

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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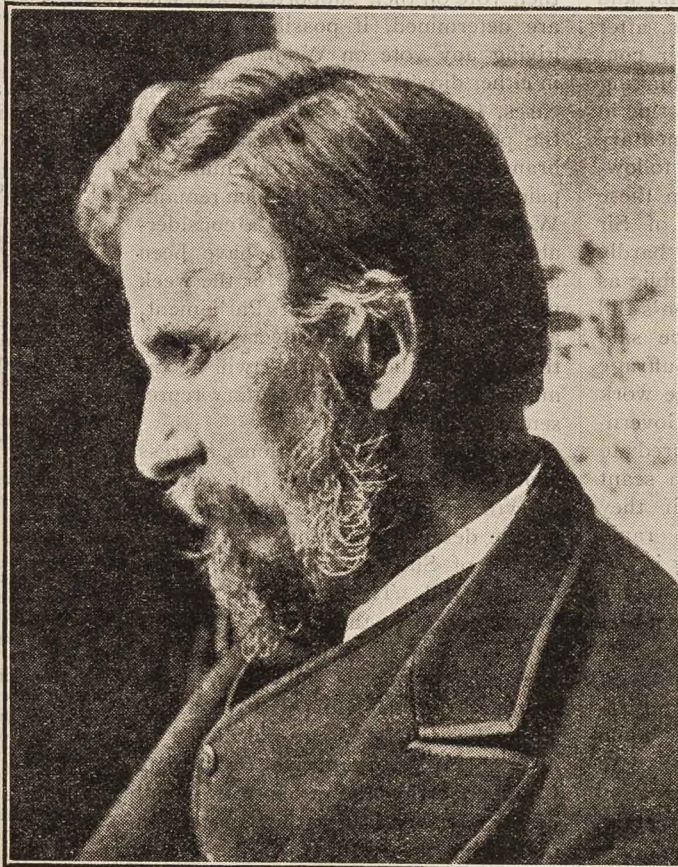
PROFESSOR DICEY, one of the most learned and convinced opponents of Woman Suffrage, is a personal refutation of the Suffragists' boast that "One often hears of converted Anti-Suffragists but seldom or never of a converted Suffragist." Professor Dicey is a converted Suffragist. In the fact that he was formerly in favour of Votes for Women and has therefore all the sympathy and understanding of his experience, we may find an explanation of the peculiar character of the lucid and effective arguments which he employs against the Suffrage in both his writings and public speeches.

Professor Dicey is a keen supporter of all movements in favour of extending educational and professional advantages to women, and was emphatic on these questions during his several years on the Council of Newnham College. Herein lies his characteristic force; he can differentiate between the advance of women and the granting to them of the Suffrage.

Born in 1835, Professor Dicey was educated at home and graduated with distinction from Balliol College, Oxford, where Jowett was his tutor. He was presently called to the Bar and was for some years Counsel to the Inland Revenue. In 1882 he was

PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

PROFESSOR A. V. DICEY, K.C.



A V Dicey

elected Fellow of All Souls and appointed Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford, a post which he held for twenty-seven years. In 1910 he became Lecturer on Private International Law.

To the long list of his academic distinctions we may add that he holds the honorary degrees of LL.D. at the Universities of Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Princeton, U.S.A., and D.C.L. at Oxford. He is also a member of the British Academy and Principal of the London Working Men's College.

Professor Dicey's works on Law are many and important the best known being "The Law of Domicil," "The Law of the Constitution," "The Conflict of Laws," "Law and Opinion in the Nineteenth Century." Both before and since 1886 he was a vigorous opponent of Home Rule. Twenty years ago he was one of the first writers to bring the Referendum into notice. In Professor Dicey's book, "Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women," will be found his reasons for having changed his views on Woman Suffrage. It is one of the first books which ought to be read by those who need a rational and earnest statement of the case against giving votes to women.

L. V. M.

THE WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL, 1911.

THAT within the past year the cause of Woman Suffrage has suffered a marked decline in public favour, is clearly shown by its altered position in Parliament. Last year great deference was shown by the Government to the Suffrage Party, and two whole Parliamentary days were placed at the disposal of the promoters of the Suffrage Bill. This year no such concession has been made, and if it had not been for the hazard of the ballot, the Suffragists would have enjoyed no opportunity during the present Session of bringing their case before the House of Commons. As it is, all that they have secured is a five-hour debate on a Friday, at the end of a week which will no doubt be marked by late sittings over the Parliament Bill, and on a day when many Members, after the considerable strain of their continued late sittings, will be thinking only of getting away to the sea-side in order to take part in the Parliamentary golf handicap, which opens the following morning at Littlestone. In these circumstances, the discussion of Sir George Kemp's measure will hardly be taken so seriously by the public as was the case with Mr. Shackleton's Bill of 1910, and it may fairly be said that this set-back to Woman Suffrage is substantially the result of the work of the National League. The Government could never have ventured to treat the Suffragists with such scant Parliamentary consideration, if they had not been aware of the rapid growth of Anti-Suffrage feeling in the country, which has rewarded the organised efforts of our members during the past year.

In these favourable circumstances, it is the duty of Anti-Suffragists to exert the utmost pressure upon their Members of Parliament to vote against the new "Conciliation Bill" on May 5th. We stand on far firmer ground than we did a year ago. The Suffragists have exposed their weakness by the miserable fiasco of their candidates at the General Election. We have proved

our strength by the remarkable success of our appeal to the female municipal voters of the country. There is far less excuse than there was in 1910 for a Member of Parliament to adopt a wavering attitude, and to shelter himself behind a doubt as to the opinion of his constituents. The evidence points more and more clearly every day to the conclusion that the convinced opponents of this change constitute considerably the largest section of the nation: that the next largest section is made up of the great body of persons who entertain no settled opinion on the question; and that the Suffragist remnant is only a small minority of the whole. Nevertheless, there still remain a very considerable number of Members of Parliament who have not realised these facts, who are genuinely doubtful as to the effect of their vote on their supporters, and who are determined, if possible, to avoid giving any vote on Woman Suffrage in either direction. To these numerous cases, full particulars of which are in the possession of the League and its branches, special attention must be paid during the few days which remain. We are glad to learn that a considerable number of meetings have been arranged by the branches for the week preceding the debate in Parliament, and we trust that every branch throughout the country will communicate with its Parliamentary representative before May 5th.

In these communications, stress should be laid not only on the general growth of Anti-Suffragism, but also on the detailed objections to the provisions of Sir George Kemp's extraordinary Bill. The changes in the new Bill represent in the main concessions to Liberalism, designed to meet the damaging criticisms of Mr. Winston Churchill on the Bill of 1910. But while these changes are calculated to deter many Conservative Suffragists from supporting the measure, we shall be greatly surprised if they succeed in appeasing the hostility of the Home Secretary. What, for instance, will any impartial Liberal think of Clause 2, which, in order to meet Mr. Churchill's objection to the facility with which

faggot votes might be created, prevents a husband from creating a home qualification for his wife, while leaving him unlimited freedom to manufacture votes for his daughters, sisters, and aunts? We trust that this wilful discrimination against the best part of womanhood, the married women, will be pointed to by our members as one of the worst features of a thoroughly bad Bill.

NOTES AND NEWS.

"THE Schoolmaster," the organ of the National Union of Teachers, for April 8th, commented on the resolution of the Executive in favour of Woman Suffrage. It adopted the views of the Conciliation Committee in saying of women householders that "their claim to the vote is readily recognized by public opinion," and that "they are subject to the same liabilities and fulfil the same obligations as male citizens." Our readers will know the precise value of these assertions. The same number of the paper published a letter from Mr. A. C. Gronno, who very rightly and naturally protested against the action of the Executive. He said:—

"Whether we are woman suffragists or not, I think all true Unionists will agree with me in that I object to the executive—without any mandate from the associations, without a single resolution being sent up from any association—going right over our heads and without giving us any previous notice whatever, trying to out-manoeuvre any possible opponents by bringing forward this resolution at the eleventh hour. As secretary of the Manchester Association, I had forwarded to me the resolutions for conference so that our association might judge of their relative importance, but no woman suffrage resolution appeared. Again, at the end of February, I received a belated resolution referring to admission to the Union; so it seems that up to this the executive did think that the rest of the members should know what was coming on. It is not a matter of urgency. 'Votes for Women' has been a cry any time this five years. It seems to me that this action is of a piece with other suffragist tactics. They never dare make it a clear issue and fight it out with a constituency either of teachers, of municipal electors, or of Parliamentary voters, but instead, they hope to go over the heads of the voters and out-manoeuvre them by 'getting at' their elected representatives."

THE sequel to the resolution of the Executive took place at Aberystwyth, when the delegates to the National Union Conference were called on to

decide whether the question of Woman Suffrage should be brought forward. We are very glad to record that the Conference most signally condemned this course. The voting was unequivocal, and we trust that Members of Parliament, on the eve of the re-introduction of the Conciliation Bill, will note well this rebuff to the suffragists. If suffragists might have been expected to triumph speedily anywhere, it was in the National Union of Teachers. But the strong, sturdy, and instinctive dislike for female suffrage was too strong for the agitators even there. We have no doubt that this dislike which has been slowly aroused will forthwith make itself more and more felt. We publish elsewhere an account of the attempt to impose the policy of female suffrage on the National Union at Aberystwyth.

Few things in the militant Suffrage campaign have been more ineffective, just as few have been more foolish, than the "resistance to the census" on the night of April 2nd. To begin with, as a means of attracting public attention it failed entirely. The intentions of the militant societies were well "puffed" beforehand, but when they held a meeting in Trafalgar Square between ten and eleven o'clock on the night of the 2nd, there was practically no attendance of people beyond the Suffragists themselves, and some hundred or two of young men in a jesting frame of mind. No doubt it was unfortunate for them that the night was a Sunday night; even the casual crowd upon which they can always reckon is not much in the streets late on a drizzly Sunday. Moreover, there was no possibility of attracting such sympathy as women can always get in a rough and tumble. Nor did those newspapers which support the suffrage find any such difficulty in discountenancing the "census resistance" as they find in dealing with violence in the streets. They one and all condemned the idea, the "Manchester Guardian" referring to it more than once as "an offence against knowledge and civilisation," "an ineptitude," and so on.

In some of the principal provincial towns—Manchester, Edinburgh, York, Leeds, and Bradford—the resistance took no other form than that of gatherings of women in certain houses, occupied by sympathisers. They thus evaded passing the night in their homes, and from the houses where they

did pass it blank census forms were returned. But the authorities for the most part discovered the houses, and had them sufficiently watched to get a good enough idea of the numbers that they sheltered. In London the Women's Social and Political Union held a meeting at the Aldwych Skating Rink, which again provided enough ground for the enumerators to go upon. The occupation of private houses in London could not, of course, be so easily watched as in smaller places. But the whole affair caused very little trouble to the Local Government Board. No doubt they had a good deal of such help as one head of a family provided by appending the following note to his census paper, after putting a cross against certain names:—

"The persons marked thus did not pass the night in this dwelling, nor do I know where they did. For the purpose of casting ridicule upon the law—and the writer—they withdrew, or were withdrawn, in defiance of my protests and commands, at the instigation of and aided and abetted by the so-called Women's Social and Political Union. As a law-abiding citizen, I have deemed it my duty to include them in this return. At the same time I enter an emphatic protest against the tolerance accorded by the law to such proceedings as have been mentioned, as subversive of natural domestic relations—the bases of communal life."

THE only part of this note with which most people would disagree is the "emphatic protest." The powers of the law were quite wisely left in abeyance, and so the stupid proceedings of the Suffragists lost their aim—the provision of more "martyrs." There would be very general approval of the answer given by Mr. Dudley Ward in the House of Commons, when he was asked "what the Government proposed to do" with the Suffragist who was found on the morning of April 3rd in the crypt of the House of Commons. He answered that he only proposed to inform the President of the Local Government Board, in order that the lady might be enumerated with the rest of the population.

WE have to record with deep regret the death of two very able and helpful supporters of our cause—Sir Alfred Lyall and Mr. C. F. Moberly Bell. Our readers will remember that we recently published a portrait of Sir Alfred Lyall, and a short sketch of his career. No Englishman has ever seen further into the Indian mind than he. It was sometimes said of him during his distin-

guished career in India, that he preferred the companionship of natives to that of his countrymen. He could not have been paid a greater compliment, for he always held that his first duty in India was to understand. How well he understood we know from his memorable studies of Indian life, history, and religions. He believed most ardently that the British in India held a trust for the good of its diverse peoples, and the impression which his philosophical and independent thinking made on the character of our administration cannot fade so long as that trust is held. His poems, roughly turned though they often were, were the work of a true poet; and there is not an intelligent Anglo-Indian who does not admit that Sir Alfred Lyall has uniquely interpreted the feelings and difficulties of the ruling race in India, as well as the spectacle of ancient mystical religions in contact with modern development, in which they share, and which reacts upon them. The man of letters, who is also an administrator, can do an inestimable service to his class, by bidding it look to its soul, and it will always be to the honour of Lyall's name that he did this. Busy man though he was, he never refused to do what he could to help the work of our League, for he believed that Woman Suffrage was a step aside from the right path of women's development, and that idealism belongs to those who rally to our League, and not to the Suffragists in spite of all their enthusiasm.

MR. MOBERLY BELL, who began life in Alexandria, and was for many years the "Times" correspondent there, became known eventually all over the English-speaking world as the manager of the "Times." The numerous schemes which leaped from his fertile brain for the advancement of the paper he served with such fidelity, need not be discussed here. When he believed in a cause no man helped it more ungrudgingly; and when he believed in and liked a man, no one could be a better friend to him. The instances of his loyalty to his friends will not be soon forgotten. As for our League, he and Mrs. Moberly Bell have notoriously been among its warmest adherents. Their house was ever at our disposal for meetings and lectures. We have lost a powerful helper, and all the members of our League will unite in offering their deep sympathy to Mrs. Moberly Bell.

THE "Manchester Guardian" of April 17th publishes a letter from that well-known Suffragist, Mrs. Swanwick, who regrets that her friends, in making use of the Australian analogy, press it much too far. This is a valuable admission at a time when Miss Vida Goldstein, under the wing of the Women's Social and Political Union, is wildly assuring English people that the analogy goes safely the whole way. Mrs. Swanwick says:—

"It seems to me that the adult-suffragists, who point to adult suffrage in Australia as a reason for its immediate adoption in England, overlook the very great differences in conditions. Here the extension of the franchise to men has been much more slow and gradual; the crowded and artificial nature of our daily lives, the complications and inconsistencies of our Parliamentary machinery, the desperate industrial competition, and, above all, the numerical preponderance of women over men create a situation very different indeed from that in Australia, and one which, as far as one can judge from the talk of the average politician and the canvassing of the actual voter at the polling-booth, is much more favourable to a small instalment of representation than to so tremendous a revolution as trebling the electorate and giving a majority of votes to women. To me, therefore, it seems that the experience of Australia in this matter of qualification is beside the mark, and we ought to consider what qualification best suits the majority of our people, here and now, which is precisely what the Conciliation Committee has done, and Sir George Kemp's bill is the result."

THAT is well said. But it passes our understanding how Mrs. Swanwick can suppose that if Women Suffrage were granted it would stop at the class enfranchisement by the Conciliation Bill. All limited schemes of Women Suffrage are an injustice to married women—the worst and most perilous injustice that could be committed in the interests of a nation. Therefore, class after class would have to be enfranchised to remedy the evil. Mrs. Swanwick writes as though she lived in a political vacuum, in which adult suffrage had never been heard of, and were not a thing which would be made an imminent issue by the grant of Woman Suffrage in any form. On April 4th, let us remind her, the Liberal and Labour members in favour of adult suffrage met the Executive of the People's Suffrage Federation at the House of Commons, when it was decided to ask the Prime Minister to receive a deputation for the purpose of presenting the following memorial:—

"We, the following members of Parliament,

desire to express our conviction that the growing democratic feeling in the country both among men and women, should be met by the Government by the introduction of a measure of democratic electoral reform providing for a system of adult suffrage which would extend the Parliamentary franchise to every adult member of the community, male or female, and by the passing of this measure into law during the present Parliament. We would respectfully urge upon the Government that the present franchise system, based on a property qualification, and excluding women, is a serious obstacle in the way of the progress of a self-government and responsible citizenship; that no mere modification of such a system can secure just representation of the people, and that the right to the Parliamentary franchise should be attached henceforth to persons, not to property."

At a meeting of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement at the end of March, Mr. Frank Rutter said that the recent trial at Leeds which resulted in a verdict in favour of Mr. Alfred Hawkins for £100 damages for personal injuries after being ejected from a public meeting, was a distinct victory for the Suffragist cause. It was established that no steward, or any person in an audience had any right to lay hands on an interrupter until that interrupter had been asked to leave the meeting of his own accord. Further, the judgment declared that any person who did lay hands on an interrupter, without making such request was guilty of what amounted to an assault at law; that any relevant interruptions—and all Suffragist interruptions were peculiarly relevant—were not contraventions of the Public Meetings Act; and, what was most important of all, that the committee that organised a public meeting was responsible and liable in damages for the action of any stewards who were employed at such meeting. One may read and re-read Mr. Rutter's summary of the judgment without discovering how it can possibly be regarded as a victory for the suffragist cause. It is a victory for commonsense and for the just compensation of an ill-treated man. If this is a victory for the suffragist cause, Mr. Rutter must suppose that the opponents of woman suffrage are in favour of throwing men down steps and crippling them for many months. Our arguments are often misunderstood and misrepresented, but we have not been credited so far with such a predisposition to violence. Of course those who are treated with unnecessary or inhuman severity should have means of retaliating. Mr. Hawkins has re-

taliated successfully, and we are very glad of it. But it is quite another matter to read into the judgment a licence to prevent the expression of the political opinions of those who have organised a public meeting. If this practice is not a sin against the law, it is at all events a sin against all political morals; and it is lamentable that Suffragists should often confuse such a reactionary expedient with the advancement of their cause.

We have to acknowledge the courtesy of the Women's Social and Political Union in sending us their fifth Annual Report. From it we learn that, exclusive of £9,000 turnover of the Woman's Press, and of several thousand pounds raised and expended by local W.S.P.U.'s., the available cash of the Union for the year amounts to £34,506, the principal items of expense being: Rent, &c., £2,600; salaries, £6,100; hire of halls, £3,700; Election expenses, £2,700; printing, £2,400. The salaried staff of the Union now consists of 110 persons, the number of rooms at headquarters is thirty-seven, and, in addition, the Union occupies premises in nineteen centres in the provinces, and in twenty-nine local centres in London. There are shops in different parts of the country for the sale of the literature and colours of the Union. From all this we have something to learn in the way of enthusiasm, and we are obliged for the lesson. Of course, we know that the defenders of a position can never exhibit the same sort of élan and fanaticism which often inspire the attackers. But we can at all events achieve something more nearly resembling them. As it is gradually recognized that Anti-Suffragists stand not for a negative policy, but for a very positive ideal of women's office, we believe that this will be done.

AFTER all the just, if rather wearisome, Suffragist insistence on individual freedom and independence in marriage, there is something a little disconcerting about the logic of "Votes for Women's" "hope" that Mrs. Lloyd George's recent expression of sympathy with the Suffrage movement "is an indication that the Chancellor has now determined to give his whole-hearted support" to the Bill!

WOMAN SUFFRAGE: A NATIONAL INJURY AND PERIL.

By WILLIAM KNIGHT

(Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews).

II.

THIS paper is a sequel to the earlier discussion of the subject in the April number of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW. The literature devoted to it, in articles and pamphlets, in essays and reviews, is now so extensive as well as many-sided, so clear dispassionate and able, that some people may think the subject exhausted; and that the wisest thing to do is to re-issue, in short extracts, the best passages from the pages that have been already printed. But there are some other aspects under which it may be profitably discussed.

For example, by their recent conduct in trying to make the Census of the nation, taken this year, incomplete and, therefore, unreliable—or, as the "Times" put it, "to boycott that Census"—the militant suffragists have proved to the nation their total unfitness to possess the power of voting for candidates to sit in Parliament, and make the laws of the land. Law-breakers should certainly never be allowed to become the law-makers of a country; and that their possession of voting power would be bad for the women themselves has been demonstrated by their recent action in this matter.

But it is a delusion of the first magnitude to affirm, or to suppose, that a majority of the women of our country, or even a large minority of them, desire to possess and make use of voting power. The evidence on this point, set forth in the April number of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, is overwhelming; and it has been pointed out to the suffragists by leaders in both political parties, that until a clear majority of educated women desire it, it cannot by any possibility be granted or can come within the arena of practical politics. As the "Spectator" of March 18th puts it, "The women suffragists have not yet got public opinion with them. So long as they fail to persuade or educate the nation, they are asking for what the public does not want."

Readers of the recently published and most fascinating "Reminiscences" of the late Professor Goldwin Smith, of Oxford and Toronto, may have noted a passage in which he says, "It was from respect to John Stuart Mill that Bright and I signed his first petition in favour of woman suffrage. Afterwards we both withdrew, and I believe on the same ground; be-

cause we found that the best representatives of the sex amongst our own acquaintances were opposed to the measure." If that opposition was great in England then, it is unquestionably much greater now; and if the *quality*, as well as the *quantity*, of the opposition is taken into account, the majority against the suffragists will be found to be overwhelming.

Moreover—and this is more important still—the whole movement now afoot is not a forward normal and orderly development of woman's true nature, possibilities, and ideals, but a backward one. It is a return to the least desirable features and characteristics of ancient Amazonian activity. As such, it is derogatory as well as retrograde. At times it has arisen out of the crudest state of social unhingement, viz., diseased hysteria; and if it is further developed, it will assuredly end in driving men and women further apart, instead of bringing them sympathetically and co-operatively together in good work for common causes.

Were the Parliamentary vote granted to any woman, it must necessarily be given to all women; and since there would then be at least two millions more women-voters than men-voters—as all persons with prescience or power of forecast see—they would certainly elect members of their own sex to sit in Parliament; and, once elected, they would try as soon as possible to get into office there. What would the result inevitably be? It would transform the House of Commons into a very bear-garden of wrangling debate between the sexes, of comic interruption, and partisan irrelevance. But even if women only voted, but did not themselves enter the House as elected members of it, it would be manifestly unjust if spinsters possessed a privilege from which married women were shut out; and if the latter had it and used it, many a now peaceful British home would be disturbed and unsettled by the result. And why? Because the parents—the man and the wife—would often take opposite sides in the election, or move from one side to the other as the canvass went on.

I maintain, however, as already said, that the great majority of women, and certainly the best women in our land, do not wish to possess, or to use the Parliamentary suffrage. And, if so, it would be a state of intolerable tyranny should the noisy, fighting minority which clamours for the vote, "causing its voice to be heard for ever in the street" and at public meetings, overbear or silence the large majority that do not wish this revolution brought about.

In my previous paper I quoted Mr.

Gladstone's objection to the granting of the suffrage to women, given by him in the year 1892. The following, from Mr. John Bright, is equally emphatic. He wrote: "I am unwilling, for the sake of women themselves, to introduce them into the contests of our Parliamentary system. I think they would lose much of that which is best in what they now possess, and that they would gain nothing from being mingled or mixed up with the contests of the polling-booth." Equally pronounced testimony could be quoted from the writings of Herbert Spencer.

But I must go back again, and yet again, to what—apart from the testimony of distinguished publicists—is the fundamental objection to the desire of our misguided and misled suffragists. Woman and man are not alike, but constitutionally different; although they belong to one and the same race of human beings. Man has the creative, the devising, the directive, the compelling, legislative power; woman has the enduring, the consoling, and the restoring power. Each sex has its necessary excellences, and both have their necessary limitations: each has its direct advantages and its unquestionable superiority to the other. But to grant the Parliamentary vote to women would be to inflict on them a burden too grievous to be borne. It would not add to their freedom, but would manacle them if the performance of duties for which they have not the requisite ability, nor the time, was demanded of them. Their greatest merits, and their special capacities, are not those which come out in the political arena. In it their peculiar strength and unrivalled capacities are lost to view; just as men's chief merits would be lost if they ventured to leave their own sphere, and to busy themselves within the areas and boundaries of women's work.

It should be emphasised that those women who have few domestic ties have ample work to do in numerous and varied social matters, and in public administrative functions, which are peculiarly and unalienably their own; e.g., in helping towards better sanitary arrangements in the houses of the poor; aiding them in the management of cottage-gardening; also in the care and tendance of open spaces, of flower-parks in cities, and walks by river reaches; such work as Miss Octavia Hill has done so nobly and so well.

Then the medical profession is open to all women who desire it; and it should be remembered that there are now over 600 women practising the profession in Britain; while the magnificent sphere of rescue work—with which the name of

Josephine Butler is everlastingly associated—is free to them to enter and pursue. All this is quite as important, and as open to them to distinguish themselves in, as is ambulance and nursing work. What women need to realise is that their noblest sphere, or field of influence is within the home, in the education and training of their own or other children, not only in knowledge but in character, which may widen out in superlatively gracious ways. The work that is theirs by right, both human and divine, is the teaching and ennobling of the coming race, the simplification and strengthening of lives dependent on them, the lessening of extravagance of all sorts, the development of wonder and of joy, while they re-discover that it is "more blessed to give than to receive."

The doors of the great teaching profession—from infant school to college-hall and university class-room—have been thrown open to them without hindrance. There are now many hundreds of thousands of splendid women-teachers in Britain and America, and in our Empire over Seas. Furthermore, women may be elected to sit in our Borough Councils for the common weal; but the curious thing is that militant women do not seem to relish the hard work which this involves, so much as they love the excitement connected with the struggle to obtain a Parliamentary vote. Many women crave the notoriety to be obtained by success in wild adventure while wrangling for that vote.

But what would they gain by obtaining it? It is easy to see what they would lose in character and in sentiment while the struggle went on. But, if they won, they would secure nothing worth possession.

It is one of the strangest of delusions that women are now slighted, overlooked, or degraded by not possessing this vote; for they have no grievance which is not readily considered, and remedied if possible, by a Parliament of men. What is extraordinary in their not being able to vote for members of the House of Commons? The Peers of the realm have no such vote, and almost all of our soldiers and sailors—the defenders of our Empire and its colonies—cannot exercise it. Besides, the male electorate is bound by all that is highest and most sacred in the noblesse oblige, which they are bound and proud to practise, to redress every one of the existing wrongs of women.

Another thing is obvious. If a change of such magnitude is ever laid before the Parliament of Britain, it should not be by the Bill of a private member of the House

of Commons, but by the Ministry of the day—by the political party which happens to be in office and power. But the Government is not likely to initiate such a step, while there is no proof that a majority of the demos desires it. The working classes do not want it; while there is abundant evidence that the most deeply-rooted conservative instincts of the nation are opposed to it.

P.S.—It was well said by a woman in a letter on "Women's Work," printed in "The Times" of April 18th: "Women's work means the nurture of the race, the domestic arts, and those other offices which naturally fall to women." Miss Nightingale had trained as a nurse both at home and abroad, before she took up her duties in the Crimea. It was the work that many an unknown Sister of Mercy had done before her. The doctors and surgeons failed because they were men; she succeeded because she was a woman, and a woman of genius. Queen Victoria, of blessed memory, may be said to have reigned rather than ruled. She had at her side a most able adviser, the Prince Consort. She had a succession of capable Ministers. She said, in her own unmistakable way, "We women are not made for governing; if we are good women we must dislike these masculine occupations." All moral questions must come within woman's sphere.

I have no wish to dogmatise as to what is or is not woman's work. At the same time it must be clear to thinking people that some work is more suited to women than other work. I think it would be well if the chains at Cradley Heath were made by men rather than women; and if there must be fights in the streets, I would rather that men were the combatants. Those women who specialise lose the family women's experience, and acquire the point of view of the other specialists. I look for the day when women will cease to be imitative, copying men, but will become completely, perfectly, and proudly women."

NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS AT ABERYSTWYTH.

For the first time in the history of the National Union of Teachers, a woman, Miss Isabel Cleghorn, occupied the presidential chair. At the Conference held in Easter week at Aberystwyth, the question of the extension of the franchise to women was brought forward, under a motion to suspend standing orders to consider the question of Woman Suffrage.

In the first place, the question was considered on Wednesday as an Executive motion. It was defeated without a division, in a most unmistakable and emphatic manner. Despite this defeat, however, a motion was brought forward by Miss Byett on behalf of the women of the Conference. Again there was unmistakable evidence that the Conference were in overwhelming numbers opposed to such a motion. To the casual observer it seemed difficult to understand that Miss Byett's action was justified on the grounds that the question was one for the reconsideration of the decision of the previous day; and Mr. Gwilliam, of Leeds, rightly gauged the feeling of the Conference when he said he thought that Wednesday's decision should have been accepted as final for the Conference. The motion was put and defeated on a show of hands by a majority as large, if not larger, than on the previous day; but on a number of delegates rising in their places, a division was granted, with the result that 12,276 votes were recorded for the suspension of standing orders to consider the enfranchisement of women, while 40,634 votes were recorded against the motion.

There can be no doubt that many delegates who voted against the question of Woman Suffrage being discussed by the National Union of Teachers' Conference did so on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, in so much as delegates were not sent to Aberystwyth to deal with political questions. At the same time, we have reason to believe that a large number of delegates voted against Woman Suffrage for the reason that we ourselves oppose the question, viz., that they are Anti-Suffragists, and hold our views. This view will be accepted when it is pointed out that were they suffragists they would certainly have voted for a consideration of the suffrage question. There can be no doubt of this.

Our representative, in interviews with many of the delegates from all over the country, found that there was a strong and growing opposition to Woman Suffrage. We take this opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who, with the aid of the excellent literature which was distributed in Aberystwyth, played so valuable a part in rebutting the first attempt to force the question of votes for women through Conference.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held in the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, PICCADILLY CIRCUS. On Wednesday, May 3rd, at 4 o'clock. Chair—J. St. LOE STRACHEY, Esq. Speakers—Mrs. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN, The EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P. Admission Free.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN 75 DISTRICTS.

Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
94,181	35,879	14,002	7,223	37,071

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	497	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	961	451	9	623
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2,217	1,114	445	13	645
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Brixton ...	1,826	739	267	8	812
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester ...	1,374	246	198	—	930
Watford ...	935	302	178	7	448
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
St. George's-in-the-East ...	457	123	81	2	251
Hampton ...	277	92	39	—	132
Basingstoke ...	273	77	71	6	119
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Total	42,562	13,131	6,836	868	21,721

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Liverpool (4 constits.) ...	8,182	2,189	1,218	—	4,775
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	496
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,106	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	579	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey ...	1,819	869	151	419	380
(13 districts)					
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester ...	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare ...	935	380	235	69	251
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

(continued).

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	495	196	87	—	122
Camberley & Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	6
Haslemere ...	138	59	34	28	17
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst ...	73	27	15	20	11
Bramshott ...	63	37	9	7	10
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Shottermill ...	37	16	8	7	6
Fernhurst ...	29	13	3	3	10
Hindhead ...	28	10	11	3	4
Grayshott ...	21	4	5	4	8
Lynchmere ...	19	7	3	5	4
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	51,619	22,748	7,166	6,355	15,350

A LETTER TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

ON behalf of our League, the following letter has been addressed to all members of Parliament:—

SIR,—On behalf of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, we write to request you to vote against the Second Reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill on May 5th. We do not desire to repeat here the powerful arguments against the general principle of Woman Suffrage which have been so ably put before the country by the Prime Minister, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. F. E. Smith, and many other distinguished men of both political parties. But we do invite your earnest attention to the following considerations, which in our opinion should influence every Member of Parliament, of whatever political party he may be a member, and whatever may be his general views on Woman Suffrage, and should lead him to oppose, or at least to refrain from supporting, this particular Bill.

I. GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1910.—No serious attempt was made by the advocates of Woman Suffrage to test the feeling of the country on this question at the General Election. Only two Suffrage candidates were run for 670 seats, and even in these two cases, specially selected from the whole country as favourable openings, the Suffrage candidates obtained merely a handful of votes, and suffered the most crushing defeat. In all the remaining constituencies, Woman

Suffrage was in no sense a prominent issue at the election. There is, so far as we know, no single Member of the present House of Commons who has received any sort of mandate from his constituents to support even the general principle of Woman Suffrage, much less to vote for the Bill which is now before the House.

II. IMPORTANT FRESH EVIDENCE OF THE OPPOSITION OF WOMEN TO WOMEN SUFFRAGE.—Whilst there is no evidence of any support for Woman Suffrage from the electors, this League has during the past year obtained some very striking proofs of the hostility of women to the change. The League has been engaged in carrying out in a large number of constituencies a canvass, latterly by post-card, of those women who already possess the municipal franchise, in order to ascertain if they desire the Parliamentary vote. Inquiries have already been addressed to 78,582 women municipal electors, in sixty-six districts, and of these only 11,574, or less than 15 per cent., have replied that they are in favour of the vote. On the other hand, 30,031, or over 38 per cent., have declared that they are opposed to Woman Suffrage, and 30,731, or 39 per cent., have sent no replies.

These striking figures, which are being rapidly augmented by further canvasses in fresh constituencies, clearly indicate that there exists a very large majority against Woman Suffrage amongst the very class of women upon whom it is proposed to confer it. They further show that any Member of Parliament who votes for Sir George Kemp's

Bill will most probably be endeavouring to inflict a burden upon women which would be keenly resented by the majority of women in his constituency.

III. THE WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL, 1911.—We desire to point out that, while Mr. Shackleton's Bill of 1910 was so illogical as to incur the condemnation of some of the most convinced Suffragists in the House of Commons, the new Bill of 1911 is not only no improvement on its predecessors, but is far more dangerous in its scope. It still further penalises the interests of the most representative portion of the sex—namely, the married women.

(a) The broadening of the title will permit amendments to be moved, having for their objects a still further increase in the number of women to be enfranchised. We consider this to be a most dangerous alteration, as it would directly open the door to the enfranchisement of a majority of female over male voters.

(b) We desire to call special attention to the provisions of Clause 2, by which it is proposed to enact that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same constituency.

Bad as was the treatment accorded to married women in the Bill of 1910, they are far more heavily penalised by this unprecedented restriction, which practically reduces their representation to zero.

Finally, we desire to point out that Liberal and Conservative Suffragists often approach this question from very different standpoints, and the attempt to reconcile or mask

their differences, for the purpose of obtaining votes from both sides of the House of Commons, has resulted in the production of two ill-conceived and hybrid measures, of which the second is, in our judgment, even more objectionable than the first.

Anti-Suffragists, whether Conservative or Liberal, are absolutely united in their opposition to these proposals, and in appealing to you to meet them with the most strenuous resistance, we confidently claim to speak in the name of the great majority both of the men and the women of the nation.

We remain, Sir, yours very faithfully,

CROMER.

M. E. JERSEY.

CATHERINE E. ROBSON.

JOHN MASSIE.

WAGES AND THE VOTE.

THE question of women's wages has probably enlisted more support for the suffrage movement than any other. Women are without votes; women often are cruelly underpaid. These two facts are presented as cause and effect to the uninformed sympathiser, and are widely accepted as such. But sympathy for suffering womanhood is not a monopoly of the Suffrage Party; we, who oppose the vote, are equally anxious with those who demand it, to find a remedy for the terrible evils of underpaid woman labour; what we deny is that the vote is that remedy.

After all, by now, we have something to go upon in forming our opinion. The working classes have been enfranchised for a quarter of a century; if the vote possessed even half the economic power claimed for it by its advocates, why are any of our male population living under the conditions described by Messrs. Booth and Rowntree; and why did the wages of the agricultural labourer rise more slowly after 1884 than before? On the other hand, how have voteless women in domestic service been able to raise their wages 40 or 50 per cent. during the last 20 years, and why was the average advance in wages in the textile trades between 1880 and 1906, 2 per cent. higher for women than for men?

But, we may be told, this is purely negative evidence; the broad fact remains, men as a sex are better paid than women. If it is not the vote that has done this, what has?

In trying to find an answer to this question, we shall do well to study the economics of two Suffragists—Mrs. Fawcett and Mr. Harold Cox. Buttressed by them, we assert that the price of labour, as of every other commodity, can, under natural conditions, only be changed by some shifting of the relation of supply to demand. Realising that it was the keen demand acting on a limited supply of women servants that has raised their wages in such a marked degree, we face

the fact that the Vote, like organisation or anything else, can only be a factor in the raising of wages in proportion as it either increases the demand for women's labour, diminishes its supply, or alters the character of the labour supplied. The problem of women's labour, at the present moment, is a problem of a large but fluctuating supply, less organised, less regular and less efficient than that of men. On the Suffrage Party rests the onus of proving that the Vote can favourably modify any of these conditions.

Let us take supply first. If the vote enabled women to resist Mr. Burns's Factory legislation, they would increase the supply of their labour, and consequently tend to lower their wages. We are told sometimes that the vote would open fresh occupations to women and so diminish the supply of their labour in those at present overstocked. But it is not legislation; it is physical disability, or the pressure of public opinion, that accounts for the comparatively small number of women doctors, gardeners, or auctioneers, and, in spite of this, every year sees women entering fresh fields of work and enterprise. It is worth noticing that the Canadian woman can be called to the bar without the vote equally with her enfranchised sister in New Zealand. We know that men have limited the supply of their labour in certain industries through the organisation of their Trade Unions. But these Unions were formed and legalised before the enfranchisement of their members. Women have their Trade Unions now, and, if they combine less well than men, it is through their more individualistic temperament, and through qualities of character and constitution which the vote can hardly profess to touch.

It is a question of character and physical constitution that confronts us again when we come to examine the regularity and efficiency of women's work. The physical drawback is obvious; and no vote can make a woman as regular in coming to her work as a man, or give her the physical strength for heavy tasks. We know how bravely the woman worker fights under these handicaps—how hard it is that she should have to fight; but from the brutal economic standpoint her physical limitations are bound to depreciate her market value.

Then as regards character. The supplement to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws makes certain pertinent observations. At certain times of the year—say before the summer holidays—factories can obtain a perfect glut of woman labour; later on, when the wish for extra money has passed, that supply will suddenly cease. Even in the most poorly-paid occupations, such as rag-picking, a regular and constant supply of workers cannot be expected. Irregularity like this keeps down wages, but the vote can no more alter it than it can the factory girl's "wage tradition." As to this, the Blue

Book points out that in many districts girls and women will not work a full week if they can earn up to a certain fixed rate in less. Again, commenting on the lowness of women's wages, the Blue Book speaks of their dislike of business training and their lack of industrial ambition. To the average working woman marriage comes as a break and completely changes her sphere of occupation; her trade is not for her whole life, as it is with a man, and, unconsciously perhaps, she takes less pains to fit herself for it.

It is perfectly natural, but it must detract from her efficiency as a worker, and all the votes in the world cannot alter this.

But, we may be told, if the vote can accomplish nothing by natural law, it can do much by political pressure. Mr. Runci-man has used words to the effect that his main reason for supporting the suffrage was that a man could send a request to his candidate with the significant statement, "Our vote is 350 strong," and a woman could not. We all know the type of vote that is put up to auction to be knocked down to class benefits out of the public purse. We can guess how far the "squeezing" process can be carried with a candidate whose principles and seat are alike shaky. In a factory town, with a well-organised woman vote, this sort of thing might be possible for women and furnishes an instructive comment on the purity and elevation they are to introduce into political life.

But—let us be quite clear on this point—women are not going to raise their wages by this means any more than men have. Special legislation, such as the Eight Hours Act, they might obtain, though this much-vaunted measure appears to have failed to please even that class for whose benefit it was conferred at the expense of the whole community. Artificial legislation of this sort will in the long run be more likely to lower wages than to raise them, and women must face the fact that those who use sex pressure must be prepared to combat sex opposition.

Still, in the last resort, we shall be told, if women had votes those employed under Government would not receive less pay than men for the same work. If this were true we should expect that the municipal vote would have enabled all women teachers employed by the L.C.C. to claim the same rate of pay as men; we rather understood that it is one of the suffrage complaints that this is not the case. The fact is, Government and Municipality alike are supposed to pay the same wages as the very best private employer, but not a penny more; otherwise they would not only be maintaining a privileged class at the expense of the tax or ratepayer, but would be creating an army of "tied voters" so well known to Tammany Hall.

But supposing that an equal rate of pay were made compulsory, the women would not benefit; they would simply be replaced by men. Women are less

desirable than men in many ways from the employer's point of view, in spite often of superior quickness. They are less regular; they have a habit of leaving to get married just when they have learnt their work. There are certain restrictions relating to night work and overtime which do not apply to men, but at the present moment they are cheaper. Remove that difference, and the market will be flooded with displaced women labour.

We have tried to show here that the vote of itself cannot raise wages, but in dealing with some of the Suffragist arguments we are conscious of only touching the fringe of the subject. The problems which lie at the root of supply and demand of labour, the vital questions of trade and defence, of the production and distribution of wealth, are factors which Suffragists persistently ignore; it is these things which, with a recklessness that is absolutely tragic, they are now willing to entrust to an ignorant vote, and in so doing they may well find that they have trebled the misery which they sought to cure.

E. M. MOORE.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

We approach the consideration of this book with some diffidence, for Mr. Chapman is an expert, and writes in the fulness of conviction. From the Magisterial Bench he has watched the long defile of sad and broken men and women who have wrecked each other's lives, who have been coarse and brutal and cruel one to the other, who have even abused their sacred rights as parents in ill-treating their children. It is from such experience that his book is given to the public. We do well after reading it to bethink ourselves that out there in the sunshine are countless family groups making holiday. The young husband with the baby on his arm, the wife bearing the refreshment basket, the other children playing round them. It is a picture familiar to all, and a picture more normal than the other. Marriage, we have it on the best authority, is rather a status than a simple contract. Divorce is a terrible operation, sundering the closest of human ties, the parent from his child. We cannot, therefore, share Mr. Chapman's enthusiasm for divorce.

This is an age of preventive medicine. It has been found to be wiser, safer, and even cheaper, to prevent disease rather than to cure it. A system of right hygiene and of healthful conditions is necessary. When the conditions of the labour market are more stable and normal, and the dwelling-houses of the people more satisfactory, the workers will have a better chance to order their married lives well. Have we tried to teach our young men and women something of the duties and privileges of married life? Do they recognise that the

* *Marriage and Divorce*. By Cecil Chapman. Woman Citizen Series, No. 1.

family is the social unit, and as such has obligations to the State? Have we even tried to teach them what the sanctity of the oath is—whether taken in a court of justice by a public functionary, or in the simple form of the soldier to the colours. The vow men and women take to one another in marriage, of loyalty and fidelity, is a sacramentum, in the old Roman use of that word; all teaching about marriage must be influenced by the facilities afforded at law to break that vow or escape from it.

A large part of Mr. Chapman's book is taken up with a history of marriage—from marriage by capture or purchase to the best form of marriage as we have it to-day. We cannot attempt to follow him in so long and erudite a study. We think, however, that he does scant justice to the important part played by religion in raising marriage to the spiritual union so admirably described by Mr. Mill in the famous passage in the "Subjection of Women." "Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia—where thou art master, I, too, am mistress!"—ran the Roman form—a symbol this of material and moral power, of equal but not identical rights.

The report of the Commission on Divorce will doubtless adopt some of Mr. Chapman's suggestions—notably, that separated couples should be under the supervision of an officer appointed by the court, say, for a period of five years. It would seem just also that by flagrant misconduct husband or wife should forfeit pecuniary advantages made under marriage settlements. Perhaps the most important suggestion is that whereas marriage has a civic as well as a religious aspect, some form of civic marriage before the registrar should precede the religious ceremony†. This is a universal practice abroad, and would free the churches from all State dictation.

The weakest chapter in the book in our opinion is the one which treats of the children of divorced persons. Is a guilty mother to have the upbringing of her young daughter? In the case of remarriage, where children are in the way, what is to become of them? Are there to be workhouse schools for the children of divorced fathers and mothers—new and terrible orphan asylums—which must inevitably cast a slur upon the little ones? Yet the new generation is a supreme consideration of national importance. That the children are considered even in unhappy marriages, and serve to keep the family together, is evidenced by the fact that where there are children divorce is less frequent than with childless couples.

The book bears very hardly upon the conduct of men in marriage. Yet, if we may accept the evidence of another specialist, the late Mr. George Gissing, it is the women who are most in fault. Who that has read his description can ever forget the terrible wife and mother, given over to drink, who pawns her husband's clothes,

† The civil marriage form would have to be made more adequate, having regard to the greater sacrifice made by the woman in marriage.

seeks to injure him with his employers, is cruel, vindictive, mean, and foul-mouthed, a terror to her family and the street in which she lives? Mr. Gissing declares that in poor Joe Gargery and his amazon wife, Dickens has given up a type of a certain class of working woman only too common and true to life. But of what use to accuse one sex or the other when both are in fault? Are we not all comrades together, and does not "the road wind uphill all the way"?

Divorce, so far as the writer knows, has not greatly occupied the attention of anti-suffrage women. They have been more intent upon the constructive side of marriage and family life. To order the home with due economy and seamliness, to lay the foundations of a true morality, to teach habits of manliness and womanliness, to inspire reverence and love for the highest—these are things enough to occupy every wife and mother in the land. The vociferous demand for more and easier causes for divorce brings sharply before us the various Parliamentary Bills for giving the vote to women. The divorce question is probably one of the first subjects on which, if women had the vote, they would seek legislation. And here we see the gross injustice—nay, the absurdity—of the Conciliation Bill, under which the reform of the marriage laws would be promoted by a spinster electorate, who would nevertheless claim to speak on behalf of their married sisters. Married women cannot submit, and have laws made for them by the unmarried. It is theirs, also, to raise the standard of morality in marriage, not to lower it.

ETHEL B. HARRISON.

THE FAMILY AND THE NATION.

We wrote recently of the dangerous inclination of women, whose imitative faculty is strong, to cultivate distinctively masculine aims in life. If feminine purposes deliberately approximate to those of men, the ultimate result is bound to be an excess of masculinity at the expense of femininity, and there would probably be a tendency towards race extinction. That this is no idle speculation is proved by history. The close of the history of Sparta and the downfall of the Roman Empire exhibit the consequences of an approximate identity of aim in men and women. In both these periods women enjoyed political privileges comparable with those of men. In both cases the same phenomenon appeared—a decline of the birth-rate in the "emancipated" classes of women. Something of the same sort, if we are not mistaken, happened in Venice at the end of the seventeenth century. We do not pretend that the so-called emancipation of women was the only cause of the decline of the birth-rate; there were undoubtedly several others. But the cultivation of characteristically masculine interests was just as

certainly a contributory cause. To-day, though we have no statistics on the subject, it can scarcely be disputed that the demand for the suffrage is most strongly supported by unmarried women and married women with small families. These women are not in a normal position, and scarcely recognise the danger of compelling other women to undertake political responsibilities. We need not waste time over the objection that a visit to the ballot-box once in five years is not an exacting demand on any woman's time. Of course it is not. But the casting of the vote is, or ought to be, only the symbol of a real political responsibility which involves time and careful thought—precisely the things which the vast majority of women are unable to give.

Those who are impressed by the present dangerous tendencies, and would inform themselves further on the matter could not do better than read Mr. and Mrs. W. C. D. Whetham's work, "The Family and the Nation" (Longmans, Green & Co.). It was published more than a year ago, but we need not apologise for quoting now from a work which is so apt to the occasion. The authors, who write with a deep knowledge of their subject and in the true scientific spirit, rebut the lethargic habit of mind which says that, as the character of men and women are determined by heredity, nothing can be done to stop the flowing tide of natural qualities. So far from the doctrine of heredity sanctioning a fatalistic relaxation of responsibility, it demands, they argue, a tightening of responsibility, because we know now the conditions under which characteristics are transmitted. A conscious power of direction is in our hands. We cannot deal here with the alarming and familiar fact that, as a nation, we are breeding from the worst stock. The least educated and least self-controlled classes are reproducing themselves quicker than the others. We mention the fact only to point to the strong possibility—almost a certainty—that, as in the past so in the future, the "emancipated" classes of women will fail to imprint their good intellectual and social characteristics on the nation. One cannot look forward to such an outcome in our country without deep misgiving. Mr. and Mrs. Whetham say:—

"What is true of the nation as a whole is true of any section of it. Four children to each fertile marriage is the least that will enable any particular stock to maintain itself relatively to its surroundings, provided they also remain at a constant level. Less than four children means the slow and certain breeding out of existence of that particular strain, with its potentialities of good and evil; families of more than four are responsible for a gradual increase of their especial characteristics. The average character of the race is but the average character of the individuals which compose it. By an analysis of the birth-rate for different sections of the community, we can discover whether the nation is recruiting itself from its better or from its worse stocks."

We shall quote now the wise words of

the authors on what we have called the cult of masculinity:—

"The intellectual and political development of the last half-century has been accompanied by an unfortunate tendency to belittle the home duties for which women, by their essential nature, are specially responsible. For this tendency men are to blame at least to the same extent as women. Both sexes have failed to appreciate the high honour which should attach to the successful performance of the true womanly duties. To bring forth, nourish, and educate children is, for the future of the race, more important work than any that falls to the lot of man. To regulate well a household, to keep in order, cleanliness, and health the home, on the comfort of which the welfare of the whole family depends, is highly skilled work, and at least as essential a function in life as man's external profession or political activities. The recent demands of certain women for a share in social, political, philanthropic, and educational work are hard to resist, since they are often greatly to the immediate benefit of the community. But it cannot be doubted that the quiet home life necessary for the right birth and management of a large family is incompatible with many external activities, and with the gratification of a desire to seek an apparently larger sphere of immediate work and influence in social, industrial, and political life. For young married women, such external activities are a direct menace to the future welfare of the race. Even for unmarried women, the indirect danger is great, especially in setting a false ideal of life before the rising generation. Indications are not wanting that a position of industrial independence, or the wider, if more superficial, interests of active public life, with the demoralising accompaniment of publicity and notoriety, exert such a fascination on the minds of some women that they become unwilling to accept the necessary and wholesome restrictions and responsibilities of normal marriage and motherhood. Woe to the nation whose best women refuse their natural and most glorious burden!"

To some extent it is conceivable that the present outburst of feminist activity will be corrected by natural compensating influences. In a recent number of "Nature," Dr. R. J. Ewart attributed this outburst to the numerical excess of women over men. It seems that 1,030 males are born to every 1,000 females, but the mortality among boys is higher than among girls, and in later life the mortality continues to be higher owing to the more dangerous character of men's employment. Dr. Ewart believes that we are at what he calls the "zenith of a female oscillation," and he foresees that the adaptations of Nature will produce a greater ratio of males. His investigations on this subject are interesting. He has observed that when women marry young they have more girl children than boy children. The tendency of a period of numerical equality between the sexes is youthful marriages. Then, as women become numerically superior, the average age of women's marriages becomes later, and boy children become predominant. The "oscillation" in this direction is no doubt aided by the modern tendency, in any case, to marry later than

formerly. If Dr. Ewart is right—we do not profess to do more than state his conclusions for what they are worth—the Suffragist movement is largely due to an unusual excess of women, and the unconscious impetus will be greatly modified as Nature adjusts the balance. We should not advise our readers, however, to count upon this comforting doctrine. It is our duty rather to assume that the reverse will be true, and to do all we can through the influence of our League, unaided by automatic tendencies, to correct the obvious dangers which threaten the race.

DEBATE BETWEEN MISS CICELY HAMILTON AND MR. G. K. CHESTERTON.

SOME, at least, of the opponents of Women's Suffrage present at this debate in Queen's Hall, on April 7th, must have felt that Mr. Chesterton's special gifts stood in the way of his championship. In Miss Cicely Hamilton he had, of course, an opponent far better equipped for agility and light-handedness than most Suffragist speakers are, yet her cause was too much for her share of these qualities. She was debonair enough certainly in unsuitable places, in regard to wide aspects of life and emotion; but in the main her contentions were desperately, heavily serious. It was this seriousness that should have been replied to. Many of us are happy enough to share the belief—necessarily part of Mr. Chesterton's theological position—that certain experiences of life are too deep-lying and delicate to be capable of direct and obvious presentation, and can only be subtly and atmospherically communicated. The Women's Social and Political Union, however, labours under no such sense of complexity. To the minds of its members everything in human relations is plain as a pike staff, and only wants to be stated. This view being at one extreme, and the mind which produces Mr. Chesterton's paradoxes being at the other, it happened that the disputants did not come within firing range; and it is not to be wondered at that the chairman accused them of not having touched on the subject of debate.

Miss Hamilton supported a resolution: "The demand for the enfranchisement of women is a symptom of progress," by the argument that progress involves development from the simple and uniform to the various. Man, she said, had been continually acquiring and developing new faculties, while women had been confined and restricted to domesticity and motherhood. This restriction had been imposed by men

who regarded women as created, not to live their own life, but for usefulness to men. Yet at last woman had learned that before her duty to husband or children lay her duty to herself. She had decided to become a political animal, and, whatever the results, her claim for enfranchisement would have to be met.

Mr. Chesterton contended that underlying Miss Hamilton's speech was the fallacy common to all suffragists, of thinking of difference in sex as parallel with any other division of mankind. The fact of attraction and union between the sexes prevented there ever being a woman's party in the sense in which a negro, or a Catholic, or a Protestant, party can exist. Where distinctions were imposed between men and women, it was, he said, impossible to speak of them as imposed by men; women were as much, if not more, responsible for them. Women's exclusion from the franchise was not an arbitrary limit; women have been queens, priestesses, or magistrates.

The most incomprehensible part of Miss Hamilton's logic—as, indeed, of that of Mrs. Billington Greig and the secessionists—is the identification of "development" and the franchise. Surely development from the simple and uniform to the various must tend towards variety, not identification, of function in the sexes? Woman's claim to be a "political animal," in the real sense of the word, is not a new, it is an established one. Differences of opinion, the only real differences, among educated people concern only methods and degrees of her "political" activity. Hitherto one has always supposed this to be a point of which Suffragist leaders were fully aware, but which they were disinclined to face with gullible audiences. But really, after Miss Hamilton's speech, one wonders a little to what lengths self-imposed blindness may not have proceeded, and whether the Suffrage party has not now succeeded in eliminating from its line of vision any but women of eighteenth century fiction, on the one hand, and Mrs. Pankhursts upon the other.

MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG'S ADDRESS.

In her address at Queen's Hall, on April 10th, Mrs. Billington-Greig summarised her criticism of the methods of the Women's Suffrage societies—particularly the Women's Social and Political Union—which she has set forth at length in "The Militant Suffrage Movement:

Emancipation in a Hurry" (London: Frank Palmer). In speech, as in writing, Mrs. Greig's text is the statement which opens chapter viii. of her book: "Militancy has brought new life to the Suffrage movement in Great Britain, but it has brought that new life on a lower plane," and she supports this contention by arguments of most straightforward and unadorned good sense. The book is in no way anti-Suffragist in intention; any suggestion of that kind is obviously unfair to the writer, who finds error not in the cause, but in its conduct—methods by which the vote is being worked for. Yet, on two grounds, the work merits most careful attention from all anti-Suffragists. First, Mrs. Billington-Greig, with her distaste for emotionalism and exaggeration, is intellectually their most formidable opponent. Secondly, she shows a mind genuinely capable of argument, and it must be at least open to argument that the losses she exposes and bewails—"The great inheritance of woman is being paid away for the mess of political pottage"; "Woman has been sacrificed to the getting of the vote"; "Canonisation of woman at the expense of man provides a channel for the further degradation of woman"; "The world is not full of foolish sex-opinionated young men, and it will make it no better to fill it with foolish sex-opinionated young women"—are not errors by the way, but are inherent to the demand for the Suffrage. From beginning to end of her argument Mrs. Greig pleads with her fellow-agitators for more gradual and inclusive methods, and for greater consciousness of complexity. The claim for the vote (she says) is not a little or a simple thing, but "real complexity is better far than false, out of perspective simplicity." She is wearied of parrot-cries and exaggerations. Speaking of the last election, she says: "The Government did not deliberately choose to rush the constitutional question, and to dissolve the House, in order to betray the Suffragist women of the country. Only the exaggeration habitual to the militant movement could persuade anyone to believe that." It is not the least of her services that she, speaking from the inside, reveals in such comments the grotesque degree of falsification into which blind emotions may be led. We do not agree with her, but Mrs. Greig is a feminist worthy the name, and there is no denying her mental equipment—so little denying it, indeed, that we may be confident she will discover illogicalities in her present position, and, for her, to discover is to disown them.

THE MEETING AT THE CRITERION.

The first public meeting organised by the Speakers and Meetings Sub-Committee took place in the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, on Thursday, April 6th, at four

o'clock. The two ladies responsible for the arrangements were Miss Cotesworth, of Westminster, and Miss Squire, of Hampstead, and the success of the meeting reflects much credit on their clever management. The platform was beautifully decorated with the League colours, and a bouquet of pink roses and white lilac, which was afterwards presented to Lady Desart, stood on the table. The stewards were members of the Girls' League, dressed in white and wearing the colours. The hall, which is a large one, was quite full, and the audience included Admiral Sir E. Fremantle, Sir John Rees, M.P., several other members of Parliament, and other well-known persons. Only one Suffragist, out of many who came, attempted an interruption; she was amenable to reason when appealed to from the chair. The chair was ably filled by Dr. Douglas Cowburn, LL.D., who is himself a powerful speaker for our League, and the speakers were Ellen Countess of Desart and Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P.

Lady Desart's polished style is already well known to members of our League. On this occasion her thoughtful speech was chiefly directed to pointing out the many opportunities of useful work already open to women. She emphasised the fact that those voluntary associations which are doing the work one would imagine most congenial to women—the care of children and befriending of young girls—have the greatest difficulty in getting workers. She declared that the vast majority of women had never heard of the grievances which a small number of Suffragists now proclaim as the burden of a voteless sex, and she maintained the power of women, through co-operation, and through really helpful work by the richer for their poorer sisters, to improve the conditions of work and living.

Mr. H. J. Mackinder, who spoke next, has a recognised place in the intellectual world as an original thinker and brilliant lecturer. He was for some time Reader in Geography to the University of Oxford, and then Director of the London School of Economics. His speech was a most powerful one. Brushing aside minor or temporary considerations, he went straight to the heart of the question, and dissected with remorseless logic the various grounds on which the Suffragist claims are based. Dealing with the argument that payment of taxes entitles women to a vote, he showed that, so far from this being the case, payment of taxation does not even entitle men to the vote, since there are only seven million voters out of some eleven million adult males, all of whom must pay taxation. He declared that the present system was merely a rough way of estimating where the responsible man-power of the nation lay, and in which direction its wishes pointed. The expression of will through the vote connoted the power to carry out that will in the teeth of any opposition that the minority might offer.

No such condition would prevail if women had votes, since they cannot enforce their will; but, on the contrary, they already possess in a very great degree the power of influencing legislation. Mr. Mackinder denied that there is anything "backstairs" about this influence. It is the special attribute of women to influence, he said; and influence is the appeal to reason, to what is God-like in our natures. Votes, on the contrary, are the appeal to power, to the force on which government is based. At the end of Mr. Mackinder's speech questions were invited; but only one was asked, and promptly answered. The proceedings ended with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers, proposed by Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and seconded by Mrs. Jeyes.

THE MUNICIPAL CANVASS IN BRISTOL.

"The Common Cause" of March 9th, published the following statement:—

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CANVASS AT BRISTOL.

On December 2nd of last year a notice appeared in the Bristol papers to the effect that a "systematic canvass" of the women who would have been affected by the passing of the Conciliation Bill had taken place, and a tabular statement, purporting to be the result of such canvass, appeared at the same time. During February a similar assertion appeared in the London papers, together with the announcement that a reply-paid postcard had been addressed to each woman on the register.

It happens that my mother has been a municipal voter for about a quarter of a century, and as the published result of the canvass was the first intimation she had received of the matter, she and I immediately inquired of those of our women friends who are householders as to the means taken to obtain these figures. We were astonished to find that all the women we were able to ask that day had heard nothing whatever of the canvass, and, with the object of clearing up the mystery, I wrote the same evening for an explanation of the omissions to Lady Fry, over whose signature the statement first appeared. But neither Lady Fry nor Miss Fry were able to give any satisfactory explanation, and my proposal that one of these ladies should personally call upon all the women householders in any given street in Bristol, with the object of testing if the women had had the opportunity of recording their opinion, was not accepted.

A casual selection of a dozen women in different streets was next made, and after very strict investigation it was found that two of these had been given the opportunity of stating their views, and that ten had not had the privilege of doing so. As I had not actually seen all the last-mentioned women, I determined to test the matter by calling upon all the women in one street who appeared on the 1909 register. I selected a street composed of private houses and shops, and here only one woman (the licensee of a public-house) knew anything about the canvass. A friend then volunteered to canvass another street in a middle-class residential district, and the result in this case

was that not one of the women whom she saw had been canvassed. Other roads were then partially or wholly investigated with similar results, and although I have now seen (or heard of) several women who had actually been canvassed by the Anti-Suffrage Society, I have been unable to find one who could give me any information as to the nature of the questions asked.

I might add, as my own opinion, after weighing such explanations as were forthcoming, that the canvass in Bristol was very far from being thorough, and although it has failed in its object, it has, to my knowledge, had the result of strengthening the Suffrage ranks.

WINIFRED PARRY.

NOTE.—The figures for Bristol, as published in *The Anti-Suffrage Review*, are:—

Electorate	Anti	Pro	Neutral	No Reply
7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297

"The Common Cause," of April 6th, printed the following reply from the Hon. Secretary of our Bristol Branch:—

BRISTOL ANTI-SUFFRAGE CANVASS.

My attention has been drawn to a communication in your issue of the 9th inst. impugning the accuracy of the extensive canvass of municipal women voters which was made in Bristol last year, with results which demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of the voters who expressed any opinion on the subject were opposed to the legislation advocated in your journal.

(1) Nearly three months after the results of this canvass had been published two letters appeared in the local press, one by a lady municipal voter, stating that she had not been canvassed, and the other by your correspondent's mother, stating that she had not been canvassed.

If one of the Suffrage societies had undertaken an investigation of the opinions held by between 7,000 and 8,000 voters in any given area, and if after the results were announced this announcement had been followed by the publication of only two such letters as those referred to, the society might, I suppose, congratulate itself on having secured the assistance of canvassers whose work had given rise to so little adverse comment, and decide that such complaints did not call for further notice in the local press. That was the course which was adopted here.

(2) Your correspondent, however, communicated privately with Lady Fry, the President of the local Branch, who referred her to me. I then asked her for the names and addresses of the persons who she said had not been canvassed. In reply I received from her particulars of ten persons only, including her mother.

(3) I immediately caused special inquiries to be made of the canvassers concerned, and in due course sent to your correspondent a statement of facts as reported with reference to every one of the ten cases.

With your experience you will readily anticipate the replies that might be expected when a canvass has been carried out by *bona-fide* and intelligent canvassers. (a) *E.g.*: In one case our canvasser stated that she had called twice at the voter's address, but failed to obtain any reply to the form of questions which had been left, and had reported the voter as refusing to sign; that, on receiving my request to make further inquiries, the canvasser called

again, had then seen the voter, and was told that had she been at home she "would not have signed one way or the other."

(b) Another of the ten persons on being revisited told the canvasser that she remembered the previous call, and acknowledged that the paper, which was again produced to her, had been signed by her.

(c) In another case the canvasser had called twice; the voter was absent, but her daughter had said that her mother would not sign the paper, and it was returned, marked accordingly. (In this instance the canvasser also reported that on calling, at my request, a third time, she found the lady at home, and the voter then gave a reply against the Suffrage.) (d) In another case your correspondent appeared to have seen the sister of the voter who had signed the paper, and regret was expressed that our canvasser had had the trouble of revisiting. In another, the voter had changed her address; and so on.

(4) Your correspondent was, as I have said, furnished with details in every instance. She afterwards sent me a few more names, which I dealt with in a similar manner, with similar results, and then reported these results to her.

(5) In the first letter I wrote I offered to see her personally, and to give her any information she might desire. Had she any real ground for questioning the statements of any of our canvassers she might, on receipt of my letter, have asked for an interview, and could then have confronted the canvasser with one of her informants. Instead of adopting this course, she writes to you a letter which does not remotely suggest her knowledge of the facts above stated, although these have a material bearing on the value of the communication made to your journal.

(7) I should add that before the results of our local canvass were tabulated I invited representatives of the local branch of the Constitutional Suffrage party to scrutinise the returns and attend the counting of the votes. No accredited representative of that party has, as far as I am aware, lent the slightest countenance to your correspondent's allegations.

(8) She also states that she has been unable to ascertain from any woman canvassed by us one who could "give any information as to the nature of the questions asked." I have, of course, no knowledge of the persons to whom this inquiry is said to have been made, but some weeks since I sent to your correspondent a copy of the form of questions used, and I now enclose a duplicate of this.

I am glad to see that in your Editorial note you merely refer to, without adopting as your own, the investigation alleged to have been made by your correspondent; but your journal is read far beyond the confines of Bristol, and I thought it right to trouble you with a reply that would not be required for Bristol readers alone. With these comments, I will leave your readers to form their own opinion as to the weight they should attach to the "investigation" and the "opinion" of your correspondent as to the nature and importance of the Bristol canvass.

(9) The statement that your correspondent ventured to invite Lady Fry to join her in personally canvassing any street in Bristol is one upon which I do not comment—though to characterise suitably such an invitation would not be difficult for anyone

who has any sense of the respect due to Lady Fry, not only in Bristol, but wherever her name is known.

(10) I take this opportunity of correcting one verbal mistake in the returns as tabulated. These refer to the "electorate" canvassed as "7,615." The "electorate," according to the returns on which we worked, was 7,782; but we were unable to cover the whole of the ground, partly through the illness of one canvasser. Had we done so, there is no reason to suppose that the results would have been materially affected one way or the other.—I am, yours faithfully,

EDITH LONG FOX,
Honorary Secretary of the Bristol Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage,
15, Royal York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol,
March 21st, 1911.

To this letter the editor of "The Common Cause" appended the following note:—

It appears that this canvass was a personal one, and not by postcard. Miss Long Fox has kindly enclosed the question-form, which is as follows:—

- No.
- ELECTOR'S NAME
- ADDRESS
- (1) Do you prefer that the Parliamentary vote should remain as at present, in the hands of the men in this country?
- (2) Do you consider that women should not be given the vote for Parliamentary elections?
- (3) Do you consider that women should be given the right to vote at Parliamentary elections?

Signature or Initials.
Kindly answer "YES" to one only of the above questions.

We ought to say that "The Common Cause," of April 6th, also printed a commentary on this letter from Miss Parry. We cannot find anything in Miss Parry's retorts—and we think our readers will agree with us if they refer to them—which in the least impairs our conviction that the Municipal Canvass at Bristol was conducted with as much thoroughness as was possible in very difficult circumstances, and that it substantially reflects the opinion (which is all such canvasses profess to do) of the women electors on female suffrage. "The Common Cause," of April 21st, published the following note:—

Miss Long Fox writes to say that she had assurance from one of the Secretaries of the local Suffrage Society that they had nothing to do with Miss Parry's statements. We received the statements direct from Miss Parry, with whom we were put into communication by one of the Secretaries of the local Suffrage Society.

From this we infer that the local Suffrage Society as a whole had the good sense to see that Miss Parry's methods were quite unprofitable, and to refrain from associating itself with them.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The following letter, from Lord James of Hereford, has been received by the Hon. Secretary of our Epsom Branch:—

"Kingswood Warren, Epsom,
March 10th, 1911.

"My dear Miss Page—I accede with much pleasure to your request that I should become Deputy-President of the Epsom Division Branch of the League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

"It is forty years since I spoke in the House of Commons in opposition to a Female Suffrage Bill, and the years that have since passed have confirmed me in the view that amongst the many great qualities possessed by women there are not those that are needed by active politicians.

"The recent attempts by women to take prominent active steps in support of female suffrage show that such is the case.

"It will be a fatal day for the political strength of this country if full political rights are conferred upon women.—I am, yours truly,

"JAMES OF HEREFORD."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE DISTINGUISHING QUALITIES OF SEX.

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

SIR,—In "Notes and News" of your March number, two quotations are made from an article of mine, "The Suffrage Spirit," which appeared in the February "English-woman." After the first quotation the writer of your Notes says: "This seems to be airy nonsense on its own merits, but we are quite sure that it is, when we come to Mr. Tanner's application of his principle. He says:—" (Then follows the second quotation, "A consideration of animals, for instance, is instructive, &c.")

Now, Sir, I take no exception to the "airy nonsense." Such comments (without arguments to support them) simply mean, if they mean anything, that the writer has failed to understand the idea. The idea, of course, may not be worth understanding—still, such as it is, he (or she) has evidently failed to grasp it. What, however, I do take great exception to is the method of quotation. Anyone reading your Notes would imagine that I wrote the second paragraph in connection with and following on the first. As a matter of fact, the second paragraph comes precisely four and a half pages after the first, and the context is entirely different.

To speak of the application of my principle as implying that "Women are as fit as men to swing a pick, &c.," is, I think, the last word in misrepresentation, seeing that in more than one place I specifically admit the physical—and in a sense the mental—distinctions between the sexes. Still, I cannot believe that the writer intended to misrepresent me. He merely misunderstood. Let me explain.

The idea, in connection with which I introduced the animals, was this: The distinguishing quality (or purpose) of the hound

is ability to hunt. Some hounds are male—some female, but nature has evidently not intended that sex should prevent either males or females from cultivating the distinguishing quality of their species—for hounds of both sexes hunt. In the same way, I submit that nature has not intended sex to interfere with the distinguishing quality (or purpose) of human beings. (I did not or do not suggest that the animals offer a *proof* of this—merely that it might be instructive to observe them, since they possess the same sex—maleness and femaleness—as ourselves, and since this sex is similar in essence in human beings and animals.) But what is the distinguishing quality of human beings? To me it seems to be what, for want of a better word, we may call "soul" or "character," and it was round this idea that my article was written. Any distinction (of sex or of any other kind) which interferes with the cultivation of character must—I argued—be wrong. Does the writer of your Notes suggest that a woman's unfitness "to swing a pick" interferes with the cultivation of her character? Does he suggest that the ability to "act as porters at railway stations" constitutes a quality of the human species, in the sense in which I obviously intended the words? If not, I cannot see the relevancy of his comments.

Sir, my ideas may be "airy nonsense"—they may at any rate be wrong—but I must point out to the writer of your Notes that to tear two paragraphs from their contexts—to misrepresent their connection and meaning—and, further, to ignore entirely my main argument, is worth exactly nothing as substantiation of the charge.

May I ask you in courtesy to publish this explanation?—I am, Sir, &c.,

J. R. W. TANNER.

Hydneye House, Willingdon,
Near Eastbourne.

[We greatly regret that we should have appeared to Mr. Tanner to misrepresent his argument. In a sense it is always an injustice to a sustained argument to extract for quotation any part of it, but one is forced to work under this condition, and after reading his letter we cannot see that we said anything which we should wish to retract. Our whole point is that the cultivation of the distinguishing qualities of sex is a part of our evolutionary development towards higher civilisation. Mr. Tanner points back to hounds (which have not yet seriously cultivated differences of sex), not as a proof of his argument, but at all events as an illustration. We resent and reject that illustration. And we do most decidedly suggest that a woman's unfitness to "swing a pick" not only interferes with, but forbids, the development of her character along the particular political lines recommended by suffragists.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

WOMEN'S WORK AND INFANT MORTALITY.

To the Editor of "The Anti-Suffrage Review"

SIR,—Will you allow me to correct a misstatement you have made in your prefatory note to the correspondence between Lady Chance and Lord Cromer. You say that Suffragists are not in favour of protective legislation for women and children who work industrially. This is a total misconception. Suffragists are not at all against

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wishes are granted. Is not this an instance of the petty spite with which women are often credited, and would it not be disastrous if, owing to the granting of Woman Suffrage, it became the policy of the nation?—I am, Sir, &c.

M. F.

A GOOD ANSWER.

"A well-known Suffragette, who received appeals recently from various charitable societies, has written to them all, stating that she would willingly contribute, but that, in common with hundreds of women, she withholds any and all support to charities until such time as women's demand for political enfranchisement is recognised. This, she points out, will enable women to deal with the root of the evil at which so many charitable societies are only tinkering. She suggests that the officials of the various societies should bring pressure on their members with a view to the passing of the Bill this Session."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND INDIA.

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

SIR,—In reference to our Indian Empire, the extreme danger of giving women the Parliamentary vote is sometimes lost sight of. The following quotation from an interesting article on "Religion and Caste in India," by Mr. Price Collier, in the March number of "Scribner's Magazine," has an important bearing on this point:—

"No Oriental nation will hear that women have been given a vote, and thereby a voice in how they shall be governed, without a vocal and physical protest such as no meeting even can parallel. Great Britain is being assaulted just now by women demanding the Suffrage. What will happen among Hindus and Muhammadans, with their notions of the position

of women, should women be given the vote, is rather beyond ordinary imaginative powers."

—I am, Sir, &c.,

F. TRAVERS.

Tortington House, Arundel,
Sussex, March 8th, 1911.

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

LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

WOMEN'S WORK IN BRISTOL.

WITHIN the last two years Bristol women have awakened to the fact that though their city has made several great and notable advances, it is in one respect still behind a number of other large towns, for it has no women on its town council. To remedy this omission and to find suitable women qualified to stand, the Bristol Women's Local Government Association was formed. Its members represent many different schools of thought, and the local leaders of the Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage parties work together on its committee. On Tuesday evening, March 7th, at the invitation of Miss Long Fox, the Hon. Treasurer, a number of women municipal voters from St. Augustine's Ward attended a drawing-room meeting at Royal York Crescent. Their hostess took the chair and after a few words, in which she reminded them that city and county councils are formed for the management of home affairs such as the sanitary condition of dwellings, the education, medical inspection and feeding of children, housing of the poor, and many other matters which touch women

very nearly, she introduced Mrs. William Cross, one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Bristol Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who made a very interesting and telling speech on Women's Work on Town Councils.

At the end of the meeting the audience expressed themselves as deeply interested and several joined the Association.

On March 27th, a very large meeting took place at Grove House, Clifton, at the kind invitation of the Misses Wait. Miss Sutton, Councillor of Reading, gave an account of her work, which was listened to with deep attention. A large number of those present becoming members.

We may add that during March some members of the Bristol Women's Local Government Society worked hard for the return of two lady Guardians, whose seats were contested.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

We have received the following note from the Birmingham and District Branch of our League:—

"We have ascertained from Mrs. Alfred Osler that the statement made by her in her letter to you of January 13th last, that our League was invited in October, 1909, to assist the candidature of Miss Southall, and refused, was made under a misapprehension, and on pointing this out to her, she has, of course, withdrawn the statement."

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

All our Branches will be glad to hear that our League is now affiliated with the National Union of Women Workers. It will be remembered that there has been a general desire expressed for some time for this affiliation, but it was only at the recent quarterly meeting of the N.U.W.W. that the matter was finally decided.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

Month by month we have to record the rapid growth and increasing energy of our Branches, and the space at our command becomes altogether inadequate for the full record of the many meetings held. We are, therefore, now obliged to curtail all reports much more than formerly, and find it is impossible to give lengthy extracts of many excellent speeches made.

We have been asked to correct an error which occurred in a report from Bristol last month. At a debate at Cotham Grove between Miss Mabel Smith and Miss Barretti, the suffrage resolution was said to have been defeated. It was not—quite—though the majority of two against us was altogether insignificant! The result was twenty-eight for and twenty-six against woman suffrage.

The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, on Wednesday, May 10th, at 11.30 a.m. Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Bath.—Under the auspices of the Bath Branch, a meeting was held at the Guildhall on March 28th, when speeches against granting the vote to women were made by Lord Winterton and Mrs. Greatbatch. Mr. J. R. Benson presided, and was supported, with one or two exceptions, by the officers of the Branch.

The Chairman said as far as his views were concerned he admitted politically and intellectually that there was no doubt that women's mental calibre was quite equal to that of men's. His objection to the suffrage movement was more on a social and a scientific principle. It was not that he was afraid of the women and the women's vote, but he was afraid of what it meant. When they found women entering into the sphere of political life it brought home to them the evil of their system of education, their mistake in pushing young men and young women when they should not be pushed mentally, and inclined to the production of a common type instead of having normal males and normal females. That was how men became more effeminate and women became more masculine. There was no one to fill the woman's place. They could not afford to lose that femininity. These women's movements had cropped up again and again, and they had died out by the weight of feminine instinct.

Lord Winterton, after referring to the amazing results of the anti-suffrage canvass, that clearly demonstrated that the majority of women did not want the vote, said he wondered if the members of the suffrage societies realised they were asking for one of the most momentous changes possible. He was willing to put any question on one side in order to vote for or against the suffrage for women, because if that measure were ever passed it would mean the absolute end of the supremacy of this country and of the British Empire. One of the most damning pieces of evidence was that 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 women's franchise or not. In the eyes of the law—with the exception perhaps of the divorce law, which was more a moral and a religious question than a political one—there was really no foundation for any statement that women were not justly treated. Assuming that they based the question, "Why should not a lady of property have a vote when her gardener has one?" on the ground that the lady with property had more intelligence and more capacity to give the vote than her gardener, he could only say that intellect had never been a qualification for giving votes in this country. He was not one of those who took a low opinion of the intelligence of the voters of this country. One of the strongest arguments against granting the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women was that if they did that they would give women the practical right to cause wars, in which they could not take part. He asked the audience to consider what this movement in favour of

Women's Suffrage was. It was something much more than a demand for votes. It was a movement in the first place, very largely of war against the opposite sex. They realised that when they read the account of statements made by prominent suffragettes, because they said they refused to follow man-made law. If they refused to follow man-made law why didn't they go further and refuse to wear man-made boots? Why did many of them, as many leading suffragettes did, buy tailor man-made gowns? To carry that argument to its logical extreme every suffragette ought to refuse to marry any man who was not a supporter of their cause. The only answer to that was that human nature is stronger than political convictions. Secondly, this movement was very largely a movement directed by certain women against their own sex disabilities, and this was something—and he said this with a sense of seriousness—which neither man laws nor legislature could alter. They could not alter the position. They could not alter the laws which had been laid down by Providence and by nature. There was behind this suffragist movement that which, if persisted in, must bring ruin to this country in the long run.

Mrs. Greatbatch spoke well, and both she and Lord Winterton ably answered a bombardment of questions which followed their speeches.

Bristol.—A series of drawing-room meetings have been held in Clifton and the neighbourhood, at all of which Mrs. Harold Norris gave most convincing addresses, with the result that many of the audience applied for membership and others promised to work for the League.

The following are the ladies who kindly lent their drawing-rooms for these meetings: Mrs. Eadon, Hambrook Court, Hambrook; Mrs. Stanley Badock, Holmwood, Westbury-on-Trym; Mrs. Greenwood, Leigh Side, Leigh Woods; Miss Long Fox, 15, Royal York Crescent.

At a meeting held on Durdham Down, Clifton, Bristol, on April 17th, the following resolution was proposed and carried with only one vote against it.

"That in the opinion of this meeting the 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."

Cardiff.—A committee meeting in connection with the Cardiff Branch was held at the new Carlton Hotel, on April 10th, presided over by the Vice-President, Mrs. B. E. Mullins, Llanishen. The Hon. Secretary (Mr. D. Austin Harries) announced the following speakers for the mass meeting to be held at the Cory Hall on May 3rd:—Lady Hyde, Sir J. D. Rees, and Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P.

Carlisle.—The Carlisle Branch was inaugurated at a meeting held on March 22nd, in the Assembly Room of the Crown and Mitre Hotel. Mr. John Hills, M.P., was in the chair.

Mrs. Greatbatch having spoken, Mr. John Massie, our Hon. Treasurer, addressed the meeting. Women, he said, could sit on Town Councils because they were deputed authorities and not sovereign authorities. They were there under the control of the Government, which regulated the affairs of the nation, and that Government rested on force. Force was characteristically male and not female.

It was argued that women brought soldiers into the world, and therefore they fought indirectly. His answer then was: let them continue to bring citizens into the world and thus govern indirectly. At the conclusion of the meeting, after many questions had been answered, the Anti-Suffrage resolution was well carried.

Cheltenham.—On March 29th, at a new Club for Shop Assistants which has lately been started in Cheltenham, a debate was held on the question of Woman Suffrage. Miss Brodie proposed the resolution that the franchise should be extended to women. Miss Geddes opposed it. Both were supported by members of the Club, and the Anti-Suffragists certainly had the best of the argument. The result of the debate was 15 against the resolution and only 5 for it.

Chiswick.—In connection with the Chiswick Branch a Debating Society has recently been formed, which arranges to hold meetings from time to time at the houses of the members.

The first Debate took place on March 11th, at the house of the Treasurer, Mrs. Greatbatch, who also took the chair. The subject chosen for debate was "The Possibility of Limiting the Franchise as proposed by the Conciliation Bill."

The chief aim which the organisers of this Society have had in view is the discovery and encouragement of possible speakers. Very much talent is undoubtedly lying latent among the members of the League, says an official of our Chiswick Branch, and only requires a little effort and sympathy to bring it out, and make it useful for the service of the cause that we all have at heart. To this end the chief rule of the Debating Society is that no member shall attend more than one meeting of the Society without speaking either for or against the resolution under discussion.

Crowborough.—A public meeting was held by our new Branch at Crowborough, at the Oddfellows' Hall, on March 29th.

Mr. A. Maconachie presided over a very large attendance, and Miss Mabel Smith gave an able address. Many questions asked were admirably answered by both speakers at the conclusion of the meeting.

Eastbourne.—A well-attended drawing-room meeting was held, by kind invitation of Mrs. Turner, at 1, Hardwick Road, on March 17th. The speaker was Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, and the chair was taken by Col. Sir Duncan Johnstone. Mrs. Colquhoun showed that the majority of the women, in London, who would be enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill would be working women who had not time to study politics. Mrs. Colquhoun also dealt with the Imperial point of view of the question.

A hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Colquhoun and Mrs. Turner, as hostess, was accorded, and at the conclusion of the proceedings tea was provided.

Finchley.—An evening drawing-room meeting was held at Finchley on April 6th, Mrs. Savage Cooper kindly acting as hostess. The chair was taken by Mr. Savage Cooper, who approached the subject with calm reasonableness, and proved his case conclusively. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave the address. At the end of the meeting those members of

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WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

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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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the audience who did not already belong to the League joined it, and many took Anti-Suffrage Petition forms for signatures.

We are glad to announce that another meeting will be held at Finchley soon, by kind permission of Mrs. A. Scott, of Seymour Road.

Fylde.—As the result of a challenge issued early in January by this Branch to the Blackpool Suffragists, a debate was held in Blackpool on Monday, March 13th.

A fair number of members of the Branch went to support their side. It had been previously arranged that no vote on the debate should be taken, but Miss Boughey proposed a motion in favour of Woman Suffrage, and this was formally seconded. In the course of her remarks, Miss Boughey said that the world was man-made, but she objected to its being man-ruled.

Mr. J. D. Thompson, who spoke for our League, argued that women had not the power to enforce their opinions. Manhood was the first essential for the suffrage. If otherwise, how was it that all who were taxed did not have a vote? The women of any class were represented by the men of that class. Legislation could not raise wages, beyond giving the right of combination, which women already had.

Glasgow.—The Annual General Meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish League was held on March 6th, in the Christian Institute, Glasgow. Mrs. MacLelose presided.

Apologies were read from the Duchess of Montrose and from the Lady Alice Shaw Stewart.

The Secretary submitted the report for the year, which was one of progress. The membership to date amounted to 20 honorary members, 102 members, 90 associates, and 1,825 adherents.

Mrs. David Blair submitted the Hon. Treasurer's report.

Office bearers for the year were appointed, and the meeting terminated with a discussion on the future work of the Branch, and several ladies present became members.

Golder's Green.—Mrs. Buck gave a drawing-room meeting at her house in Woodstock Avenue, Golder's Green, on March 23rd. Mrs. Reginald Blomfield being in the chair, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon giving the address. Some Suffragists in the audience were interested and surprised to hear that Anti-Suffragists did not want all women to efface themselves entirely from public life!

Miss Duncan kindly undertook to be Hon. Secretary of the "Golder's Green and Garden Suburb Branch," and Miss Buck will act jointly with her. Mrs. Buck has consented to act as Hon. Treasurer.

Guildford.—A particularly interesting debate on Woman Suffrage took place at the Farncombe (near Guildford) Liberal Club on Thursday, April 13th. Mr. C. E. Platt was an excellent and impartial chairman. The speakers were Messrs. G. S. Skelton and A. W. Lloyd, in favour of the extension of the franchise to women. They were vigorously opposed by Mr. W. H. Currington and Mr. F. Godfrey. The preliminary addresses were followed by an open debate, in which members and friends took part. After a very spirited discussion, the resolution was put and carried by a majority against the Suffrage.

Hampstead.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held, by permission of Miss Gunning, at 43, Belsize Park Gardens, on March 15th. Mr. A. Maconachie presided, and an able and convincing address was delivered by Miss Gladys Pott. Some discussion followed and several new members were enrolled.

On the same evening, at Golder's Green, Dr. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., a lady doctor, very ably maintained the Anti-Suffrage cause in a debate with Lady Stout, of New Zealand. No vote was taken, but Dr. Winter more than held her own. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Mr. A. Maconachie ably supported the Anti-Suffrage side.

Highbury.—An enthusiastic meeting was held (by kind permission of Miss Green-horne) at Highbury, to form a Branch in that district, on March 24th. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon took the chair, and Mr. Maconachie spoke. A resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried, with only one dissentient voice. Excellent speeches were made by Miss Moore and Miss Macfarlane, two ladies in the audience. The latter proposed that a message, appealing to him not to support the Conciliation Bill, should be sent from the meeting to the Member for Highbury. This resolution was carried unanimously. Nine ladies formed a Committee. Mrs. W. F. Clarke (a daughter-in-law of that well-known supporter of the Anti-Suffrage movement, Sir Edward Clarke) is Hon. Secretary and Mrs. Wagstaff Hon. Treasurer of the Highbury Branch. The two local speakers are also on the Committee, so the Highbury Branch starts well. One of the ladies present offered to lend her house for more meetings.

Kendal.—Mrs. Humphry Ward was the principal speaker at a well-attended meeting held in the Museum Lecture Hall, Kendal, on March 31st. The Hon. Mrs. Cropper presided, and made a brief and effective speech.

Mrs. Humphry Ward, who was cordially received, said, with regard to the present position of the Women's Suffrage Movement, she thought it was very hopeful. A Unionist member with whom she was conversing the other day said the movement was regarded by a large section in the House of Commons as having received a very severe check, and at present there was no danger of it coming to fruition, a very deep impression having been made in the House by the two farcical elections in St. Pancras and Glasgow. That had sunk deep into the mind of the ordinary member of the House of Commons; as had also the canvass which the League had been carrying on throughout the country, and which proved that the objections which had been made on the part of the Suffragists had not been borne out by the honest attempt which had been made to get the honest opinion of voters. She thought, however, there was a good deal yet to be done in the House of Commons. They had to do their utmost now to convince and bring home, especially to the educated women and to the young women of the country, the reasons for the opposition campaign they had been carrying on during the last few years. They said to the young intelligent women growing up in the schools and colleges: "In our belief you are not true patriots, you are not true daughters of England, if you demand this Parliamentary vote." The intelligent working man who got to know much about

political and industrial questions had already to carry with him a dead-weight of indifference or ignorance, and if they were to add to that the inevitable political ignorance of women, they endangered this country.

The process of reform was going on perpetually. Women were too apt to think that without the vote they had no influence at present on legislation, but the fact was they had an immensely increasing influence on legislation which concerned them or their children or on questions in which they were concerned equally with men. No great measure was ever now brought into the House of Commons without long departmental preparation, which involved departmental committees upon which nowadays women were equally consulted in matters which concerned them, and amongst other measures there were the Midwives' Act and the Children Act. At every stage of the Children Act the opinion of women on education committees, boards of guardians, and other bodies was sought, and they had a most important share in shaping the bill. There was another field, that of local government. Did they realise what local government might mean to women? At the present moment there were on the county councils and borough councils of England fourteen women elected, yet on those councils there were 3,260 seats; and, in addition, there were the thousands of seats on boards of guardians, urban councils, and so forth. There were some 1,100 guardians, but think how absolutely infinitesimal was the proportion of women at present compared to the men on those bodies. Yet all those opportunities were open. The road to the councils was more or less open to women. If they had four or five women on each county council or borough council throughout England they would have at once, instead of fourteen, from 1,000 to 2,000 women, and would get all important industrial districts represented by women.

With the present machinery they could have an important women's local government committee brought into contact with various Government offices, which would have an important influence in the preparation of needed reforms. It must not be supposed that the opponents of votes for women had any desire to interfere with the immense sphere of opportunity for women in national life. They claimed for women full equality in that great sphere where opinion was formed—that opinion which led to legislation of all kinds; they claimed full equality in education, and an increasing co-operation with men in all that led to national life, for the men who were voting and governing were not some alien race—they were their brothers, their sons, their husbands, they were in contact with them in every circumstance of their lives, and the women's power with them depended upon what the women were themselves. To insist upon direct competition with them in these vast matters of national and Imperial responsibility was—because of the irrevocable differences between men and women—only to hinder and weaken the government under which they all must live. The vast majority of men were opposed to it by a sound instinct. Our colonies, with their minor problems, with their remoteness from the complication and danger of the Old World, and their safety under the English flag, and their simpler conditions of life, might try experiments that her children could not ask of England. Should they, for the sake of angry

notions of equality with men, for the sake of doubtful industrial or social arguments which time was perpetually disproving, endanger not only the force and quality of women's special contribution to the State, but in the end the State itself.

Dr. Jackson, the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, also addressed the gathering well and forcefully, and Mrs. Maggs spoke briefly.

Kensington.—On March 30th the Hammersmith Parliament held a debate on Woman Suffrage. Mr. George Calderon represented our League, and he was ably seconded by Mrs. Greatbatch, who made a speech which was characterised as admirable, even by her opponents. The result was the defeat of the Suffrage resolution, voting being very keen and close.

The Conservative and Unionist Working Men's Club announced a debate for March 31st, with Miss Frances Sterling as the proposer of a Suffrage resolution. On March 30th, Mrs. Colquhoun was asked by a member of the Club to attend and take the Anti-Suffrage side, and this she consented to do; the subject, however, aroused so little interest in North Kensington that only two or three men turned up, and, in consequence, Miss Sterling and Mrs. Colquhoun agreed to abandon the debate. Despite the hard work done by Suffragists in this part of London, it is obvious that North Kensington is not in the least interested in Woman Suffrage.

On April 8th a debate took place at the Beatrice Club for Working Girls in North Kensington. Miss Seymour took the Suffrage and Mrs. Colquhoun the Anti-Suffrage side. Owing to the nearness of the Easter recess, a number of the members were unable to attend, but visitors from other clubs made up the audience, reinforced by a number of Suffragists who, it is understood, were not invited by the management. Under the circumstances it was decided that only the members of the Club should vote on the resolution, and the result was three for the Suffrage and nine against it.

Kew.—A well-attended and successful meeting was held on April 4th, by invitation of the Committee of the Kew Branch, at the Gymnasium, Prince's Road. In the absence of Mrs. Harold Norris, Mrs. Greatbatch presided. Miss Pott gave an excellent address, which obviously carried conviction to her hearers; and Mrs. Austen proposed the vote of thanks, Miss A. Stevenson seconding. Mrs. Willoughby Dumergne (Hon. Secretary Richmond) thanked the Kew Committee for the hospitality extended to them, and tea was afterwards served to all present.

North Berks.—Lady Wantage presided over a very large gathering at Hagbourne Grange, the residence of Mrs. Gerald Kingsbury, on March 22nd. Mrs. Colquhoun gave a very able address, and Lady Wantage, from the chair, regretted the absence, through illness, of Miss Gladys Pott, the enthusiastic Hon. Secretary of the Branch. A prolonged and interesting discussion followed the speeches, and Lady Wantage thanked their hostess for her hospitality.

Sheffield.—A public meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, on April 5th. Dr. Douglas Cowburn and Mrs. Greatbatch were the speakers, and Mr. E. J. Beal took the chair.

With reference to some remarks made by Mrs. Greatbatch about Australia, Miss Adela

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Pankhurst, who was present, sent up the following written note:—

"Dear Madam,—I beg to deny the statement that Miss Pankhurst cabled for assistance to Australia. The resolution was unanimously carried by every party in the House, and was quite spontaneous. I hope you will convey this to the meeting.—Adela Pankhurst."

Mrs. Greatbatch read this letter aloud, and then read from a copy of "Votes for Women," January 13th, 1911, the following extract:—

"Senator Stewart, of Queensland, raised a very important point. . . . He also referred to the fact that a call had come from England for help in a cable from Miss Pankhurst."

Miss Pankhurst courteously acknowledged herself mistaken, but the incident should be taken as a tribute to Mrs. Greatbatch's forethought in being supplied with uncontroversial authority for her statements.

Twenty minutes were allowed at the close of the meeting for written questions, and, finally, the vote was taken and resulted in a very large majority in our favour.

Watford.—The "At Home" arranged by Mrs. Clark, at St. Michael's Hall, Watford, on April 6th, was very successful. Over 400 invitations were issued and there were a good many present. Mr. Mitchell-Innes took the chair, and Mrs. Mitchell-Innes was also present. Miss Gladys Pott gave a capital speech, which was greatly appreciated, and after question time moved a resolution that the meeting "Oppose the Parliamentary Franchise for women, and desires to express its approval of the object and work of the N.L.O.W.S." This was carried by a majority of 32 for and 2 against. Lady Ebury came in towards the end of the meeting, and said a few encouraging words. About 23 joined the League—7 as members and 16 as associates. All thanks are due to Mrs. Clarke for her most generous help and the great trouble she took to get up the meeting.

On February 22nd, Mrs. Sworder held a drawing-room meeting at her house, when Miss Mabel Smith spoke. Thanks are due to Mrs. Sworder for her hospitality.

Weston.—There was a very large audience at a meeting held in the Town Hall, Weston-super-Mare, on April 5th.

Excellent addresses were given by the chairman (Mr. H. C. Trapnell, LL.B.), of Bristol, Miss Mabel Smith, of London, and Mr. G. L. Borrodaile, M.A., of Bristol. All the speeches showed the reasons for our opposition to woman suffrage from a very practical point of view, Mr. H. C. Trapnell's address being very able and to the point.

West Marylebone.—An encouraging report of greater interest and renewed activity comes from this Branch. The small canvass of September last among about 200 (men and women) householders showed good results—about five to one against woman suffrage.

A public meeting is arranged for May 17th, evening, at the Portman Rooms, and it is hoped other Branches will assist in making this a success. The drawing-room meetings, held during the year, have been well attended, notably that at which Miss Pott spoke, on February 15th last.

Wimbledon.—A most successful drawing-room meeting was held, by permission of

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Mrs. Richard Glyn, at Melbury, The Ridgeway, on April 3rd. Lady Constance Monro took the chair owing to the illness of Sir Sydney Hoare, who was to have presided. Mr. Maconachie gave a most interesting address. At the end of the meeting many of those present signed the petition against "Votes for Women."

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

WEST MARYLEBONE BRANCH.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT

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On May 17th, at 8.30.

Chairman—LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.

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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. Burnett.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Gardens, St. Andrews.

WALES.

CARDIFF—
President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Acting Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf Taff Embankment, Cardiff.

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

BRANCH PROTEST MEETINGS.

Throughout the Country our Branches are arranging to hold Protest Meetings with a view to sending Resolutions to the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, and local M.P.'s, against the Second Reading of Sir George Kemp's Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women, on May 5th.