smiles serenely and yet tolerantly at party strife and political jealousy.

It is the maternal, then, that we want to bring into politics to clear it of its slavery to traditions and its attempts to formulate moral laws. The morality of the future is very largely in the hands of women, so that she will need all the educative discipline possible to fit her for her responsible work. The true mother, in a kindly spirit, will put the dunce's cap on the heads of her hysterical daughters who mistake noise for freedom and sex-hatred for emancipation. She will help to calm the ruffled tempers of her sons who, in the political arena struggle to keep the floor entirely for themselves. The maternal woman's great desire is not so much to be in evidence, as to be herself evidence that a nation inspired by women and governed by men will make cleaner and juster laws than one governed by women in defiance of men.

It cannot be too often repeated that sex hatred means retrogression and not progression. Man and woman are compensatory, but not opposed, equal but not alike, "equipotential but not equivalent," as it has been lately expressed. The paternal and maternal are as essential in politics as in home life. The feeble, swooning woman is out of date, and the masculine woman is out of favour, but the maternal woman has been for all time and will be always the mainstay of men and nations. Childlessness cannot kill the maternal in a true woman, nor can mere political frenzy. The modern feeling tends towards making maternity a crowning characteristic of all highly-developed women whose need is to use their innate force in order to help all the children of the State. Exclusiveness in the maternal instinct is characteristic of the savage more than of the advanced woman. To be content only to rock one cradle, regardless of the discomfort and need of thousands of little ones in the larger family of the State, has almost become a vulgarity through the selfish absorption it implies. The maternal instinct only needs enlargement to be the most effective power of modern times. The maternal woman, in the work of the State, as in her private home, will diffuse sanity and serenity into the difficult details of legislation.

It is too late to ostracise woman from politics, but it is not too late to save her from becoming a mere politician. Equal opportunity for political usefulness does not imply equal methods of carrying out the work. Diversity implies greater expansion and better statecraft. It is not a question of superiority of sex, but of willingness to share burdens. Sex antagonism is retarding the social and political evolution. The maternal woman must see to it that her family is not divided against itself.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### LORD CROMER AND THE CAMBRIDGE CANVASS.

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

SIR,—In a letter recently addressed to the newspapers, Mrs. Fawcett, speaking of the recent municipal canvass, said, "the figures given are mostly worthless. Even Lord Cromer himself admitted this with regard to Cambridge."

This statement is wholly devoid of foundation. The actual words I used, as reported, were as follows:—"I have no wish to make any unfair use of these figures, or to push the conclusion to be drawn too far. It may be, in spite of all the care that has been taken, that some minor errors have crept into the returns. At the same time I think it has been clearly shown that in every district there are a large number of anti-Suffragists, and that there are also a large number of women who take no interest whatever in the matter."

I also made some further observations—I think in answer to a question—which were not reported. I cannot pretend to reproduce my exact words, but the general effect of my remarks was as follows: I said that there were two systems for obtaining the views of women municipal voters—namely, one by personal canvass, and the other by postcard. I explained the merits and demerits of these two systems, and I added that I was aware that the Cambridge vote had been taken by canvass. I thought that the postcard system was preferable, and I said that in future all the canvasses would be conducted by postcard.

There is a wide difference between these remarks, which I merely made in order not to overstate my own case, and admitting that the Cambridge figures were "worthless." So far from that being the case, I consider that the figures at Cambridge and elsewhere are of great value.—I am, Sir, &c.,

CROMER.

36, Wimpole Street, W.

[Mrs. Fawcett has not been alone in attributing to Lord Cromer words which he did not use. We trust that the Suffragists will now see the propriety of refraining from repeating a statement which is "wholly devoid of foundation."—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

### A WORD OF CAUTION.

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

SIR,—I am afraid that some of those who speak, and speak most effectively, on behalf of the League, sometimes forget that, in the words of its Constitution, it is "an Association wholly independent of party," and that party utterances are out of place and, indeed, mischievous on its platform.

As I write I have before me an urgent representation from an influential and uncompromising opponent of Woman Suffrage that something should be done to prevent a repetition of an experience through which he and other Liberal Anti-Suffragists passed at a large and otherwise harmonious meeting a few days ago, not far from London, when they were irritated by irrelevant jibes at Mr. Lloyd George and the Labour Party.

I am aware how natural it is for some speakers to assume that disagreement with their political views is either non-existent or else absurd and negligible; but, as a matter of fact, it is not so; and failure to appreciate

this situation tends to injure the cause whose success they are so honestly and earnestly seeking to promote.

I feel sure they will not resent this word of exhortation.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN MASSIE.

Old Headington, May 15th.

### WAGES AND EQUALITY.

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

SIR,—There is a lot of talk amongst Suffragists about the injustice of paying women less than men for doing just the same work. May I be permitted to quote the words of a Suffragist authority on this subject?

The Church League for Woman Suffrage publishes a pamphlet by Mr. George Wood (Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society), on "The Woman Wage-Earner," in which he says:—"I have yet to find a case of a man and woman doing quite the same industrial work. I only know one case where men and women do exactly the same work, and the employment of either is a matter of indifference to the employer. . . . this case is also unique in that men and women are paid at exactly the same rate."

I should like to draw attention to another publication by the same Society. Everyone with the merest smattering of logic will admit that no argument can be brought forward in support of political equality for women which does not equally apply to religious equality. Indeed, as women are less inexperienced in religious matters, compared with men, than they are in political affairs, one would expect perfect religious equality to seem the more reasonable of the two. Yet we find the Rev. Maurice Bell, when preaching before the Inaugural Meeting of the Church League for Women's Suffrage, saying, "Let me quote to you some words of Bishop Gore's. . . . The priesthood, for example, and all that the priesthood involves, is debarred to women. The Bishop said that he believed that the reasons for that are very profound, and lie very deep in human nature, and that that is a permanent prohibition." Yet if we were to ask for these very profound reasons (I mean if we could get them), we should be obliged to admit, if we are logical, that every one of them can be used against Woman Suffrage.

It seems to me that if women were logical they would never have asked for the Parliamentary vote, and as they are not logical, they ought not to have it.—I am, Sir, &c.,

GWLADYS GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

"Consuelo," Wordsworth Walk,  
The Garden Suburb, N.

### SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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

SIR,—When I heard that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was to take the chair at the meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League at the Criterion, on May 18th, to discuss the marriage laws, I begged him to prevent any possibility of his co-operation with Suffragists being construed as an approval of their principles. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle kindly wrote to me as follows:—

"I take the chair at this meeting on the clearly-expressed understanding that it shall be stated on all bills and tickets that it is as open to anti-Suffragists as to Suffragists, and that the matter shall not come up. I welcome support to the reform of our

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—I am, Sir, &c., A WORKER.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND.

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

SIR,—In your report of the meeting held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb, you mention that Dr. Winter more than held her own in the debate with me. The facts are that Dr. Winter did not even attempt to debate the subject, but read a paper on her side of the question, without making any reference to my arguments. She not only brought down the house by her delightful statement that women in New Zealand were "for prohibition, anti-gambling, and peace," but she stated that the Hon. W. P. Reeves had said that "there had been a great deal of clap-trap and cant legislation since women got the vote." Mrs. Grossman, M.A., and I denied that Mr. Reeves had made such a statement, and I disclosed the source of the statement which came from Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., formerly of New Zealand, who, when in New Zealand, opposed every measure for reform that came before Parliament.

Since the meeting I have sent to Dr. Winter a letter from Mr. Reeves containing an emphatic denial of her statement. Dr. Winter has not acknowledged receipt, nor has the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW inserted an apology for a mis-statement which is really a slander upon Mr. Reeves. If the success of a meeting depends upon the amount of amusement caused by the arguments brought forward, certainly Dr. Winter scored that evening, and so did Mr. Maconachie by his usual hysterical screech "Women can't fight, so they can't vote."

Certainly the sense of humour must be lacking in the Anti-Suffrage advocates or they would not boast of having, "after six years of unparalleled exertions—exertions which they would never be able to exceed—out of 54,000 women 20,000 had not even thought it necessary to answer the question whether they were in favour of woman's franchise or not!!! It only took three weeks for the National Union to secure 280,000 signatures of men electors for a petition to grant the Suffrage to women. The National Union canvass of women voters secured in a few weeks thousands of signatures from women in favour of the vote.

Thousands of meetings were held in three months, and sixty-three city councils have sent in petitions to the Government to pass the Conciliation Bill. It would be well for the Anti-Suffragists to study the matter before making such inaccurate statements. So far as one could see there were six Anti-Suffragists at the meeting at Golders Green, and three of them were "anti"-lecturers.—I am, Sir, &c.,

ANNA P. STOUT.

[We cannot undertake to answer for Dr. Winter, but we suggest that she may have had in mind a remark in Mr. W. P. Reeves's book, "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand." In writing of Woman Suffrage Mr. Reeves says:—"It may be noted, furthermore, that the tone of public life has been hardly affected. There is, perhaps, a little less coarseness and a little more cant in the lower class of public addresses." We do not know when the boast of the Anti-Suffragists to which Lady Stout refers, but we trust that Lady Stout has done an injustice to its grammar.—Ed., A.-S. REVIEW.]

#### WOMEN'S RULE.

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

SIR,—In your article, "The Family and the Nation," in the May number of the REVIEW, you associated women's "rights" with national decay. The Jews would have agreed with what you say of Sparta and Venice. See Isaiah iii., 12, where women's rule is spoken of as the punishment of a degenerate people. "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths."—I am, Sir, &c.,

L.

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

#### OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

New branches are springing up with great rapidity, and the organising work of the League proceeds with vigour. Elsewhere we give a list of the branches which held protest meetings against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, and have sent the resolution passed to members, to the Premier, and to Mr. Balfour.

We have to record, with great regret, the death of the Hon. Sec. of the Goudhurst (Kent) Branch, and of Miss Barnard, the Treasurer of our Felixstowe Branch.

**The 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, June 14th, at 11.30 a.m. Hon. Sec., Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

**Bickley.**—By kind permission of Mrs. G. F. Fischer, a drawing-room meeting was held at "Appletreewick," Bickley, on May 10th. The meeting was well attended, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke. New members joined. The Bromley and Bickley Branch is increasing its membership with great rapidity.

**Cardiff.**—A public meeting, under the auspices of our Cardiff Branch, was held at the Cory Hall, on May 3rd, when Lady Hyde presided over a crowded audience, and the principal speakers were Sir J. D. Rees, ex-M.P. for Montgomery Boroughs, and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P. Before the chair was taken an excellent programme of music was given. Notwithstanding the presence of a large number of members of the local female suffrage societies—both "militant" and "constitutional"—the meeting was highly successful from our point of view, for we certainly scored best in the duel of questions and answers.

At the outset, Mr. D. Austin Harries read the following telegram from Lord Cromer: "Warmly sympathise with your efforts. All evidence we have as to result of municipal canvass goes far to prove that majority of women are opposed to woman suffrage. Please emphasise this." Lady Jersey also telegraphed:—

"Please convey my warm congratulations to the Cardiff Branch on its inauguration. It is happy in having as President one of the

ablest opponents of the claim of a minority to speak in the name of the women of the United Kingdom, and to impose on them an undesired burden. I heartily wish success to our new Branch."

Sir J. D. Rees said under 3 per cent. of the women of the country had joined the suffrage societies. They were told that those women who were asking for the vote were representative women. Let any man present review in his mind the women he knew, and he would ask if the majority of them were in favour of the suffrage. The fact was that the women in question were unrepresentative and abnormal women. It was said that women would be a moderating force in politics, but he did not believe it. In America, women had the vote in Utah, a place that they surely did not aspire to emulate. It was the possession of women in the mining camps of Colorado, but they did not find the other States more anxious to take over the Colorado franchise than they were to take over the Colorado beetle. Australia and New Zealand had not got great world empires to preserve, and they could make as many mistakes as they liked, and it did not matter much. But let Great Britain make one mistake of the magnitude now desired and the end was certain.

Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., said that Suffragists were divided amongst themselves as to what they wanted. The very first object that Suffragists ought to aspire to was the giving of the vote to married women, but the Bill before the House of Commons debarred married women. There was no enthusiasm for woman suffrage in the House of Commons, and there was not the slightest chance of it being passed into law.

Mr. Arnold Ward then put the question to the meeting, and declared a protest against the Conciliation Bill carried by a large majority.

**Croydon.**—An excellent concert, followed by speeches, was enjoyed by members of the Croydon Branch of the League, at their "At Home," held in the Small Public Hall, on April 28th.

The statement of the work of the branch for the past year having been read by Captain Groves, Mrs. Colquhoun made a most interesting and thoughtful speech.

Mr. Sydney G. Edridge then proposed the protest resolution.

Captain Groves seconding, the vote was unanimously carried.

**East Sheen.**—A drawing-room meeting was held at The Cottage, East Sheen, on May 16th, by invitation of Mrs. Kelsall, to discuss the formation of a local Branch. Mrs. Lane gave an address, after which many of the ladies present handed in their names as members. Another drawing-room meeting is to be held at the same address as soon as possible, to elect officials of the new Branch.

**Fulham.**—A very successful meeting of the Fulham Branch was held on April 15th, at 53, Talgarth Road, by the invitation of Mrs. W. King. The chair was taken by Mrs. R. L. Harrison, President of the branch. The principal speaker was Mrs. Harold Norris, who spoke very forcibly and seriously of the menace to home life that underlay the restless spirit inciting the Suffrage movement. The Organising Secretary afterwards gave a few details of the proposed work of the branch, and Mrs. F. E. Gladstone, the Hon. Treasurer, enrolled several new members as the result of the meeting.

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WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.

153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.

1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.

24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by inspectors.

3,243 Sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.

299,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.

The increased operations of the Society have drawn from the funds an amount vastly exceeding the yearly subscriptions. The Council need much greater assistance, and unless such additional support be extended to them, this most righteous cause of humanity must suffer.

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**Haslemere.**—The "Women's Co-operative Guild," at Haslemere, made a special request that an opportunity might be given them of studying the Anti-Suffrage arguments. On May 8th, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave them an address. The chair was taken by Mr. Molyneux, and the speaker was supported by Mrs. Beveridge, and Mrs. Bruce Joy.

**In North London.**—On May 3rd Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed about 100 workmen, in their canteen room during the dinner-hour. They listened with keen attention, and applauded enthusiastically when she said that the greatest privilege a woman could have was peace and leisure to bring up her children properly. They knew, these working men, how much the woman is needed in the home.

In the evening, Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed the Garden Suburb Branch of "The Adult School," on "Where Women are Wanted." She began by saying that, trite and obvious as the remark was, she must state that women were wanted in the home. As long as 100,000 babies died every year, and from 400,000 to 500,000 of those who lived grew up morally, physically, or mentally deficient, women were needed a great deal more in the home. She read part of "The Children's Charter," and showed how well children were protected by the law. This led to the question of the great need for women on local government bodies, where they could see that laws affecting women and children were properly administered.

When question time came, two Suffragists, who had come for the sake of discussion, spoke, and a heated but friendly argument ensued.

**Kingston-on-Thames.**—By invitation of Mrs. Compton, a drawing-room meeting was held at her residence at Gastcott, Kingston Hill, on April 4th, to inaugurate a Kingston Branch. Mrs. Lane gave a short and interesting address on the objects of our League, and new members were enrolled. A drawing-room meeting is to be held at an early date at Kingston for members, at the residence of Mrs. Compton, when it is proposed to elect a Committee. The rapid formation of both the Surbiton and Kingston-on-Thames Branches is due, in a great measure to the work of Miss Stephenson, of Kew, Miss Goodrich, of Hampton, and Mrs. Lane, who is now doing organising work for the League.

**Manchester.**—We have received reports of two very successful meetings at Manchester, where a series of meetings has been held. On April 6th, Mr. G. C. Hamilton, Mr. A. C. Gronno, and Miss Cordelia Moir spoke in the lecture hall of the Free Library, Sale. Mr. Herbert Carey was in the chair. The speeches were all of much interest, and the questions of the Suffragists present were answered in a way that at last entirely silenced them.

On April 27th, Mrs. P. W. Craven presided over a meeting at the Public Hall, Longsight. Miss Moir, Mr. Herbert Carey, and Mr. A. C. Gronno spoke eloquently, and scored a distinct success with their clear and well-reasoned arguments.

**Newport (Mon.).**—The annual meeting of the Newport (Mon.) Branch took place on May 4th. The chair was taken by Colonel Wallis and the general report having been read and passed, the balance sheet was read, and showed a comfortable surplus on the

year's expenditure. The announcement that Mrs. Bircham, of Chepstow, had accepted the office of President for the coming year was received with acclamation, for this lady is known to all by reason of her personal popularity and by the indefatigable work she has done in connection with the Board of Guardians and other social and philanthropic causes. Miss Prothero was re-elected as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, whilst the members of the Committee were elected for the forthcoming year.

The general report showed that there had been a steady flow of new members, and gave an encouraging account of strong anti-Suffrage sympathy existing in Newport, together with the conclusive proof derived from the returns of the Municipal Women's Canvass.

Mrs. Budgett, of Henbury, gave an interesting address.

At the close of the address Mr. Maitland Watkins moved the protest resolution.

Mr. Raymond Gibbs seconded the motion, and the resolution, being put to the meeting, was unanimously carried. The immediate result was the enrolment of thirty new members to the Branch—for the most part working-class associates.

**North Berks.**—A meeting of the Vice-Presidents and members of the North Berks Branch was held by Mrs. Woodhouse, at Wantage, on May 1st, at which Lady Wantage presided, and, in an opening speech, said that they had met in order to record a strong protest against the Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women.

Miss G. Pott gave an address pointing out the anomalies that would ensue from the form of limited franchise proposed by Sir George Kemp's Bill, and showing that, by the Suffragists' own statements lately published (which were, however, absolutely inconclusive as regarded the United Kingdom as a whole), only about 10 per cent. of those enfranchised would be women of property. The question had never been before the electorate as a main issue, and the only candidates who had come forward as professed supporters of the movement at the last election polled 35 and 22 votes respectively. No such radical change as that suggested by this Bill ought to be allowed to pass without the consent of the people. A resolution to this effect was passed unanimously.

It was decided to send a copy of the resolution to Major Henderson, M.P., Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

A similar meeting was held by Lady Norman, at Abingdon, on May 2nd, at which Miss Potts again spoke and proposed the same resolution, which was passed unanimously.

**Oswestry.**—On April 22nd a drawing-room meeting was held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Corbett, at Ashlands, Oswestry. The gathering was a most successful one. Mr. Horace Lovett, the President of the newly-formed Oswestry Branch, took the chair, and the speaker was Mrs. Maggs. Many new members were enrolled, and our Oswestry Branch, like our other new Shropshire Branches, promises to be most prosperous.

**Plymouth (Three Towns Branch).**—A meeting was held on the 5th May, at Stonehouse, Devonport. It was addressed by Lt.-Colonel C. Purchas, now organising this Branch. He dealt at some length with the legal position of women under

"man-made laws," analysing the instances of alleged hardships, and the custom alleged that women are given unequal pay for equal work. Mr. John C. Phillipps, of London, also addressed the meeting on the general question of Woman Franchise from an Imperial point of view. A hearty vote of thanks to both speakers was passed.

**Reading.**—A meeting in connection with the Reading Branch was held at Cross Street Hall, Reading, on May 4th. Admiral Fleet presided over a large audience, and was well supported on the platform. The chairman said he believed in women taking part in municipal and domestic politics, but he drew the line at Imperial matters. Mrs. Harold Norris said a revolution such as the enfranchisement of women was only justified by a vast majority behind it, and there was no such majority, either of men or women, in its favour. The laws were sometimes unjust to women, but they were more often unjust to men. What was called the women's movement was, among some of its supporters, an attempt to upset the laws of nature and to lower the status of women. Mrs. Stocks also spoke.

**Richmond and Kew.**—A meeting of the Richmond and Kew Society was held at the Castle Assembly Rooms, on April 20th, to protest against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. Miss Albinia Trevor presided over a full attendance, and, in opening the proceedings, explained that she had received a request from two ladies, certainly not anti-suffragists, to be present, but as that was a private meeting, called for a particular purpose, she could not accede to their request. No debate would be allowed. The meeting was called to protest against the Women's Conciliation Bill. She was sure no one in the position of an invited guest would be so discourteous as to oppose the wishes of the hostesses. A referendum on the question of women's votes had been taken in Richmond, the questions asked being simply whether the women were in favour, against, or neutral. The result was a large majority against the granting of the vote.

Mrs. Greatbatch gave a long and most interesting address, and questions were asked and well answered. The Richmond Branch has just sent us its annual report, which is most satisfactory and encouraging, in this its third year of work. The membership, which is large, is increasing. Mr. George Cave, K.C., the member for the Surrey and Kingston division, received a deputation from our Kew and Richmond, and Surbiton Branches, on May 4th, at the House of Commons. Miss Trevor introduced the deputation, which Mr. Cave received with great courtesy. He was, however, he explained, pledged to support the Conciliation Bill.

**Saffron Walden.**—A meeting was held in the reading room of the Liberal Club, on April 25th, when an address was delivered by Mr. Sidwell Shotton, one of our organising agents. Mr. E. W. Tanner presided. Mr. J. W. Pateman moved: "That in the opinion of this meeting it is not desirable that any woman should have the Parliamentary vote." The motion, upon being put to the meeting, was carried by a considerable majority.

**Shottermill and Haslemere.**—By permission of Mrs. Hulise, a third meeting of the Local branch of the League was held at Nutcombe, on April 8th. The

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chair was taken by Admiral Tudor (hon. treasurer of the Guildford branch). Mrs. Harold Norris, amongst other points, dealt especially with those of the "woman of property," and of Suffragist expectation that the Parliamentary vote, with a kindness not shown to men, would raise women's wages. Mr. Tritton Gurney and Mrs. Beveridge spoke, and Mr. Cecil Wray moved the vote of thanks.

**Shrewsbury.**—A crowded afternoon public meeting was held in the Union Hall, Shrewsbury, on April 26th. The chair was taken by Colonel Lovett. Mrs. Maggs was the speaker, and was supported by a very influential platform. Mr. Kinnersley proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Maggs, seconded by Colonel Corbett. A vote of thanks to the chairman, Colonel Lovett, was proposed by Mrs. Meeson Morris, and seconded by Miss Kinnersley, members of the Shrewsbury Committee. As a result of the meeting, many new names were added to the list of members already enrolled in the Shropshire Branches.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—Under the auspices of the Tunbridge Wells Branch, a meeting was held at the Public Hall, Tunbridge, on May 5th. Mr. Percy L. Babington presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and the Hon. C. T. Mills, M.P. for the Uxbridge division. On the platform also were Lady Amherst, Mrs. Frederick Harrison (Hawkhurst), and a number of well-known local people. The chairman's table was draped with the motto: "No misrule for England." Mrs. Colquhoun moved the protest resolution.

Mr. C. T. Mills, in the course of an admirable speech, said that the Conciliation Bill now before the House was, more or less, the same Bill presented last year, with the difference that it was capable of being vastly extended by amendments in Committee, and therefore it was even more dangerous as making way for "the thin end of the wedge." It was said that the possession of property conferred the right to vote upon men, and therefore the women property owners had a natural right to vote. That was contrary to the basis of our agreement. Men were given the vote not because they had property, but subject to certain qualifications, amongst which was the possession of a certain amount of property. But if women who owned property must be given the vote, they must also give the vote to children who owned property. The talk about the Lancashire mill-girls wanting the vote was simply political clap-trap, and they would not catch people of any experience with cries of that kind. The women's suffrage movement would not give the mill-girls of Lancashire the vote, but there were a certain number of women of the wealthier class who, for various reasons, imagined that they were not particularly well fitted for domestic exercises, and that the only sphere of activity for them was to gain the vote, so as to enter Parliament and become Cabinet Ministers.

The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

A vote of thanks was accorded the speakers, on the motion of Mr. M. I. Christie, seconded by Mrs. Frederick Harrison.

A very successful "At home" was held by the Tunbridge Wells Branch, at Christ Church Parish Room, on April 27th. The floral decorations in the League's colours were very effective. Speeches by Mr. Emson

and Colonel Hunter were much applauded, while Miss Chalmers read a very good paper on her personal experiences of the failure of Woman Suffrage in Colorado, where she was visiting last summer. A strong resolution was passed by the meeting, praying the Government to make a direct appeal to the country before passing any measure of votes for women. There was a good sale of "The Anti-Suffrage Review," and some new members joined the branch.

**Wendover.**—A meeting of the Wendover Branch was held on May 1st, at the Parish Room, Wendover. Lady Louisa Smith, President of the Wendover Branch, was in the chair.

Miss Lilla B. Strong, whose educational work amongst women is a household word not only in London, but in India and South Africa, delivered an able address, in which she set forth lucidly the insidious features of the Conciliation Bill.

At the conclusion of Miss Strong's address Lady Louisa Smith proposed a resolution to protest against the Conciliation Bill.

This protest was unanimously agreed to, and copies were sent to Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, and to Mr. Lionel de Rothschild, M.P., by the President, Lady Louisa Smith.

Subsequent to the meeting, an active campaign against Suffragist methods in the district was organised by those present.

**Weston.**—At the meeting of the Weston-Super-Mare Branch, on April 5th, which was reported in our last issue, Lady Fry, President of the Bristol Branch, supported the chairman. A resolution against the Conciliation Bill was carried by a large majority. The result of this meeting has been a very satisfactory increase in the membership of the Western Branch.

**Weybridge.**—One of the most successful meetings of the past month was the one so admirably organised by Mrs. Gore Brown on behalf of the Weybridge Branch, and held on May 12th, in the Holstein Hall. Mr. R. C. Grosvenor presided, and was supported by a very influential platform of leading residents, including Sir Herbert and Lady Ellis, Mrs. R. C. Grosvenor, and Sir Theodore and Lady Morrison. The colours of our League were displayed on the platform, and with a profusion of flowering plants, made pretty decorations. Mrs. Greatbatch gave a most interesting address, full of well-reasoned argument and telling points, and proposed the resolution: "That the present House of Commons, which was elected on other questions, has no right to extend the franchise to women without affording to the country an opportunity of expressing its opinion."

Mr. Leo Maxse, in seconding, said that a vote would be followed by a seat in Parliament. In no other country that had adopted women's suffrage was there a majority of women, and the result in this country would be absolutely to reverse the Government, as there would be a majority of women in every constituency.

Open discussion followed, and after hearing several Suffragists' opinions and arguments, and Anti-Suffrage answers, the meeting carried our resolution by a large majority.

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DEBATES.

A number of interesting debates have taken place, and amongst them was one held by the Sylvan Society, at the Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden, on May 8th, when Miss Gladys Pott debated, very successfully, with Miss Brackenbury. Mr. Rudolph Birnbaum proposed the motion for debate, which was "Women are as unsuited to public life as public life is unsuitable for women," and Mr. Percy Burton opposed. The majority against the motion was only one.

**Belfast.**—In Belfast, on April 24th, Mr. Henry S. Calderon ably put the arguments of our League before a crowded meeting, and Miss May Fielden, of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, was his opponent. An animated discussion followed.

**Hampstead.**—Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P., presided at a debate on the Conciliation Bill arranged by the London Society for Women's Suffrage at the Hampstead Subscription Library, when Mr. George Calderon argued skillfully with Mr. R. F. Cholmeley.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE'S PROTEST.

The following Branches held protest meetings to pass a resolution asking that "Imperial Parliament should refuse to sanction any measure giving the Parliamentary franchise to women until the question has been placed as a main issue before the country in a General Election"—

- |                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Ashbourne.       | Hereford.          |
| Bath.            | Kensington.        |
| Bedminster.      | Keswick.           |
| Berkhamsted.     | Manchester.        |
| North Berks.     | Mayfair.           |
| Birmingham.      | Newport (Mon.).    |
| Bournemouth.     | Nottingham.        |
| Bristol.         | Oxford.            |
| Brixton.         | Paddington.        |
| Camberley.       | Plymouth.          |
| Canterbury.      | Portishead.        |
| Cheddar.         | Portsmouth.        |
| Chelsea.         | Richmond.          |
| Cheltenham.      | Ryde.              |
| Chiswick.        | Salisbury.         |
| Clifton.         | Sheffield.         |
| Cranbrook.       | Shottonmill.       |
| Crowthorough.    | Shropshire.        |
| Croydon.         | Sidmouth.          |
| Carlisle.        | Southampton.       |
| Dorking.         | St. Leonards.      |
| Dublin.          | Torquay.           |
| Dulwich.         | Tunbridge Wells.   |
| Ealing.          | Watford.           |
| Eastbourne.      | Wendover.          |
| East Marylebone. | West Marylebone.   |
| East Molesey.    | Westminster.       |
| Felixstowe.      | Weston-super-Mare. |
| Fulham.          | West Sussex.       |
| Gloucester.      | Weybridge.         |
| Guildford.       | Wimbledon.         |
| Hampstead.       | Winscombe.         |
| Hampton.         | Winchester.        |
| Hastings.        | Woking.            |
| Hemel Hempstead. |                    |

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SAFFRON WALDON—Hon. Secretary: S. B. Donald, Esq. SOUTHEND AND WESTCLIFFE-ON-SEA—President: J. H. Morrison Kirkwood, Esq., M.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Peachey. Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Smith, Eatonville, Palmeira Avenue, Southend.

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BRISTOL—Chairman: Lady Fry. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. A. R. Robinson. Hon. Secretary: Miss Long Fox, 15, Royal York Crescent, Bristol. Assistant Secretary: Miss G. F. Allen. CHELTENHAM—President: Mrs. Hardy. Hon. Treasurer: Miss G. Henley, The Knoll, Battledown. Hon. Secretary: Miss Geddes, 4, Suffolk Square, Cheltenham. GLOUCESTER—Chairman: Mrs. R. I. Tidswell. Vice-Chairmen: Mrs. Nigel Haines and Mrs. W. Langley-Smith. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Naylor, Belmont, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

HAMPSHIRE.

BOURNEMOUTH—President: The Lady Abinger. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Drury Lowe. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Fraser, Dornoch, Lansdown Road, Bournemouth; Miss Sherring, Kildare, Norwich Avenue, Bournemouth. All communications to be addressed to Miss Fraser. HANTS (West), Kingsclere Division—President: Mrs. Gadesden. Vice-President: Lady Arbutnot. Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Helsing-Jones, Esq., Tile Barn, Woolton Hill. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Stedman, The Grange, Woolton Hill, Newbury. NORTH HANTS—President: Mrs. Laurence Currie. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke. Basingstoke (Sub-Branch)—Vice-President: Mrs. Illingworth, Farnborough (Sub-Branch)—Vice-President: Mrs. Grierson, Hartley Wintney (Sub-Branch)—Vice-President: Miss Millard, Minley, Yateley, and Hawley (Sub-Branch)—Vice-President: Mrs. Laurence Currie. Fleet (Sub-Branch)—Vice-President: Mrs. Ipadshaw. All communications to be addressed to Mrs. Allnutt, Hazelhurst, Basingstoke. LYMINGTON—President: Mrs. Edward Morant. Chairman: E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C. Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Taylor. Hon. Secretary pro tem.: Mrs. Alexander, The Old Mansion, Boldre, Lympington, Hants. PETERSFIELD—President: The Lady Emily Turnour. Vice-President: Mrs. Nettleship. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Amey. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Loftus Jones, Hylton House, Petersfield. PORTSMOUTH AND DISTRICT—Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnett. Hon. Secretary: Miss Craigie, Silwood Villa, Marmon Road, Southsea. SOUTHAMPTON—President: Mrs. Cotton. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Langstaff, 13, Carlton Crescent.

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

HEREFORDSHIRE.

HEREFORD AND DISTRICT—President: The Lord James of Hereford. Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. C. King King. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Armitage, 3, The Bartens, Hereford; Miss M. Capel, 22, King Street, Hereford. District represented on Committee by Mrs. Edward Heygate. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sale, The Forbury, Leominster.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

WEST HERTS, WATFORD—President: Lady Ebury. Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. P. Metcalfe. Organising Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Webb, Clovelly, Watford. Clerical Hon. Secretary: Miss H. L. Edwards, The Corner, Cassio Road, Watford, to whom all communications should be addressed. Hemel Hempstead and Boxmoor—President: E. A. Mitchell Innes, Esq., K.C., J.P. Chairman of Committee: Miss Halsey. Hon. Secretary: Miss Sale, Mortimer House, Hemel Hempstead. BARKHAMSTED—Hon. Treasurer: Miss Hyam, The Cottage, Potten End.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

ISLE OF WIGHT—President: Mrs. Ogländer. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Lowther Crofton. Provisional Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Perrott, Clovelly, Watford. Cluntagh, near Ryde, Isle of Wight. Sandown (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Le. Grice, Thorpe Lodge, Sandown.

KENT.

BECKENHAM—Provisional Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Blake, Kingswood, The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent. CANTERBURY—President: Lady Mitchell. Deputy President: Mrs. Trueman. Joint Hon. Secretaries and Treasurers: Miss Moore, and Miss C. Dymoley, Bramhope, London Road, Canterbury. CRANBROOK—President: Miss Neve, Osborne Lodge. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Mordaunt, Goddard's Green, Cranbrook. Hon. Secretary: Strangman Hancock, Esq., Kennel Holt, Cranbrook. GOUDHURST—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hawkhurst. HAWKHURST—President: Mrs. Frederic Harrison. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Beauchamp Tower. Hon. Secretary: Miss Patricia Baker, Delmond Grange, Hawkhurst. All communications to be sent to Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Elm Hill, Hawkhurst, for the present. Sandhurst (Sub-Branch)—President: Miss E. D. French. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. J. B. C. Wilson, Church House, Sandhurst. ISLE OF THANET—President: Mrs. C. Murray Smith. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Fishwick. Hon. Secretary: Miss Weigall, Southwood, Ramsgate. Herne Bay (Sub-Branch)—ROCHESTER—Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Conway Gordon. Hon. Secretary: Miss Pollock, The Precincts. SEVENOAKS—President: The Lady Sackville. Deputy President: Mrs. Ryecroft. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Herbert Knockor. Hon. Secretary: Miss Tabrum, 3, Clarendon Road, Sevenoaks. TUNBRIDGE WELLS—President: Countess Amherst. Hon. Treasurer: E. Weldon, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. B. Backhouse, 48, St. James' Road, Tunbridge Wells. TONBRIDGE—President: Mrs. Crowhurst, 30, Hadlow Road, Tonbridge.

LANCASHIRE.

LIVERPOOL AND BIRKENHEAD—Hon. Treasurer: C. Gostenhofer, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss C. Gostenhofer, 16, Baresford Road, Birkenhead. MANCHESTER—President: Lady Sheffield. Chairman: George Hamilton, Esq. Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Arthur Herbert, Percy Marfott, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon. Organising Secretary: W. Wrench Lee, Esq., Princess Street, Manchester. Didsbury (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawnhurst, Didsbury. Hale (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Arthur Herbert, High End, Hale, Cheshire. Marple (Sub-Branch)—President: Miss Hudson. Chairman of Committee: Mr. Evans. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Glade, Satis, Marple. ST. ANNE'S AND FYLDE—Hon. Treasurer: Miss Nora Waechter. Hon. Secretary: W. H. Pickup, Esq., 28, St. Anne's Road, West. ALDERLEY EDGE—Hon. Secretary: Miss Rayner, Stoke Lacy.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

LEICESTER—President: Lady Hazelrigg. Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Butler, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Butler, Elmfield Avenue. Assistant Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Waddington, 52, Regent Road, Leicester, and Miss M. Spencer, 134, Regent Road, Leicester.

LONDON.

BRIXTON—President: Hon. Treasurer: A. W. Thompson, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Agnes Stewart, 29, Albert Square, S.W. BROMLEY AND BICKLEY—President: Lady Lubbock. Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Fischer, Esq. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Payne and Miss E. Payne, Achroft, Elmfield Road. Bickley (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer: G. F. Fischer, Esq., Appletrewick, Southborough Road, Bickley. CHELSEA—President: Lady Hester Carew. Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Leo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 69, South Eaton Place, S.W. DULWICH—President: Mrs. Teall. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Dalzell. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Parish, 1, Woodlawn, Dulwich Village. East Dulwich (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Batten, 2, Underhill Road, Lordship Lane, S.E. FINCHLEY—President: Lady Ronaldshay. Hon. Treasurer: A. Savage Cooper, Esq. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. A. Scott, Glenroy, Seymour Road; Mrs. E. Burgin, Halesworth, Seymour Road. FULHAM—President: Mrs. Richard Harrison. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. F. E. Gladstone. Hon. Secretary: Miss F. Winthrop, 36, Fitz-George Avenue, W.

GOLDERS GREEN AND GARDEN SUBURB.

President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Buck. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Duncan, "Inyoni," Temple Fortune Lane, Hampstead Garden Suburb; Miss Buck, "Domella," Woodstock Avenue, Golders Green.

HAMPSTEAD.

President: Mrs. Metzler. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, N.W. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellows Road, Hampstead.

North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch).

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Blomfield, 51, Frogmal.

NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD.

President: Mrs. J. W. Cowley. Hon. Treasurer: Colonel J. W. Cowley. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph. D., 326, Philip Lane, South Tottenham.

HIGHBURY.

President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wagstaff. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Clarke, 89, Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.

KENNINGTON.

President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Millington, 101, Fentiman Road, Clapham Road, S.W.

KENSINGTON.

President: Mary Countess of Ilchester. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Jeanie Ross, 46, Holland Street, Kensington, W. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 25, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W. Asst. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. de L'Hopital, 159, High Street, Kensington, W. Mrs. Colquhoun is at home to interview members of the Branch or inquirers, on Tuesday mornings, 11-1.

MARYLEBONE (EAST).

Chairman: Mrs. Copland Perry. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. David Somerville. Hon. Secretary: Miss E. Luok, 31, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W.

MARYLEBONE (WEST).

President: Lady George Hamilton. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alexander Scott. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes, 11, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood.

MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S.

President: The Countess of Cromer. Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of Anchester. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mrs. Markham, 10, Queen Street, Mayfair.

PADDINGTON.

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

ST. PANCRAS, EAST.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Briggs. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Sterling, 14, Bartholomew Road, N.W.; Miss Berry, 1, Elm Road, Camden Town, N.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. Secretaries: Miss Stephenson and Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

MIDDLESEX.

EALING—President: Hon. Treasurer: L. Prendergast Walsh, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing. 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.

FORD PARK (Division), CHISWICK AND BEDFORD PARK.

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.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

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

NORTHUMBRLAND.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss Noble, Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Secretary: Miss Harris.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

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

OXFORDSHIRE.

OXFORD—Chairman: Mrs. Max Müller. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen. Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road, Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford, 40, St. Giles, Oxford. Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)—Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickens.

SHROPSHIRE.

SHROPSHIRE COUNTY—President: The Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Fielden. Hon. Secretary: Miss K. Corfield, Chatwall Hall, Leebotwood, Salop.

CHURCH STRETTON.

President: Mrs. Gordon Duff. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Hanbury Sparrow, Hillside.

LUDDLOW.

President: Hon. G. Windsor Clive. Hon. Treasurer:

OSWESTRY.

President: Horace Lovett, Esq. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Kenyon. Hon. Secretary: Miss Mary Longueville, Llanforda.

SHREWSBURY.

President: Miss Ursula Bridgeman. Hon. Treasurer: 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. Laroc. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Somerville. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Birkbeck, Church Square, Taunton.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

President: The Lady Mary de Salls. Vice-President: Mrs. Portsmouth Fry. Hon. Treasurer: Miss W. Evans. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. E. M. S. Parker, Welford House, Weston-super-Mare.

SUFFOLK.

FELIXSTOWE—President: Miss Rowley. Chairman: Mrs. Jutson. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Howard, Holmea, Felixstowe. SOUTHWOLD—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Adams, Bank House, Southwold, Suffolk. WOODBRIDGE—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: Mrs. King Lewis. Hon. Treasurer: Miss B. Jeffers. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Corry, 39, Park Hill Road, Croydon.

DORKING.

President: Mrs. Barclay. Hon. Treasurer: Miss MacAndrew, Juniper Hall, nr. Dorking. Hon. Secretary: A. Keep, Esq., The Hut, Holmwood.

EPSOM DIVISION.

President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere. Vice-President: The Lord James of Hereford. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Buller. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sydney Jackson, Danehurst, Epsom.

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

**COBHAM**—  
President: Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet.  
Cobham—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Sharp, The Bungalow.

**Oxshott**—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott.

**Walton-on-Thames and Hershham**—  
Hon. Secretary: Stoke d'Abernon—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Nelson, Stoke d'Abernon.

**ESHER**—  
President: Esher—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Harvey, Hedgerley.

**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, Tyrrels, Leatherhead.

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

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

**GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT**—  
President: Miss S. H. Onslow.  
Vice-President: Lady Martindale.  
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carter, 15, Wodland 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.

**PURLEY**—  
President: Purley—  
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: Haslemere—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottersmill, 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: Lady Constance Monro.  
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.  
Hon. Treasurer: Wimpleton—  
Hon. Secretary: The Countess von Hahn, 192, Worples Road, Wimpleton.

**WOKING**—  
President: Susan Countess of Wharnclyffe.  
Vice-President: Lady Arundel.  
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

**SUSSEX.**

**BRIGHTON AND HOVE**—  
President: Brighton—  
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: Miss I. Turner, 1, Hardwick Road, Eastbourne.

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

**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 Riggs, East Lodge, Dorset Road.

**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.

**WILTSHIRE.**

**SALISBURY**—  
President: Lady Glenconner of Glen.  
Hon. Treasurer: Salisbury—  
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kane, Wilsford.

**WORCESTERSHIRE.**

**MALVERN**—  
President: Lady Grey.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Sheppard.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Hollins, Southbank.

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

**YORKSHIRE.**

**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**—  
Hon. Treasurer: Hull—  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Walker, 18, Belvoir Street, Hull.

**LEEDS**—  
President: The Countess of Harewood.  
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.  
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 7, Cookridge Street, Leeds.

District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 155, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

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

**SCARBOROUGH**—  
Chairman: Mrs. Daniel.  
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.  
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Munns, Mayville, Rammoor Park Road, Sheffield; Miss Watson, Shirecliffe Hall, 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.

**IRELAND.**

**DUBLIN**—  
President: The Duchess of Abercorn.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Orpin.  
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Albert E. Murray, 2, Clyde Road, Dublin.  
Asst. Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickson.  
Secretary: Miss A. F. Morton, 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.

**EDINBURGH**—  
President: The Marchioness of Tweeddale.  
Vice-President: The Countess of Dalkeith.  
Chairman: Mrs. Stirling Boyd.  
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Paterson.  
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.

**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.

**WALES.**

**CARDIFF**—  
President: Lady Hyde.  
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.  
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.  
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.

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

**THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**

Miss Hird Morgan, Hon. Sec. of the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League, asks us to say that she would be glad if such Branch Secretaries as desire her to send members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings would give her at least a fortnight's notice prior to the date of Meeting.