

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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LORD NORTHCOTE is one of the leaders in the Anti-Suffrage movement, who, before the amalgamation of the Men's and Women's Leagues, did valuable service in the Men's League. He is now a prominent member of the Executive of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. It would be impossible, in the small space on this page, to attempt more than a brief outline of his distinguished career.

The second son of the late Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh), Lord Northcote has inherited many of the gifts of his brilliant father. He was educated at Eton, and took his M.A. degree at Merton College, Oxford. At the age of twenty-two he was a clerk in the Foreign Office. From 1876 to 1877 he was Private Secretary to Lord Salisbury at the British Embassy in Constantinople, and from 1877 to 1880 he was Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

At this date he became the Conservative candidate for Exeter, in his native county, and the esteem in which he is held there was demonstrated by his continued re-election for nineteen years, till 1899. In 1885 he was appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office, and

PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

LORD NORTHCOTE, C.B., G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G., P.C.



Bartletto, Perth, W. A.

Northcote

from 1886 to 1887 was the Surveyor-General of Ordnance. He was a Charity Commissioner from 1891 to 1892.

In 1899 Lord Northcote returned to Foreign Service, and till 1903 was Governor of Bombay. He left Bombay for Australia in 1903, when he was appointed Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, and when he returned home three years ago (in 1908) he brought with him a fine reputation for success in the various and not easy social accomplishments which are required in a Governor-General of Australia. The Australians are candid and critical, but when they get the man they want, no people acknowledge his merits more generously. Lord Northcote's name is bracketed in the affections of Australians with that of Lord Hopetoun.

Lord Northcote expresses his arguments against Woman Suffrage briefly and decisively, and with an air of conviction, which is impressive in itself, and implies all that he chooses to leave unsaid. From rumours which reach our camp from the enemy's, it may be judged that he is held in respect as a formidable opponent.

L. V. M.

HOPES AND METHODS.

THE Women Suffragists, represented by Sir George Kemp, have had the good fortune to win the first place in the ballot for private members' days in the House of Commons. This means that unless the Government suddenly decide to take the whole time of the House, the Second Reading of the revised "Conciliation" Bill will be debated on May 5th. The full text of the Bill is as follows:—

"1.—Every woman possessed of a household qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

"2.—For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division."

This Bill, it will be seen, omits the £10 qualification of the original Bill; provides, as far as is possible, that marriage shall not be penalised; and, finally, is open to amendment. The Suffragists are sanguine enough to hope that it will pass the Commons in all its stages this Session. To secure that they intend to move a resolution, if the Second Reading should be carried, demanding facilities from the Government for the further progress of the Bill. There is very little prospect, however, that the Bill will be passed this Session. The throwing of it open to amendment will involve lengthy debates. We understand that several members of the Government are not averse from the idea of submitting woman suffrage to a Referendum, and the members of our League could not do a more useful work than urge the advisability of that course on members of Parliament. In any case, the House of Lords would probably add a Referendum clause to the Bill. Woman Suffrage, we are confident, would never survive a Referendum. And yet it is perfectly reasonable to demand a Referendum, for to make so vast a change in our national life as Woman Suffrage would mean without consulting the country would be preposterous.

The methods with which many Suffra-

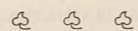
gists propose to give substance to their hopes are for the time being twofold—tax-resistance and an attempt to spoil the census. In a campaign of tax-resistance women would unquestionably be aided in many cases by the law which sacrifices the husband to the wife. But, though tax-resisters may indeed create a diversion, let us not forget this, that it is a policy which can truly succeed only if it has a mass of public support, and that it is a policy which is likely to win respect only if it is seen to be the result of an imperious emotion. Hampden was ready to fight as well as to refuse to pay ship money; the Suffragists are not able to fight. Nor will they command the sympathy due to religious objectors like those who at various times have refused to pay tithe, church rates, or the education rate.

As for the proposed resistance to the census, it is an obscurantist policy of the worst kind. Women Suffragists profess to be fighting the cause of the weak and the sick, yet it is they who propose to shut out the light of knowledge. To spoil the census is not to injure the Government. All that will be injured will be those scientific causes which depend on the census for the compilation of vital statistics and for checking the advance or retrogression of the birth-rate and infant mortality. It is a work of darkness, to which women should be sorry to put their hands.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE print elsewhere a letter from Lord Cromer and Lady Jersey to Mr. Asquith. As some questions have been asked, since the letter appeared in the daily newspapers as to the method by which Woman Suffrage should be referred to the people as "a specific and distinct issue," we desire to make the following statement. Lord Cromer and Lady Jersey did not go into details, as they wished to express themselves as briefly as possible. But they assumed that if a Referendum were

granted, it would be applied not to an abstract principle, but to a particular Bill. It is to be hoped that the House of Commons will not choose to pursue the matter beyond the familiar stage of a Second Reading. But if it should pass the Bill, then Mr. Asquith is asked to append a Referendum clause to it. The House of Commons owes it to the country to make sure of its wishes. As to what the wishes of the country are, there can be no doubt whatever.

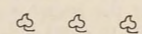


THE "Parliamentary Conciliation Committee for Woman Suffrage" have asked the Home Secretary for a public inquiry into the conduct of the Metropolitan Police towards the militant Suffragists on November 18th, 22nd, and 23rd. In a long Memorandum on the subject, evidence is brought forward to attempt to show that the police behaved with deliberate and concerted brutality, and were guilty of indecent conduct. On March 1st Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons:—

"The Memorandum contains a large number of charges against the police of criminal misconduct, which, if there were any truth in them, should have been made at the time and not after a lapse of three months, and should, if they could be supported by evidence, have been preferred in a Police Court. . . . There is no truth in the statement that the police had instructions which led them to terrorise and maltreat the women. On the contrary, the superintendent in charge impressed upon them that, as they would have to deal with women, they must act with restraint and moderation. The statement that there were a large number of plain-clothes officers in the crowd who were, it is suggested, guilty of indecencies, is equally false. Apart from some detectives specially summoned when it was found that a large number of pickpockets and thieves were present, not more than a dozen plain-clothes officers were employed, and, with the exception of one who assisted in an arrest, none of them handled the women in any way; but the crowd, which had assembled in response to invitations scattered broadcast by the Women's Social and Political Union, contained a large number of undesirable and reckless persons quite capable of indulging in gross conduct. . . . If any charge can be made against any named individual, it can even now be investigated either by the Courts or by the Commissioner of Police."

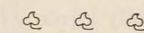
The Suffragists have brought a peculiarly injurious charge against the police. It is disgraceful to make such charges without substantiating them. We trust that they will see that it is their duty now to bring their cases into Court.

As we recorded last month the withdrawal by Miss Eleanor Rathbone of her Woman Suffrage resolution in the Liverpool City Council, we feel it right to state that on February 1st the resolution—recommending the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders and occupiers—was carried by 43 votes to 19. According to an account in the "Common Cause," the question did not come on till 5.45 p.m., when many persons had left the hall. The "Common Cause" says that these were supporters of the resolution. In proposing an amendment, Alderman Salvidge declared that he was in favour of Woman Suffrage, but objected, on principle, to extraneous matters being brought before the Council. If Woman Suffrage, why not Home Rule? (Loud applause from the Irish members.) Miss Rathbone said that one-fifth of the women municipal electors of Liverpool had declared themselves in favour of Woman Suffrage on the lines of the "Conciliation" Bill. This seems to be a very inadequate reason for enfranchising the remaining four-fifths—many of them stalwart objectors on their own account and on that of other women. It is a curious and not very impressive spectacle, this, of one municipal council after another throughout the land picking out one extraneous matter on which to declare a pious opinion. The reason is obvious. No sooner had one council passed a Woman Suffrage resolution, than a great many others felt that it was expected of them by some of the women electors that they should do likewise. We fancy that they were unnecessarily apprehensive, just as many Parliamentary candidates were unnecessarily apprehensive at the General Election.



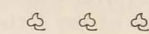
MUNICIPAL COUNCILS which have not yet had the question of Woman Suffrage before them might do well to consider the example of the Oxford Town Council, which recently had the case for Woman Suffrage most ably laid before it, and then decided that it was no part of its business to single out this question for special treatment. Some of the remarks which were let fall during the discussion were most instructive. Thus, when a member asked whether the resolution was in order, and appealed to the Town Clerk, the latter said that an attempt was being made to put on him "the difficulty" which the whole Council ought to face. What was this "difficulty"? There

is surely no great difficulty in saying whether the constitution of the Council does or does not permit of general political questions being discussed. The Town Clerk went on in language that would be cryptic if we did not all know very well that the various municipalities are conscious of the pressure being put upon them: "I am not prepared to rule out this motion; I am prepared—if the corporation wishes it—if the majority of the Corporation wishes it—to advise the Corporation with regard to motions of this kind. But I am not prepared to give that advice at the instance of one member." Sir W. Gray asked whether the Town Clerk could say what the resolution would lead to. "It involves no expenditure and no action," said the Town Clerk. "It is waste of time," said a councillor. The end of the matter, which we think, in the circumstances, was very creditable to the Oxford Council, was that this cheap and easy scheme for purchasing the goodwill of a certain group of electors was rejected.

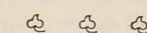


WE would call attention to a letter to the Editor under the title of "Organise!" It shows how two apparently contradictory facts may easily co-exist in a country—a Legislature passing measures in one direction while popular opinion is obviously tending in quite a different direction. The same thing has already happened in our own House of Commons, though, fortunately, no harm has been done so far. But harm will be done, sooner or later, if the country allows its opinions to be ignored through failing to express them. We know that it is much more exhilarating to point onwards, wave flags, blow trumpets, and cry "Once more unto the breach, dear friends!" than to recommend moderation and bear the accusation of counselling a negation. But the dull, laborious task must be accepted. It is laid as a solemn duty upon everyone who believes that the future welfare of this country depends upon distinguishing between the very different but complementary and harmonious functions of men and women. In one respect we have a lesson to learn from the Suffragists. They compel their friends and neighbours into their fold. It is precisely one of the phenomena of the normal indifference of women to politics that they can be talked over rather easily. Well,

we must use the same tactics. Every member of a branch should not be contented till he or she has enrolled many other members. New subscribers to the REVIEW should be found daily. We are glad to say that our circulation unceasingly rises, but a more determined effort would make it rise faster still. Members of our Branches in every district should see that the REVIEW is displayed and distributed and is to be easily obtained.



WE have given some extracts elsewhere from a paper by Professor Lodge, in which he spoke of the danger of men and women having an identity of aim in their occupations, instead of that union in diversity which it is the plain intention of Nature that they should cultivate. A striking lecture to the same effect was delivered lately at Bath, by Dr. J. R. Benson. Dr. Benson admitted the tenacity and ability of many militant Suffragists, but noted that, corresponding with their powers of holding their own with men, there is a sacrifice of their powers for serving the race as women. They could only make quite indifferent males, and, on the other hand, the men could never hope to attain sufficient femininity to do the special work of women. So we are getting an excess of masculinity, and the far more noble, useful femininity is at a discount. The tendency of the day is towards the creation of a type common to both sexes. As the male influence is cultivated at the expense of the more important female influence, there is an increasing possibility of race extinction. Thus we may summarise Dr. Benson's views. We believe there is a good deal of truth in them. Though the danger is not yet fully declared, one can foresee such an ultimate disintegration as would bring a mighty nation to ruin. Suffragists run a heavy risk of turning the vote into a fetish and ignoring plain duties to the State, which are not unnecessary because they happen to be simple and familiar. Suffragists who see the danger to their country might ask themselves whether their highest duty is not, after all, to make a sacrifice of what they most desire.

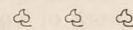


IN a correspondence between Mrs. Carter, the Hon. Secretary of our Guildford Branch, and Miss Baker, of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society, on the canvass of

women municipal electors, reference was made to Florence Nightingale. Miss Baker wrote of her as one of the "prominent Suffragists." As Florence Nightingale's name is continually being invoked in this way by Suffragists, it is as well to remember what she said. Nominally she was a Suffragist, but it is just as likely that she would no longer be one if she were alive now. We can only judge by the spirit in which she spoke. In her book on nursing she wrote (Mrs. Carter quotes the passage in one of her letters) :-

"I would earnestly ask my sisters to keep clear of both the jargons now current everywhere, of the jargon about the 'rights' of women, which urges women to do all that men do, merely because men do it, and without regard to whether this is the best that women can do; and of the jargon that urges women to do nothing that men do, merely because they are women. . . . Surely woman should bring the best she has, whatever that is, to the work of God's world, without attending to either of these cries."

We cannot help thinking that if Florence Nightingale could watch the tendency of the moment, she would admit that the former of the two jargons is being pressed to excesses of which her foreseeing mind never dreamed.



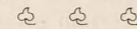
We drew attention lately to a curious argument by the distinguished novelist Mrs. Steel, in which she wrote of sex as a kind of illusion which could eventually be overcome. We begin to wonder whether many other Suffragists are chasing this phantom, when we read an argument remarkably like Mrs. Steel's, in the February number of the "Englishwoman." The writer, Mr. J. R. W. Tanner, says :-

Well, we, too, have made a discovery; we may not all be fully conscious of it at present, but we have got the idea vaguely; and the discovery is this: that sex is a condition, and in the main only a relative condition at that. We have discovered that we need not, and in fact do not, live our lives in a constant condition of maleness or femaleness, and that actually we are only male and female in relation to some individual of the opposite sex, and then only sometimes. That a certain vague and rather arbitrary cleavage has been made between the sexes is due to the fact that this relation is practically universal (i.e., few escape it altogether), and that it naturally colours the characters of individuals. To what extent it does this depends on our capacity to rise superior when necessary.

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 :-

A consideration of animals, for instance, is instructive. Do we think of excluding the bitch from the pack, or the mare from the hunting-field? Do we think of judging any animal by the qualities of its sex rather than by the qualities of its species? No, of course not; yet the same sex is there, exercising the same influence, though no doubt with less complications. And is the path of Mankind to be rigidly mapped out on the lines of a sex-distinction which we share with the animals, and which, moreover, in their case we do not attempt to emphasise? I think not.

In other words, women, as a sex, are as fit as men to swing a pick in a mine, lead regiments, command battleships, be priests, carry coals, act as porters at railway stations, and so forth. It is, indeed, a discovery to be proud of that we should ignore all human experience and make the brute beasts our exemplars!



AFTER THE SUFFRAGISTS' MEETING.

HE: I absolutely agree with what you said in your speech, that it's no argument to say, "Men are men, and women are women."

SHE: Of course it's no argument!

HE: Of course not! It's a fact!

PROFESSOR LODGE ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

In January Professor Lodge, Edinburgh University, read a paper in which he reviewed the various points mentioned in a series of lectures delivered in Edinburgh on the position of women. Lady Betty Balfour presided over the meeting. In Scotland there is a familiar and amiable custom by which persons frequently take the chair at meetings where political and quasi-political views opposed to their own are advocated. Lady Betty Balfour, however, must have swallowed several unusually disagreeable leeks before Professor Lodge had finished his paper. We take some extracts from the report in the "Scotsman" :-

There was no blinking the fact, he said, that the struggle waged by middle-class women for the past fifty years had been largely a struggle for equality with men, for admission to men's classes, to men's endowments, to men's offices, and to occupations which were once exclusively filled by men. The success of women in direct competition

with men had been loudly trumpeted. The imitative faculty in women was extremely strong, and if this competitive passion was thoroughly aroused, it was difficult to know where it was to end. The aim, more or less conscious, seemed to be not merely equality of opportunity, but identity of occupations so far as was physically possible between man and woman.

SEX WAR AN ABHORRENT CONCEPTION.

The pursuit and achievement of that aim seemed to open a vista of endless rivalry on the one hand to retain superiority, such as it was, and on the other hand to wrest it away. Was this to be the ultimate goal of the women's movement? And would it be for the highest good either of women or of the community? No doubt if they could put the matter to the test of the Referendum, the great majority of men, and probably of women too, would vote against such a solution of the problem. But the Referendum was not yet an adopted constitutional expedient; and such a decision would at once be attributed to selfishness on the one side and to cowardly subjection to conventionality on the other. The conception of a war of sexes was abhorrent to every right-thinking man and woman. The general trend of previous papers had deepened and strengthened his conviction that man and woman were complementary and not rival organisms. Their co-operation was necessary for the continuance of the race, but it was equally necessary for the elevation of the race, and for the improvement of its social conditions. The bone of contention was not whether there should be co-operation, but the terms upon which such co-operation should be based. It was desirable that the terms should involve no humiliation for either sex.

THE NEED OF THE STATE.

In conclusion, Professor Lodge dealt with the political position of women, and said that the question was not exclusively bound up with, still less was it identical with, the question of the franchise, and the question of the franchise was too often discussed as if it depended upon the political capacity of woman. He went on to point out that without the franchise or with an infinitesimal share in it, women had exercised great political influence. The essential question was not whether the franchise was necessary to enable women to exert political influence. It was whether it was desirable in the interests of the community to break the long tradition which had associated ultimate political responsibility, as it had associated the duty of national defence, with the male sex. Woman had plenty of burdens, and even if she cheerfully added this to her other burdens, he did not believe it was desirable for the State. As he grew older, he became more and more conscious that the primary need of the State was stability—not stagnation, that was ruinous, but stability through change. At the present moment the stability of the State was in serious danger. The party system, which had marched with some practical success for two hundred years, seemed to be on the verge of breaking down, and the British Constitution, whose main features had endured for five centuries, was in the melting pot. He should be reluctant to add to existing dangers such a leap in the dark as would be involved in the addition to the register of a mass of untried voters.

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS. ASTONISHING RESULTS.

THE very class in whose interests the Conciliation Bill is framed do not desire Woman Suffrage. We have the pleasure of publishing some figures which prove this extremely important fact. The canvass of Women Municipal Electors by which we have obtained the figures is not yet complete, in the constituencies that have been undertaken, but we have no doubt that the results already obtained are typical of those yet to come. We feel justified, therefore, in urging them most earnestly on the attention of Members of Parliament. The whole case for the Conciliation Bill rests on the assumption that those women who now have the Municipal Vote are those who suffer the most crying injustice in not having the Parliamentary Vote. Those Members who voted for the Conciliation Bill did not hesitate to make this assumption, just as Mr. Balfour makes the wider assumption that women in general want the Suffrage. Mr. Balfour has declared that if his assumption proves to be unfounded, his opinion would be greatly modified. We venture to hope that the figures given will help towards that modification, and that figures yet to be published will complete the process. The figures show that among women householders and women with occupier qualifications, there is no grievance. The vast majority declare that they do not want the Parliamentary Vote :-

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.*
Liverpool (4 wards)	8,182	2,189	1,218	—	4,775
Bristol	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Croydon	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
North Paddington	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Hampstead	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,168
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
Oxford	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Scarborough	2,106	683	513	412	508
Cambridge	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Reading	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
Torquay	1,640	467	210	13	950
Mid Bucks	1,389	248	222	47	872
Aldermaston	53	38	2	—	13
Boxford	70	19	9	8	34
Bradfield	63	34	9	4	16
Burghfield	101	72	11	9	9
Compton	42	33	1	3	5
Hungerford	68	9	51	3	5
Ilstley	25	11	1	7	6
Knitbury	36	6	16	6	8
Lambourne	47	35	2	—	10
Newbury	468	187	55	215	11
Pangbourne	93	46	21	5	21
Speen	76	49	7	8	12
Swallowfield	32	8	10	—	14
Thatcham	83	29	16	6	32
Tilehurst	111	79	6	15	11
North Berks	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
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
Reigate	906	338	199	23	346
Guildford	776	428	67	72	209
Penrith	508	251	126	—	131
Sutton	471	133	41	226	71
Keswick	405	196	87	—	122
Epsom	349	183	35	69	62
Hampton	277	92	39	14	132
Wigton, Cumberland	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge	212	118	11	29	54
Thames Ditton	187	134	10	8	35
Long Ditton					
Kew	155	96	21	23	15
Ashbourne	153	107	5	2	39
Cockermouth,	143	74	49	1	9
Cumberland					
Haslemere	138	59	34	28	17

(Continued on next page.)

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

(continued).

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.*
East Molesey ...	136	93	14	20	9
Hersham ...	105	49	4	20	32
Banstead and Tadworth	96	22	5	9	60
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	0	14
Cobham ...	88	61	4	15	8
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Worcester Park ...	87	34	7	2	44
Esher ...	75	52	9	8	6
Midhurst ...	73	27	15	20	11
Cheam ...	69	43	11	10	5
Ashted ...	67	25	7	21	14
Bramshott ...	63	37	9	7	10
Oatlands Park ...	56	21	1	5	29
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Shottermill ...	37	16	8	7	6
Walton-on-Hill ...	33	19	3	6	5
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

Thus, of those who have answered the questions put to them, out of a total electorate of 58,745 the great number of 24,409 are opposed to Votes for Women, and only 8,228 are in favour of them. But that is not all. Out of those canvassed 20,567 have not answered. It is reasonable to suppose that these mostly—probably almost entirely—are unfavourable to Woman Suffrage. It is not to be supposed that many Woman Suffragists would fail to declare the faith that is in them, well knowing that the results of the Canvass might be used against their cause. We do not pretend, of course, to estimate the exact majority against Woman Suffrage, but it is certain that it is very large, and it is probable that it is enormous.

* No replies include deceased, removed, and ill.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR BRANCH WORK.

By LADY SIMON.

In this as in all work undertaken by our League, there are two main questions to be considered.

1. How can we most effectively oppose the Suffragist movement in the British Isles?
2. How can we most effectively oppose Suffragists, and prevent ourselves from being out-manœuvred by them?

The first kind of work is a matter of arguments; the second, one of tactics.

It is not necessary to run, even in the briefest way, through our arguments as our League has such a formidable array of literature at the back of it in which they are presented in the clearest possible way. Taken as a whole and considering the names of eminence, both in politics and in literature, which are associated with it, it is a literature of which, perhaps, any society might be proud. There is, however, one piece of advice, in dealing with the Woman's Suffrage movement, which may be offered in connection with our Branch work, and that is that we should concentrate our efforts towards de-

feating this movement in its relation to a Great Power.

THE MAIN ASPECT.

Do not let us allow ourselves to be drawn aside from this main aspect of the question into the side issue of discussing Woman's Suffrage in the two of our self-governing Colonies (New Zealand and Australia) which have adopted it, or in some of the sparsely populated States of America (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Washington), or in a small country such as Finland, which sits under the wing of a great Power, and where women have not only votes but seats in Parliament.

If we do this, if we let ourselves be drawn aside from the main issue in this way, we are simply playing into the hands of our opponents, who very often contend that they are only asking for the women of Great Britain and Ireland what women already have elsewhere. This is not the case. To give women equal political rights and responsibilities with men in the government of a Great Power constitutes a new departure in the world's history for which there is no precedent, and it is to defeat this movement, and nothing less than this, that our League exists.

DEBATES.

Now we come to the question, which, perhaps, more nearly concerns the Branches, of the kind of tactics which are likely to be most effective in weakening the political position of our opponents. The opposition to the Woman's Suffrage movement can no longer take its stand upon theoretical objection or individual prejudice, it must come out into the field of practical politics, and there are pitfalls to be avoided on the one hand, and new ground to be covered on the other.

Of course, to a certain extent, each Branch must decide upon its own tactics in its encounters with Suffragists, as these vary so much with local conditions and depend so much upon the relative local strength of the two parties; but, as a general principle, I should say that it is wise to refuse invitations from Suffragists to meet them in debate upon the general aspects of the Woman's Suffrage question. I am convinced that Suffragists have their own ends to serve by getting up these debates and that it is one of their favourite devices for advertising themselves and keeping their cause before the public eye. The necessity of this from the Woman's Suffrage point of view is apparent when we remember what a very

small proportion of women belong to the Suffrage societies, and how apathetic the great mass of women in all classes of society seem to be about this question. Unfortunately, the apathy tells both ways and keeps many women from joining our side. They simply do not want to be bothered about the question one way or the other, and are probably also glad to have an excuse for not increasing their subscription lists.

In those cases, however, where a Branch is of opinion that it has something to gain by holding a debate, it is most desirable in the interests of fair play that the special points to be debated should be strictly defined beforehand in order to keep the debate as technical as possible; and, as a further safeguard, a strong-minded chairman should be selected, who is not likely to let it lapse into inaccurate generalities.

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATES.

There are many points which lend themselves to separate treatment, and which, in fact, can only be properly debated if they are taken in this way. On many of them the literature of the League can be consulted, as the titles of some of the Leaflets will show.

Among the subjects suitable for separate discussion in their bearing on women's political enfranchisement are the following:—

1. Women's Suffrage and Women's Wages.
2. Women's position under laws made by man.
3. Women's Suffrage and the Factory Acts.
4. (A) Recent legislation concerning trades in which women are employed and its bearing on the Suffrage question.
(B) Women's Trade Unions.
5. The part now played by women on Royal Commissions and in framing any legislation affecting women and children.
6. The "Women's Qualification Act," and Local Government work.
7. The difference between Women's Suffrage in the Colonies and in the Mother Country.
8. Recent Parliamentary Women's Suffrage Bills and their differences.

And many others of a similar character. Accurate and technical knowledge on points such as these is necessary to those who engage in debate with Women Suffragists, because the latter have an ingenious way of making out a case for grievance against men and men's laws,

by stating only that part of it which suits their own purposes.

Take, for instance, an apparent iniquity towards the weaker sex, which Suffragists so often harp upon, viz., that the sole legal power of the guardianship of children born in marriage rests with the father, and that the mother's rights in her children are not recognised by law. In normal family life, the guardianship of children is never a matter of dispute between parents, but, if we consider it from the legal point of view only, we find that the power of guardianship which is vested in the father is associated with entire responsibility for the maintenance of children. Since the passing (by men) of the Women's Property Act, no woman, even if she has private property, can be legally forced to contribute anything to the support of her children, unless the father becomes chargeable to the rates. The alleged unfairness of this law, as it affects mothers, is an example of the kind of use which Women Suffragists often make of facts, and it shows how necessary it is for Anti-Suffragists to have technical information on any special subjects which are selected for debate. We usually find that some corresponding obligation is associated with almost every masculine privilege, and that in discussing these privileges with Women Suffragists the old saying often holds good: One tale is very well until another is told. All legislation is progressive, rather than final; it has to be constantly adjusted to meet new social conditions, and no sensible person (not even the most inveterate of Anti-Suffragists) would contend that our laws, as they affect the relations between men and women, have attained to a state of perfection. It is doubtful if they ever will reach this state while human nature remains so imperfect. But that admission is quite a different thing from fastening upon one of those laws, isolating it from its surroundings, and then twisting it so as to serve as an instance of the injustice of men towards women, and of the necessity of having women as legislators for their own sex. It is to avoid being caught in similar traps to this, a favourite device of Women Suffragists in debates, that we must recognise the importance of technical equipment on the part of those who engage in them.

But, even under the most favourable and fair conditions, the policy of holding debates with Women Suffragists is becoming an increasingly doubtful one. The arguments on both sides are so prominently before the public nowadays, in literature, in public speeches, and most of all, per-

haps, in some of the recent Parliamentary debates, that no intelligent person can now plead the excuse of ignorance on this most controversial of subjects.

DISSEMINATION OF LITERATURE.

Other means of propaganda are, from the tactical point of view, to be much more strongly recommended. Among these is the systematic dissemination of our literature. We may learn a lesson from our opponents in this work, which never seems to have been properly taken in hand by our League. We are, of course, deterred in this and in much of our work by difficulties which do not exist for our opponents, who will let their women and girls stand about in public places and at street corners, and who have undergone many hardening processes which we do not desire to emulate. But we might do much more in the way of free distribution of our leaflets and of our newspaper, the REVIEW, and in certain cases and districts (to be decided upon by the local Branch) this might be done from house to house. A good many of our leaflets have been specially written for circulation among the working classes, and there would be no difficulty in selecting the kind of literature suitable for each district and for each class of society.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Another most important piece of work, from the point of view of tactics, is the holding of public Anti-Suffrage meetings, provided that the time is ripe for them, and that suitable speakers are available. As regards the right time to hold a public meeting, this must, of course, depend partly, but not wholly, upon local energy and local resources. Even where those are forthcoming it is important to choose the right time, or at least to avoid the wrong one, so far as political conditions are concerned.

For instance, it would be manifestly unwise to hold such a meeting shortly before the introduction of a Women's Suffrage Bill in the House and while we are still in the dark as to what kind of a Bill we shall have to oppose. Again, it is most necessary to get the right speakers; names will appeal not only to our supporters, but to the general public. (In this respect we are much better off than the Suffrage party, who are always falling out with the eminent men who are, at least theoretically, on that side.) A meeting on this scale, i.e., with well-known speakers, justifies a charge being made for admission and might thus cover its own expenses, and even be a help to the local funds of the Branch. Although no

interruptions to the speeches should be tolerated, questions should always be invited towards the close of the meeting, and it is necessary to have someone on the platform who has the kind of technical information that is wanted for debates. One good public meeting, with the speakers all on our side, is more likely to exercise a converting influence on the general public than any amount of debates with Suffragists (when important points often run the risk of having the most inadequate treatment and of being obscured by lesser ones), and it is for this reason that the occasional holding of a public meeting is recommended, as being good tactics. It is of the utmost importance to make a meeting of this kind attractive, not only to educated people, but to the poorer classes in our towns and villages. No political measure can be carried without the support of the votes of the working classes, and those are the classes which will not trouble much about our literature and which we have to get at mostly by means of public meetings. Advertisements of such meetings should be posted in all the poorer districts and rd. tickets of admission issued for working men and women. Nor must it be overlooked that public meetings of this kind afford excellent opportunities for the enrolment of new members; some systematic arrangement can easily be made to combine this with other proceedings; cards of membership can be distributed, names booked, and subscriptions received (rd. card membership for the working classes, including domestic servants, have been adopted by many of the Branches).

APPROACHING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND CANDIDATES.

Probably the most important of any tactical move, and one also which devolves exclusively upon the Branches, is to get the ear of the member, or members, of Parliament in the district where the Branch is situated. We all know that what appeals most strongly to the average M.P. is local pressure, and this form of persuasion can only be applied by the Branches.

It is the local Branch, not the central body in London, which can make a member realise that the Anti-Suffrage element in his constituency is one to be seriously reckoned with, and that his Parliamentary attitude towards Woman's Suffrage will be closely watched, not only by Suffragists, but by his Anti-Suffragist constituents.

The last election came upon us so hurriedly that it found us, as a League, some-

what unprepared to cope with it. Nothing can show more clearly than this that the part which our Branches have to take in the national campaign against the Woman's Suffrage movement is of paramount importance, and that the strength of the League as a political force must depend largely upon the strength of its Branches. Let us hope that this sense of responsibility will lead to a general increase of activity in our Branch work, and also to the formation of new Branches in those places where the League is still unrepresented.

OTHER WORK.

There is, of course, much other work, besides that which has been mentioned here, to be undertaken by the Branches, and how to set about this each Branch will decide for itself, but in all cases the ultimate objects of this work must be the same, viz., to increase the membership of the League, and to give all people in all classes of society, who are opposed to Woman's Suffrage, the easiest possible opportunities of protesting against it by the signing of petitions and the like. Of the value of the canvasses among municipal women voters which have been organised in various parts of the country, there is no need to speak here, but such an expression of opinion on the part of those women who would have been enfranchised by the passing of the Conciliation Bill cannot fail to make a deep impression in the House of Commons when the question comes up again.

A REMARKABLE CANVASS AT CRANBROOK.

WE give below the figures of a poll on Woman Suffrage at Cranbrook, in the Southern or Ashford division of Kent, conducted on similar lines to the canvass at Hawkhurst, which we published last month. We again give the form of the questions asked.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(CRANBROOK BRANCH).

To
(Elector)

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,—We desire to ascertain the opinion of all Parliamentary, County, and Parochial electors, and also that of their wives regarding the much-debated question of Woman Suffrage.

Kindly write the word "Yes" or "No" opposite the following question, and sign your name in the space below:—

HUSBAND'S ANSWER.
Are you in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote to women?

WIFE'S ANSWER.
Are you in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote to women?

WOMEN ELECTOR'S ANSWER.
Are you in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote to women?

Signature

This paper will be collected to-morrow and will be examined by representatives of both opinions.—Yours faithfully,

MARY NEVE, President.
S. HANCOCK, Hon. Sec.

Parliamentary voters for the Southern or Ashford division of Kent, within the Parish of Cranbrook. 746

County and Parochial electors:—
Women 88
Men 1

Total number asked the following question: "Are you in favour of giving the Parliamentary vote to women?" 835

NOTE.—The wives of the Parliamentary voters were also asked to record their opinion.

RESULT OF REFERENDUM undertaken by Miss Neve, Osborne Lodge, Cranbrook (President), and Mr. S. Hancock, Kennel Holt, Cranbrook (Hon. Sec.), on behalf of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (Cranbrook Branch) on January 20th and 21st, 1911.

	Ans- wered No.	Ans- wered Yes.	No reply owing to absence and other causes.
Parliamentary voters ...	524	35	186
Parliamentary voters' wives...	459	37	1
County and Parochial electors:—			
Women ...	52	7	29
Men ...	—	—	1
TOTALS ...	1,035	79	216

Strangman Hancock, Hon. Sec.
National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (Cranbrook Branch).
February 4th, 1911.

VOTES FOR CHILDREN AND CRIMINALS.

THE following extract from a speech made by Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford, to the local branch of the Independent Labour Party on "Problems of Democracy," will show into what an awkward corner an amiable and estimable Suffragist can be driven by his unworkable theory that the vote should be given to women because they are liable

to ill-treatment, and that, in fact, representation is the right of the weak as a just and necessary means of protection.

The next question, then, if they adopted the principle of representative government, was how they were to get it, more than they had it in this country now. The first thing, if they really believed in the sovereignty of the people, was that every man should have a vote, and, logically, he could not see how they could exclude women. Then the electors must have a free choice of men to send to Parliament, and, presumably, they must be free to send a woman if they wanted to. He was not saying what ought to be done at once, but was merely stating what their principle led them to. Though it was not quite so obvious a deduction, perhaps, they must get rid of plural voting, and all votes must be of the same value; probably that would lead to proportionate representation. Those were obvious things, but there were difficulties when they came to the question of voting. How about the resident alien? At present the alien was treated rather roughly, and it was quite possible that if people got excited over things like the Houndsditch murders, they might be very roughly treated indeed; though they were not actually massacred in England, there was always a danger that the aliens might be oppressed. Then there were the subject races; they had not got votes at present, and as a general case it seemed to be true that they were very hardly treated by their rulers, much less well than they would be if the subject races had votes and elected those who were to govern them. Without being absolutely fanciful, he would ask, what about children? There had been communities in which the children were very badly treated indeed, and in certain times it would have been very satisfactory if children had had votes; there were still a lot of questions on which it would be a good thing if they could find out what children thought about them. (Laughter.) He supposed, however, that the theory was that children were represented by the parents. Criminals were at present excluded from the vote, but he remembered that Edward Carpenter had an almost impassioned plea for giving votes to criminals; he pointed out that criminals were often very harshly treated, that they might, after all, frequently be right, and that in any case they would not form a very large number of voters. It was always an interesting speculation how far prison reform would have advanced had criminals had the vote. The speaker said he did not say that these people should always have the vote, but there was always a danger that they would be oppressed, and democracy had always to be on the watch for these cases.

We feel that we ought to sympathise with the Suffragists who complain with great regularity in the "Common Cause" that they are classed with criminals. It is too bad of Professor Murray to suggest a perpetuation of this classification. And what about lunatics? What they think is often extraordinarily interesting. On what system of logic does Professor Murray exclude them? Is there not always the off-chance that they are the only sane people?

A SYMPOSIUM OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE following questions were put by that enterprising paper "The New Age" to a number of well-known persons:—

1. What, in your opinion, is the most powerful argument—
(a) For, or
(b) Against Woman's Suffrage?
2. Is there any reasonable prospect of obtaining Woman's Suffrage in the present Parliament, and this immediately?
3. Have the militant methods, in your opinion, failed or succeeded?
4. What alternative methods would you suggest?

We give a few extracts from the answers:—

MR. HILAIRE BELLOC.

1. (a) Fun. (b) Sex.
2. Yes.
3. Yes.
4. Bribery.

MR. ARNOLD BENNETT.

1. The most powerful argument for Woman's Suffrage is the fact that women want it.
2. There is no reasonable prospect of obtaining Woman's Suffrage in the present Parliament.

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON.

1. (a) The regrettable absence of ferocity in our politics. (b) The rooted dislike of all forcible women for government by discussion.
2. The late Bill, being plutocratic and hypocritical, might have some chance still.
3. Failed. The newspapers took them up and so they are now simply a bore.
4. The conversion of women to Female Suffrage.

MR. WILLIAM DE MORGAN.

1. That no argument has hitherto been advanced against the enfranchisement of women that is not an equally strong one for the disfranchisement of man.
2. How should I know?
3. They are successful thus far, that great swarms of liars are now claiming to have been supporters of the movement all along, but, they say, "It is the method we object to."
4. Answers to this question are outside my beat. I am not able to take an active part in the movement.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

To my own mind the strongest argument for Woman's Suffrage is that the man represents only one half of human nature. . . .

3. Militant methods have failed to arouse among the majority of the electorate that indignation against the Government's veto on woman's enfranchisement which would have been aroused had the Press been open and truthful. . . . But militancy has succeeded in giving the movement a driving force which it would not otherwise have obtained; and if our legislators remain deaf to reason and justice, it is militancy which will at last bring conviction to their criminal minds.

DR. MAX NORDAU.

1. I see no argument whatever, whether powerful or feeble, against Woman's Suffrage. Her present disfranchisement is not an argu-

ment, but a brutal fact. To declare her intellectually incapable of exercising political rights is not an argument, but an impertinence.

3. The violences committed by the "Suffragettes" are coarse, stupid, and thoroughly inefficient.

MR. H. G. WELLS.

1. (a) Endless powerful arguments for.
(b) The most powerful against is the assertion that women under the excitement of discussion become monomaniacs more readily than men, based chiefly on the militant campaign, and the behaviour of Lady Frances Balfour upon the Divorce Commission.
2. A limited suffrage, yes; but, of course, not immediately.
3. They succeeded in the beginning as an advertisement of the question; they have now become ridiculous and irritating to the general public.
4. Sane and sober agitation without silly violence, and a demonstration that women can take an intelligent interest in public questions other than the Vote.

MR. RICHARD WHITEING.

1. I know of nothing valid against Woman's Suffrage.
2. I do not see much chance of obtaining Woman's Suffrage in the present Parliament.
3. No, I think they have been a dead failure.

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A LETTER TO MR. ASQUITH.

THE following letter, signed by our President, Lord Cromer, and Lady Jersey, Deputy President, has been addressed to Mr. Asquith, and has appeared in the daily papers. The Prime Minister has briefly acknowledged it. The figures of the canvass quoted in it are those given in the January number of the REVIEW. The latest results will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.,

February 11th.

DEAR MR. ASQUITH,—On behalf of the Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, may we submit to you for your consideration certain reasons why, in our opinion, it is inexpedient that any special facilities should be granted for discussion in the present Parliament of proposals for the enfranchisement of women?

We feel sure that your Government will agree with us that this question was in no sense a vital, or even a prominent, issue at the recent election. On the contrary, in very few constituencies was the subject seriously discussed; while in the only instances where candidates appealed for support on the special ground of their advocacy of the proposed change the results were of a signally discouraging character.

We believe that, like your illustrious predecessor, the late Mr. Gladstone, you attach considerable importance in this connection to the opinion of women themselves. Our League is endeavouring by all the means in its power to obtain reliable evidence on this point. You will recollect the petition presented to the House of

Commons in 1909. At present we are engaged in endeavouring to obtain the expression of the views of women upon the municipal register. Already this has been done in upwards of fifty districts, a list of which we enclose. It will be seen that of the total number of women whose opinions have been asked, 5,579 only are in favour of the concession of the suffrage, while 18,850 state their objection to it, and 4,707 express their indifference to the question.

We hope, in due course, to lay before you full statistics covering a large proportion of the United Kingdom. In view of the fact that it is only very recently that any considerable proportion of the women of this country have been aroused to interest in the question, it is essential that time should be granted for the due ascertainment of the deliberate wishes of the majority.

We would take this occasion to suggest that it would be a source of deep satisfaction to the electorate at large, without distinction of party, if your Government could see its way, with the co-operation of the Opposition, to giving the country an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon this subject as a specific and distinct issue.—We are, yours faithfully,

CROMER, President.
M. E. JERSEY, Deputy-President.

WOMEN'S WORK AND INFANT MORTALITY.

We have received for publication the following correspondence between Lord Cromer and Lady Chance. It explains itself, but we cannot refrain from repeating our astonishment and regret that the strong convictions of Anti-Suffragists, that no precaution to save and foster infant life should be neglected, are generally deprecated by Suffragists. The future strength and welfare of our race will correspond to the physical well-being of the individual. The fall of the birth-rate, the persistently high rate of infant mortality, and the existence of conditions which might lead to racial deterioration are profoundly grave matters. Women can deal with them infinitely better than men. There is much more evidence available on this subject than Lady Chance refers to in the following correspondence. We hope to summarise some of the more recent figures in our next number. In order to show that women can safely work on equal terms with men, Suffragists are willing to run the great risk of "proving away" one of the cruellest scandals of our civilisation.

Orchards,
Nr. Godalming,
February 8th, 1911.

DEAR LORD CROMER,—I hope you will forgive my drawing your attention to a statement which occurs in the report of your speech at Manchester on the subject of Women's Suffrage ("The Times," October 20th, 1910). The statement is as follows: "The average infant mortality throughout

England and Wales was about 132 to every 1,000 births. In Lancashire, where many women were employed, the average was 152 per 1,000. At Burnley, where 90 per cent. of the adult women were at work, it was no less than 208 per 1,000."

I was much struck by these figures when they appeared, but it was only a few days ago that certain facts came to my knowledge which lead me to think that you must have been misinformed in the matter. I have just had staying here a Lancashire woman, a cotton-mill worker, who was for nine years a Poor Law Guardian in the Burnley Union. She told me that the Burnley Union consists of a Rural and an Urban District. There are factories in both districts, and a slightly higher percentage of women in the Rural parts work in the mills than do in the Urban, and the infant mortality in the Rural district of Burnley Union is as low as in any good residential district in England. This would make it even higher in the Urban District than the figures you gave, but it proves that there is no connection between it and the fact of the mothers working in the mills. In further support of this, I would mention that the rate of infant mortality in Middlesbrough is (or was a short time ago) one of the highest in England, and in this town no women go to work in any factory. There are also figures available for Birmingham which lead to the same conclusion. I feel sure you will not think me troublesome for bringing these facts to your notice. If you wish it, I can get you the actual figures for the three places I have mentioned.—Believe me, yours very truly,

JULIA C. CHANCE.

February 9th, 1911.

DEAR LADY CHANCE,—I am obliged to you for your letter. Without in any way challenging the correctness of your facts as regards the Burnley Union, you must excuse me if I cannot accept your conclusions that there is "no connection" between infant mortality and the working of mothers at the factories. Infant mortality in the country districts is everywhere much lower than in the towns. In the former case it is generally from 90 to 100 per thousand, and in the latter case it is always higher, and occasionally reaches 204 per thousand. Of course, no one would for a moment suppose that the difference is entirely due to the fact that the mothers are employed as operatives. Many other causes contribute, notably the relatively insanitary conditions of town life. But there is very strong evidence to show that the absence of mothers from their homes is a contributory cause. This is what Dr. John Robertson, the Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham, recently reported on the subject. I quote it to you, as you will see that his views are very moderate, and he even, although to a very limited extent, bears out what you say: "In England the average number of deaths of infants every year was 130,000, and the large majority died from preventable causes. . . . A large number of the early deaths were in respect of children unhealthily born, and who never had a chance of living. . . . It was said that mothers working in factories was a cause of the high rate of infant mortality, but he did not think the general statement was quite correct, although he was certain that children did not have a proper chance of getting through the first year or two of life, when the mothers went out to work. Working men ought to insist that married women's labour

should be restricted gradually, until it was finally abolished. . . . In regard to the feeding of infants, it was shown, by statistics, that the mortality per thousand of children fed from the bottle was nearly thirty times greater than it was in the case of breast-fed children."

The last paragraph of this statement appears to me to be very important, for although I naturally speak under correction upon a matter of this sort, I think I cannot be far wrong in holding that the number of children who are artificially fed is far greater in the case of those whose mothers are employed away from their homes than in the case of those whose mothers are not habitually absent.

There are, however, two further facts which impressed me very strongly when I was examining this branch of the question.

The first is that during the American cotton famine some fifty-five years ago, there was, as I can well remember, very great distress in Lancashire. The death rate amongst the adult population rose, but simultaneously with this increase the infant mortality sank from 182 to 168 per thousand. It appears to me very difficult to resist the inference that this very significant contrast was due to the fact that, owing to want of work, the mothers were obliged to remain in their homes.

The second consideration is this—that when there is a strike, and mothers are, in consequence, obliged to remain at home, the infant mortality is at once diminished. Here, again, it is difficult not to ascribe the favourable effect of the strike on infant life to the same cause to which I have alluded above.

I cannot at this moment lay my hands upon the figures in connection with this subject, but they are procurable, and I know that I am making a correct statement when I say that the statistical evidence in this case goes to confirm the conclusion which I think most people would be inclined to draw, even without any statistics.—Very sincerely yours,

CROMER.

Orchards,
Nr. Godalming,

February 16th, 1911.

DEAR LORD CROMER,—I am sure you will forgive my troubling you with another letter, but the point raised is really a very important one. You quote Dr. John Robertson in support of your views, so I venture to send you his "Report on Industrial Employment of Married Women and Infant Mortality" (Birmingham, 1910). In this report there is only one paragraph (on pp. 15-16) which may be said to favour your arguments. The report as a whole cannot, I think, be said to do so. I take it that the report from which you quote is earlier in date than 1910. I have not got this, but I have Dr. Robertson's "Special Report on Infant Mortality in the City of Birmingham," of June, 1904, and this earlier report might certainly be taken (with one very important reservation, which I mention at the end of this letter) as giving more support to your views. To me it is most significant that six years of increased knowledge have led Dr. Robertson to the opinions which he expresses in the 1910 report.

I note that you do not mention in what way you consider restrictive legislation on the factory work of married women would be of benefit in such instances as Burnley, where the infant mortality in the rural district is already very low, although a slightly higher percentage of women are mill-workers

than in the urban district, where infant mortality is extremely high; nor how it would benefit Middlesbrough and the many other industrial towns where infant mortality is very high, although no mothers go out to work.

As to the effect of the cotton famine of fifty-five years ago on infant mortality, surely the conditions of factory work at that date were such as to make the homes, bad though they might be, preferable to the mills. In Nelson, a town of about 30,000 inhabitants in the Burnley Union, there is to-day little or no poverty, except what may be due to drink. The adult women mill-hands, with four looms, earn 26s. to 28s. a week for a 10 hours' day (half day on Saturday). This enables them to "put out" their washing, and to employ another woman (frequently a relative) to look after their homes during the day. My Burnley friend asked me a question which I was quite unable to answer, viz.: "Why has the Legislature a greater right to prescribe to us how we are to order our lives, than it has in the case of richer women, who choose to keep a nurse for their children, and employ others to do their house-work?" These cotton-mill hands work under most favourable conditions, and their work at the factory is far lighter than domestic scrubbing or standing over a wash-tub. They have a Co-operative Society of their own, run entirely by women; they buy their own corn, grind it, and make their own bread, and run their own grocery stores. Some families have a joint income of £8 to £10 a week. Is it surprising that when these well-to-do, self-respecting, intelligent women reflect that it is under the man-made laws of the past that the conditions you describe as "terrible" have grown up and still continue, they should have a doubt as to the perfect wisdom of those laws? And may they not be excused if they feel some hesitation in believing that their own views as to their and their children's welfare ought to be brushed aside as necessarily inimical to that welfare.

In one of his reports Dr. John Robertson urges the provision of free meals for mothers, and a partially free milk supply for the children. He realises that without these the abolition of factory work would, in a town like Birmingham, result in wholly starving the already half-starved women, or at least those of them who did not come on the Poor Law.

Much the same results would follow among the workers in the Belfast linen-mills, where the poverty is very great.

I hope you will not think that I, and other women who agree with me on this question, are in the least desirous of taking women out of their homes to do factory work, as unquestionably the home is the ideal place for the mother and the woman. It is merely that we cannot help seeing that under the present very imperfect industrial conditions a cruel injustice may easily be done to many women who are powerless to remedy those conditions.—Believe me, yours very truly,

J. C. CHANCE.

February 21st, 1911.

DEAR LADY CHANCE,—I have no objection to the correspondence being published. At the same time I should wish to say that I cannot undertake to reply to others who, following your example, may perhaps address me on this or other subjects to which I have made public allusion. I am obliged to make this reserve, because it not infrequently happens to me after making a speech that I receive comments—sometimes favourable, sometimes the reverse—from those interested in the particular subject discussed. I am always glad to receive and to consider these comments, but it would add a new terror to public life if it were held that any obligation existed to enter into a lengthy correspondence with the writers in cases of this sort.—Very sincerely yours,

CROMER.

GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

DANCE AT PRINCE'S GALLERIES.

The private subscription dance organised by the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League, held on February 8th, at Prince's Galleries, Piccadilly, proved a thoroughly successful and delightful affair. The number of tickets, at 10s. 6d. each, had been limited to 300,

and they were all sold, and nearly that number of chaperones and dancers were gathered in the prettily decorated ballroom. The patronesses, many of whom were present, and several of whom brought large parties, were: Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Lady Burrows, Mrs. Woodward Crofton, Ellen, Countess of Desart, the Lady Ellenborough, Mrs. Fred Gore, the Lady George Hamilton, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, the Lady Haversham, Mrs. Hayes, Lady Hyde, the Countess of Jersey, the Dowager Countess of Limerick, the Lady Mersey, Edith, Lady Playfair, the Lady Robson, the Lady Victor Seymour, and the Lady Weardale.

The decorations of the ballroom most effectively carried out the rose and white colours of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, by a beautiful arrangement of rose-pink and white tulips and azaleas, whilst the programmes were very artistically designed in all three of our colours—rose, black, and white. A buffet supper was served and Pritchard's band supplied the music, and on the programme were two charmingly tuneful waltzes by Mr. Reginald Benyon, which were played for the first time in public, the composer himself being present to hear them.

Amongst members of the National League, the Girls' League, and their friends present were Lady Florence Percy, the Hon. Mrs. York Bevan, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, Mrs. Lee-Warner, Mrs. de l'Hopital, Mrs. Hird Morgan, Mrs. Taylor, Miss Ermine Taylor (President of the Girls' League), and Mrs. Honoratus Lloyd.

Orchards,
Nr. Godalming,
February 20th, 1911.

DEAR LORD CROMER,—The correspondence between us being now ended, at your wish, I am writing to ask you if you will give me permission to publish it? I venture to make the request as you have not marked your letters private, and the point at issue is one of very great importance. I must thank you for having taken so much trouble to reply to my letters, which I should not have addressed to you had they not been on questions of fact rather than of opinion.—I am, yours very truly,

J. C. CHANCE.

February 21st, 1911.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES IN AMERICA.

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

SIR,—I sent the January number of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW to Mr. Richard Barry, thinking that he might like to answer Mr. Arthur W. Phillips's criticisms of his article on the Woman Suffrage States in the "Lady's Home Journal." I append Mr. Barry's remarks.—I am, sir, &c.,

K.

39, W. 67th Street, New York,

January 18th, 1911.

I have yours of yesterday, with enclosure of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW. In reply to Mr. Phillips, permit me to say the following, which you are at liberty to use in any way you see fit:—

1. The divorce statistics. The Federal census is compiled in the even decades; the divorce census in the odd decades. Thus we know the population of the Woman Suffrage States only in 1900 (of the years during which Woman Suffrage has existed, my article being written in 1909), while we have divorce statistics from 1895 to 1905. I could therefore make no authoritative statement, and preferred to submit only the certain fact that divorce has been on the steady increase. In the question of divorce as in nearly all others considered in my article, I asserted only a negative, viz., that Woman Suffrage had accomplished practically nothing in the vital matters concerning women and children. Without going more deeply into this divorce problem, which is worth a column in itself, permit me to say

that the 1910 Federal census shows that the population of Colorado has increased a little less than 30 per cent. in ten years, while the divorces in the city of Denver alone have increased (according to newspaper compilations, accurate but not official) a little more than 30 per cent. The whole State of Colorado would show an increase of perhaps 50 per cent. Of course, this situation is not peculiar to Colorado. Divorce is on the increase all over this country, on a greater increase even than the population, but Colorado is one of four or five States which head the list in the ratio of divorce to population. This is not due entirely to Woman Suffrage, if at all, and the only pertinent fact in the situation is this: that the votes for women have had absolutely no minimising effect on divorce, while the probability is that they have assisted it. In another five years we will have a new set of Federal figures, which will permit us to make the most accurate statements concerning this.

2. Child illiteracy. The census of 1900 showed that Wyoming had one illiterate child to every 118 of the population, and that Colorado had one illiterate child in every 60 of the population. Oregon, a Western, sparsely settled State, where women do not vote, had one illiterate child to every 240 of the population.

3. The above are the only two points at which Mr. Phillips takes direct issue with my statements of fact. The rest of his letter is concerned with opinions, experiences and observations. He is one of upwards of 3,000 critics I have read who have attacked my article in similar temper. They read into my work countless things which are not there. Because I show that women's votes have accomplished practically nothing, these critics strive to make it appear that I attack woman, in general; that I attack those Western States; that I attack the good women of those States, &c.

I attack nothing but Woman Suffrage. I was born and brought up in the west myself. I know those States well, and I am not willing to take a second place with anyone in appreciation of their many fine qualities, and in the many excellent virtues of many of their citizens, men and women. However, I think I have proved, and am willing further to prove, that Woman Suffrage, *per se*, has shown itself to be an utterly negligible quantity in political life, except in some evil effects, which cannot be accurately defined. The only positive thing that anyone can say about Woman Suffrage is—it has done no political good.—Sincerely,
RICHARD BARRY.

ARGUMENTS FOR USE IN POOR DISTRICTS.

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

SIR,—In the current number of your REVIEW there is a paper entitled "Arguments for Use in Poor Districts," and I should like to draw your attention to the following: "It is no good saying we will let a few women vote. If the vote is given to women of property, the woman without property must get it too, and we couldn't possibly give it to unmarried women and not to married women, could we? So you see it must end in all women voting, and then in all men voting," &c., &c.

Now, I would ask: Is it fair on the part of a canvasser to state that these results

"must" follow? Why? The vote is at present given to men who have certain qualifications and pay certain taxes. Were all the qualified women enfranchised the men would be greatly in the majority. Under the Conciliation Bill, the men's majority would be very much larger, and it would rest entirely in the hands of that majority to give or withhold further votes to women. Many of the women enfranchised would be widows, and therefore surely come under the head of "Married Women."

If Universal Suffrage was likely to be the result of enfranchising the qualified women of England, would sound Conservatives, as Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Lord Lytton, Lord Hugh and Lord Robert Cecil be found on the side of Women's Suffrage? Would not the question, as put by your canvasser, have a somewhat misleading tendency in a poor district? Should you see your way to publishing this letter, will you allow me to draw the attention of your readers to the fact that, in November last, the Australian Senate passed unanimously a resolution to the effect that the granting of the Suffrage to their women has "had the most beneficial results," that "in matters of defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women."

The above resolution (of which I have only quoted a part) was sent to our Prime Minister.—I am, sir, &c.,
ETHEL STORMONTH DARLING.

[We cannot agree with Lady Stormonth Darling that it is "unfair" to urge any argument in which one sincerely believes. Most Anti-Suffragists believe that, if votes were granted to any class of women, the end would inevitably be Adult Suffrage for both sexes. All limited schemes, in effect, penalise marriage. We should be the first to admit that married women had a real grievance under any Woman Suffrage law which went no further than to give votes to women "on the same terms as men." If canvassers were to refrain from using every argument with which their opponents could not agree, there would be no political canvassing at all. We cannot restate here our opinions on Woman Suffrage in Australia. We published an article on the subject last month. We believe that there is no analogy of any useful sort between Australia and Great Britain. And we should be greatly astonished if a body which depends for its existence on votes announced to the world that a newly enfranchised class was not in every sense wise, efficient, and public-spirited.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

ORGANISE!

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

SIR,—A correspondent sends me from Southern California two striking facts. The first is that in one town an active Anti-Suffragist drew up a memorial against woman suffrage, and of 17 women who were asked to sign only 8 refused. The other fact is that the amendment to the Constitution, proposed by Senator Ball, that the word "male" be erased (in other words that adult

suffrage for both sexes be introduced), was carried in the Senate by a large majority. Fortunately this amendment cannot be put on the Statute-Book till two years have elapsed. But is not the warning clear? The suffragists have "collared" the legislature, while all the time public opinion appears to be profoundly opposed to woman suffrage. Now, this might happen in any country. It happened during the last Parliament in the British House of Commons. The moral is: Organise! The public is undoubtedly opposed—strongly opposed—to woman suffrage, yet judgment might go by default through the sheer apathy of the public in organising itself. If organisation is seriously undertaken, the rejection of woman suffrage is as certain as that day follows night. If Englishmen and Englishwomen are too lazy to organise, or think it does not matter—what?—I am, Sir, &c.,
OUTIS.

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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

SIR,—I should like to draw the attention of all who read this REVIEW to the latest development of our movement—the Girls' Anti-Suffrage League. This is not run on the lines of an ordinary league, as the aim is to make it a social as well as a political association of girls whose interests and occupations are similar in character. A useful departure has been inaugurated in morning lectures, a lending library is established, and on the social side a most successful dance has been held in Prince's Galleries, and an evening "At Home" is now being arranged. The League is prepared to help our branches or central office with volunteers for secretarial work, and as stewards at meetings. I feel that many mothers who are Anti-Suffragists would be glad to enlist the sympathies and interests of their young daughters in our cause, and that the new League, which is a Girls' League, run by themselves, and offering the attraction of association with those of their own age, is exactly what is needed to appeal to the younger generation of Anti-Suffragists. Applications for membership (subscription 1s.) should be sent to Miss Morgan, 18, Redcliffe Street, S.W. Mothers and daughters alike will appreciate the wisdom of the rule whereby everyone desiring to join must either have a personal introduction, or must send in her name to the Hon. Secretary, and be nominated and balloted for by the Committee before becoming a member.—I am, Sir, &c.,
E. COLQUHOUN.

25, Bedford Gardens, S.W.

SPOILING THE CENSUS.

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

SIR,—We hear that Suffrage ladies are now urged to refuse to fill in the Census paper when it reaches them. It seems a somewhat childish demonstration of spleen, but I would suggest that such action may be useful, after all, as a sort of Referendum, which hitherto they have not been willing to accept. The non-Suffrage women have no reason to fear an appeal to numbers.—I am, Sir, &c.,
ETHEL B. HARRISON.

THE MUNICIPAL CANVASS AND MISREPRESENTATION.

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

SIR,—May I be allowed to state as shortly as possible (1) that I consider your "grievance" against Sir William Chance to be without foundation, for the following reasons. You say your "grievance" is that he did not "help you as readily as you expected, to correct an inaccurate report of his words." The facts are that as soon as Sir William Chance's attention was called by you (in the columns of "The Standard") to the inaccuracy, he wrote at once to that paper to correct it. We only see one Suffrage paper, and there was no "use" or mention made in this of the inaccurate report in question. Your views as to the responsibility of a busy man immersed in public work, for the "use," good or otherwise, that may be made by the Press of an inaccurate report of any utterance of his (especially as he was unaware that any such "use" had been made at all) will, I think, not be shared by many people.

(2) You say "your brain reels" over the difficulties of disentangling "Godalming" from "Godalming and District," and that the confusion arose because you took Sir William Chance's address to be "West Godalming." I will not attempt to follow your reasoning, which seems to be that this address necessarily implies Godalming Town or Borough alone, but I wish to point out that in one letter out of five addressed by Sir William Chance and myself to "The Standard," there was a misprint, viz., West Godalming for Near Godalming. The other four letters, as well as the two private communications sent to your office (giving you information you had asked for) bore the correct address. In the case of the last-mentioned letters it was stamped on the paper. It seems a little unfortunate that you should have chosen the one communication out of seven which contained a misprint, in order to justify the mis-statement which you say I "accused you of making."

(3) You are again bewildered by Sir William Chance having stated that the "objectionable questions" were not asked in your leaflets, while I stated later that they were to be found in leaflets accompanying canvass cards, and you say we "cannot both be right." The extremely simple explanation, which I hope you will find clear, is that when Sir William Chance wrote as above, he had not seen any of your leaflets, but he knew that the questions had been asked personally. When I wrote, the leaflets had come into our possession. I am glad you have yourself characterised the questions as objectionable, and I hope that this tiresome controversy (now at an end as far as we are concerned) may at least have had one effect, viz., that of inducing the Anti-Suffrage League to withdraw from circulation the leaflets containing them.—I am, Sir, &c.,
J. C. CHANCE.

Orchards, Near Godalming,
February 21st, 1911.

[We would answer all Lady Chance's points, but shrink from wearying our readers further. The facts which Lady Chance does not answer were set forth in the last two numbers of the REVIEW. To explain away contradictions in her own and Sir William Chance's letters does not change the essential fact that we asked for a simple acknowledgment that Sir William Chance had been misreported, and had unexpected difficulty in getting it uncomplicated with new and misleading assertions.—ED., A. S. REVIEW.]

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

The Branch Secretaries' and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. Seton Christopher) on Wednesday, March 8th, at 63, Cadogan Place, S.W., at 11.30 a.m.

MEETINGS have been very numerous during the past month, and from all the Branches comes news of active propaganda work. Several annual meeting reports have come in, and next month we are promised a great many more, as several very important meetings are taking place shortly.

Basingstoke.—A meeting was held at the Town Hall at Basingstoke on February 16th, Mrs. Laurence Currie being in the chair.

The following letter from Lord Curzon, of Kedleston, who has a country residence very near to Basingstoke, was read from the chair,
House of Lords,
February 15th, 1911.

DEAR MADAM,—I am sorry that duties in Town prevent me from being present at the meeting to oppose Female Suffrage which is to be held at Basingstoke to-morrow.

I believe myself that the great majority of both sexes in the United Kingdom are opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women, as likely to be harmful both to themselves, to society, and to the State. It behoves us therefore to organise our forces in order that the real nature of public opinion may be manifested and that Parliament may not be rushed or cajoled into legislation that is contrary to the desire of the great mass of the nation.

The idea that the vote can be confined to one particular class of women, qualified either by property or intelligence, is purely fanciful. If the barrier of sex be thrown down the vote cannot be given to women on any narrower qualification than it already is to men. But this would have the absurd effect of excluding all married women, except those possessing independent property of their own.

The spinster and the widow would vote, but the wife and mother of the family would not. The next step would, of course, be to remove the disqualification of marriage and to give the vote to all married women, and then we should move step by step toward Adult Suffrage—for both men and women—which is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a State.

I am not aware of any injury that results either to women or to the country from their non-possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Parliament as at present constituted is both qualified and willing to safeguard their interests. Would it not be folly if Great Britain, of all countries in the world, were to embark upon an experiment, from which the most democratic of States have hitherto shrunk, and which, once made, could never be retraced.—Yours very truly,
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

Mrs. Greatchbatch delivered an address of great interest, and Mr. Leo Maxse followed with a most interesting speech.

Written questions having been invited, a good many were brought up, almost all in one handwriting. Chosen haphazard, nearly all these were gone through and conclusively answered.

Bristol.—This Branch has just started a workers' sub-committee, which promises to be a great help in many ways. Miss Price, 7, Richmond Park Road, is the President. Two debating societies have been formed, and a very spirited debate, the first of the series, took place by the kind invitation of Mrs. Macdonald, at Woodlands Bower, Ashton, on January 20th.

Dulwich.—A meeting was held in the St. Clement's Parish Room, Dulwich, under the auspices of our Dulwich Branch, on February 20th, at 8 o'clock.

The Rev. J. H. Jennings (Vicar of Dulwich) occupied the chair, and addresses were delivered by Mrs. Burgwin and Mr. A. Maconachie. After the speeches vigorous heckling by Suffragists present followed, lasting over half an hour, but the hecklers were silenced, and, on the Anti-Suffrage resolution being put, it was carried by a good majority.

Dublin.—A most successful drawing-room meeting, in connection with the Irish Branch, was held on January 25th, at 2, Clyde-road, the residence of Mrs. Albert E. Murray. There was a large attendance, over a hundred people being present. At 3.30 the chair was taken by Mr. J. H. Edge, K.C., who pointed out how unnecessary it is for women to have a vote in order to work the reforms they desire. Miss Morton, Secretary of the Irish Branch, gave an account of the objects of the League, and the progress it had made since it started.

Miss Cunningham spoke of the influence now possessed by women free from party bias, which they would lose if they became mere political units. Mrs. A. E. Murray, Hon. Secretary of the Irish Branch, emphasised the danger of removing the sex disqualification, which must inevitably lead to Adult Suffrage and preponderance of the female electors. Miss Stronge, in a witty and telling speech, pointed out the fallacy underlying the phrase "No taxation without representation."

Hereford.—A meeting for discussion amongst members was held on January 27th at Eaton House, by kind permission of Miss King-King. Amongst those present were the Dowager Lady Croft, Mrs. Edward Heygate (Leominster), Miss King-King, Mrs. Saxon Mills, and the Hon. Secretaries, Miss Armitage and Miss Capel. Future plans were arranged, and it is hoped to enrol many new members here.

Kensington.—A successful public meeting was held in Ladbroke Hall on February 9th, Dr. Douglas Cowburn in the chair, supported by Mary Countess of Ilchester, Sir Aston and Lady Webb, Mrs. Cowburn, Captain Cookson, and others.

The speakers were Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. Maconachie, and an interesting discussion on the subject of women's wages and the vote followed the speeches; Suffragist members of the audience bringing forward the usual argument—viz., that men are paid more than women for

no economic or physical reason but "simply because they are men." The questioners had, however, the usual difficulty in proving their case, which rests on the assumption that a male employer deliberately pays more than is necessary to his employees in order to favour his own sex, or that the Government pays men to do work which could be more cheaply done by women in order to secure their votes!

Captain Cookson proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and speakers, and Sir Aston Webb, in seconding it, referred to the serious party conflict and great constitutional issues which are before the country, and said this was no time to raise another highly contentious and far-reaching issue. He remarked that the Suffragist campaign of the last few years had convinced him that whatever effect the direct participation of women in politics might have, it would not tend to improve either political manners or political morality.

Kensington is just completing the canvass of women occupiers for the three constituencies of Fulham, North and South Kensington, of which the figures will be given in due course.

A most successful and delightful social gathering of the Branch members and their friends was held at Leighton House on February 23rd. Lady Ilchester and the Committee received, Mrs. Hutchinson provided a programme of music, and Mrs. Colquhoun gave a short speech on the subject of Woman Suffrage and the Empire.

Leeds.—The next meeting of the Federation of Northern Branches is to be held in Leeds during the spring, when it is hoped that Manchester, Sheffield, and Liverpool will be represented. A good deal of propaganda work is being done here, and it is satisfactory to note that the membership of the Branch continues steadily to increase.

Leicester.—The annual meeting of the Leicester and Leicestershire Branch was held on February 1st. There were a very good muster of members present, including the Hon. Mrs. Murray Smith, who took the chair, Lady Simon, Lady Beaumont, Mrs. W. H. B. Heygate, Mrs. R. F. Martin, Mrs. Rudd, and Mrs. Butler. Apologies for absence were received from Lady Hazelrigg (President of the Branch) and others.

The annual report presented by Mrs. Butler was very satisfactory. Membership has increased during the year, two public meetings had been held—one of them in the country, as well as a successful garden meeting in the summer. Petition forms had been freely filled and sent to headquarters, and a delegate had attended the big London meetings, while various members had taken part in debates and drawing-room meetings.

Mrs. R. F. Martin, in moving the adoption of the report, urged the members to further activity, and also to ally themselves, as far as possible, with social and municipal work.

Mrs. Murray Smith, in seconding, expressed satisfaction at the new name of the League.

Lady Simon then gave an address on the best methods of conducting Branch work. She urged on all those who undertook debates to make their technical equipment as perfect as possible.

Another helpful address was given by Mr. Murray Phelps, LL.B., of Birmingham.

Hearty votes of thanks were accorded the

speakers and Mrs. Murray Smith. The officers for the past year were re-elected, with the exception of Miss Ellis, who, much to the regret of the Committee, has resigned through ill-health. Mrs. Butler kindly undertaking the secretarial duties.

Liverpool and Birkenhead.—A successful general meeting of the Liverpool and Birkenhead Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has been held at the Church Hall, Caledonia Street, Miss Platt, M.A., presiding. The combined reports disclosed the fact that the membership had been quadrupled in exactly three months. As the great increase in membership renders the working of the Branch from one centre increasingly difficult, it was decided that sub-branches be established in various places, and that the United Branch be thenceforth known as "The Liverpool, Birkenhead, and Wirral Branch." The policy of taking the postcard plébiscite of the women ratepayers of Liverpool on the Suffrage question was enthusiastically endorsed, and it was suggested that, as the Walton division was finished, attention should be turned to Abercromby. Tribute was paid to the energy and generosity of Miss Gostenhofer, of Birkenhead, who resigned the position of hon. treasurer in favour of her brother, Mr. C. Gostenhofer, and undertook the duties of hon. secretary.

Manchester.—During the past month a number of new members have joined this Branch.

A debate is being arranged to take place at Marple on March 9th, when Mr. A. Maconachie will place our case before the audience.

A meeting is being arranged, under the auspices of the Manchester Branch, to be held at Sale in the middle of March.

Newport.—The following interesting and encouraging report comes from the Secretary of our Newport Branch: "I am glad to report that our Branch shows a steady increase in the number of its membership, and that we have recently welcomed the entrance of a considerable number of working-class Associates, an example which we hope to encourage as far as possible. The Branch has, however, unfortunately lost the invaluable services of one of the most active members of our Committee with the departure of Mrs. Lloyd-Fox to British Columbia; it will be hard to replace her. Petition work goes on steadily, and there remains but little doubt that local public opinion is strongly and distinctly opposed to any extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. This fact is emphasised by the figures of the municipal women electors' canvass now on the verge of completion. It has been delayed by illness on the part of several ward canvassers, but the results sufficiently demonstrate an overwhelming majority against 'Votes for Women'."

"Our funds have received a welcome and substantial addition from the proceeds of a sale instituted by a lady of the Committee. We are looking forward with confidence to the presentation of a satisfactory balance-sheet at the close of our financial year in April."

North Berks.—A social gathering was held in Abingdon on February 2nd, at which tea was provided for upwards of 100 local

members of the League, and was followed by Anti-Suffrage addresses from Lady Hyde and Miss Gladys Pott. Subsequently an excellent entertainment was given, and brought a thoroughly enjoyable evening to a close.

South-East Surrey.—The second annual meeting of the South-East Surrey Branch was held on February 15th at St. Mark's Reading Room, Reigate, Mr. A. F. Mott, Hon. Treasurer, presiding over a large attendance.

The annual report, which was read, showed an excellent record of work accomplished during the year. The satisfactory results of the municipal canvass in the borough of Reigate (which have appeared in the REVIEW, and showed 338 against the Suffrage and only 190 for) is referred to, and the report says: "This most satisfactory result proves that the majority of the women municipal electors in the borough do not desire the Parliamentary vote, and similar canvasses in many parts of the country are giving the same testimony."

The following reference is made in the report to the formation of the Dorking Branch: "A separate Branch of the League has been formed at Dorking, to which will in future belong the residents in that town and neighbourhood who formerly were members of the Reigate Branch. As it was very difficult to carry on the work so far away as Dorking, the Committee, while regretting the severance of the connection, believe that the new departure will greatly help the Anti-Suffrage cause in the South-Eastern Division of Surrey."

The financial report shows a satisfactory balance in hand, and the report was adopted on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Temple Newell. The Committee and officers of last year were unanimously re-elected.

St. Anne's and Fylde.—A meeting of the members of this Branch was held on January 28th, at Miss Hind's café, Alexandra-drive, St. Anne's. There was a good attendance. Miss Thomson, chairman of the committee, presided.

The Hon. Secretary stated that the membership was increasing in a very satisfactory way. There could be no doubt that most people were of their way of thinking. The only difficulty was to get them to realise that there was any necessity to work against the Suffragist propaganda. It should be remembered that this was an age of advertisement, and that their opponents were fully aware of the fact. The Suffragist agitation was run by a very few people, who had command of money, and who hoped to achieve success by sensation rather than by argument.

Mr. J. D. Thompson and Mrs. Banbery also spoke briefly.

Mr. E. C. Banbery, who entertained the members present to afternoon tea, was cordially thanked for his hospitality.

Similar meetings are to be regularly held at St. Anne's in the future, once in three weeks.

West Marylebone.—A drawing-room meeting was held at 14, Neville Court, Abbey Road, N.W., by invitation of Mrs. Atkinson Adam, on February 15th, at which Miss Manisty took the chair. Miss Pott gave an address upon the Principles of Anti-Suffragism, pointing out that, inasmuch as Parliament

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represented the Executive authority of the entire British Empire, the first essential in the individual member of Parliament and in his elector was to possess an Imperial mind—that was to say, an ability and willingness to consider every question of reform or legislation in the interests of the entire community, and not merely from the individual point of view. The very reasons that, in Miss Pott's opinion, made women excellent administrators, were accountable for their failure in the primary qualifications necessary for legislators. These reasons she explained at some length, and also gave her arguments as to the insufficiency of the most common statements made in support of the Suffrage movement, *i.e.*, the "Rate and Tax-payer" plea, and the question of women's wages. The onus of proof, she said, was on their opponents, who had yet to prove, not only how the existing state of affairs was wrong, but how the suggested alteration in the Franchise would make those same evils better.

A vote of thanks to Mrs. Atkinson Adam as hostess, and to the speaker, was proposed by Miss Manisty, and seconded by Mrs. Jeyes. At the conclusion of the proceedings all present were entertained at tea by Mrs. Atkinson Adam.

Wimbledon.—A meeting of the members of the Wimbledon Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was held on January 27th, in the Lecture Hall, Wimbledon. Admiral Tudor presided, and in his address said the chief reason he had for opposing Woman Suffrage was because he believed it would inevitably lead to Socialism. If the Conciliation Bill was passed the state of affairs under it could not remain for any length of time. There would come Adult Suffrage for both women and men, with women holding the majority in the Parliamentary vote.

Mr. A. Maconachie, referring to the Suffragist movement, remarked that women had some superior qualities to men, but men held points of advantage in the business struggle of life. The concession of Woman Suffrage would be mischievous to the State as a whole. They could not in practice give votes to the wise woman and not to the unwise. The Suffragists claimed the vote as a human right, and to be logical everybody in the world was entitled to have a vote.

A number of questions were asked and answered.

West Marylebone.—By kind invitation of Mrs. Alderson Foote, a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at 8, Albert Hall Mansions on February 15th, the speakers being Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Gladys Pott. Mr. Carson, K.C., was in the chair.

Mrs. Ward emphasised the great need there was for more women on the various municipal councils, and suggested that, from amongst these women, who were elected by municipal voters of both sexes, a Council of Women should be elected to be in touch with Government Departments. Their opinions, founded on expert knowledge, would do more to help women than the Parliamentary vote would ever do.

Miss Pott gave an address dealing chiefly with the economic side of the Suffrage question, and showing how impossible it was for the Parliamentary vote to have anything to do with the raising of women's wage.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE.

A very successful series of afternoon drawing-room meetings was held in various parts of Edinburgh between January 26th and February 1st. Mrs. Maggs was the speaker at these meetings, and her interesting addresses were greatly appreciated.

Mrs. Maggs also gave an address at an evening meeting for the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Women's Association.

As a result of those meetings various new members have joined the League.

DEBATES.

Cambridge University.—On February 14th, the Cambridge Union Society debated the question of Woman Suffrage on the same terms as men. The suffrage motion was rejected by 76 votes to 62, a majority of 14, in a comparatively small house; and this, though no organisation was attempted on our part.

Manchester.—Mr. A. H. Crosfield (formerly the Liberal M.P. for Warrington) and Miss Margaret Robertson debated at a public meeting at Warrington on February 8th. Mr. Crosfield said he admitted woman's fitness to undertake public work, but the bulk of the responsibility in the government of this Empire devolved upon men, and he asked woman how far she desired to go. He was unconvinced that the majority of women desired the vote, and asked if anyone was justified in trying to force such a revolutionary change upon the women through their clenched teeth. Until he was convinced that the majority of women were in favour of the extension of the franchise he was entitled to say, with the old Scotsman, "Gae canny."

Oxford.—The Oxford League of Young Liberals met on February 9th in the Liberal Hall, to debate the question of women's suffrage. The meeting was an open one, and there was a large attendance. The affirmative side of the discussion was opened by Miss J. W. Kirkaldy, while the opposition was led by Miss Sophie Smith. Mr. W. R. Walters occupied the chair.

Miss Sophie Smith, in the course of a clever and interesting speech, said that although she had done a dozen years' work in all parts of the country, she was a woman and a Liberal who did not want the vote, and did not want other women to have it either. She did not think there was any case for the emphatic need of women's suffrage apart from the principle. Women's position was equal to that of men; men were bound to support their wives, while women were not bound to look after their husbands' homes. Woman's low wages depended on her economic importance, not on her political importance. She thought it useless to say that the grant of the vote would raise the moral tone of society towards women; Parliament could not do that, and it could only be done by public opinion. Women had to manage that themselves, and a vote would not help them in doing it.

They could claim that there was not a majority of women in favour of the vote. If they had granted women's suffrage the whole political unit would have to be reversed, and men would decline to be responsible any longer for the debts and fines of women.

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Peckham.—Mr. A. J. Thompson debated at Peckham, on February 12th, with several Suffragists, who replied to an address of his. The lecturer, who was taking the place of Mrs. Agnes Stewart, held his own with excellent effect, and his arguments impressed the audience very favourably.

Radlett.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon most successfully debated at Radlett with a number of Suffragists who had invited discussion here. Although the debate was of our opponents' seeking, our side won the day, the vote being by ballot, and seventy-three declared themselves anti-Suffragists.

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NORTHUMBERLAND.**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—**

Hon. Secretary: Miss Noble, Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS—**

President: Countess Manvers.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. A. Hill.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bumby, 116, Gregory Boulevard.

OXFORDSHIRE.**OXFORD—**

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

Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickins.

SOMERSETSHIRE.**BATH—**

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

BRIDGEWATER—

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

TAUNTON—

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

WESTON-SUPER-MARE—

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

SUFFOLK.**SOUTHWOLD—**

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

WOODBIDGE—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate Woodbridge.

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Vice-President: Miss Harris.
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Spens, Athallan Grange, Frimley, Surrey.

CROYDON—

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

DORKING—

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

EPSOM—

President: The Dowager Countess of Ellesmere.
Deputy-President: The Lord James of Hereford.
Joint Hon. Treasurers: Mrs. Godfrey Lambert Woodcote, Esher; Mrs. Lawson, Brackenhall, Esher.
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President: Miss Onslow.
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carter, 15, Wodeland Road, Guildford.

KEW—

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

RICHMOND—

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

SHOTTERMILL—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. S. Whiteway.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottermill, Haslemere.

REIGATE AND REDHILL—

Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Reigate—Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate; Redhill—Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest, Redhill.

WEYBRIDGE AND BYFLEET.

President: Mrs. Charles Churchill.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gore-Browne.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Walton Road, Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.

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Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
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Hon. Secretary: The Countess von Hahn, 192, Worpole Road, Wimbledon.

WOKING—

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

SUSSEX.**BRIGHTON AND HOVE—**

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

CROWBOROUGH—

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

EASTBOURNE—

Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Miss I. Turner, 1, Hardwick Road, Eastbourne.

EAST GRINSTEAD—

President: Lady Musgrave.

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—

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

Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—

Local Hon. Secretary: Miss Madeleine Rigg, East Lodge, Dorset Road.

WEST SUSSEX—

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

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Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
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Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row, Birmingham.

WILTSHIRE.**SALISBURY—**

President: Lady Tennant, Wilsford Manor, Salisbury.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Henry Newbolt, Netherhampton House, Salisbury.

WORCESTERSHIRE.**MALVERN—**

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

WORCESTER—

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

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

HULL—

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

LEEDS—

President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gabrielle Butler, St. Ann's, Burley, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 150, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

MIDDLESBORO—

President: Mrs. Hedley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. G. Jers, Busby Hall, Carlton-in-Cleveland, Northallerton.

SCARBOROUGH—

Chairman: Mrs. Daniel.
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness, 19, Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss Kendall, Oriel Lodge, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD—

Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Arthur Balfour, "Arcadia," Endcliffe, Sheffield; Mrs. Munns, Mayville, Rammoor Park Road, Sheffield.

WHITBY—

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

YORK—

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

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.

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(In affiliation with the N.L.O.W.S.)

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.

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Hon. Secretary: Miss M. W. M. Falconer, L.L.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 Duchess of Hamilton.
Chairman of Committee: Mrs. John M. McLeod.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. David Blair.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Eleanor M. Deane, 180, Hope Street, Glasgow.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—

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

ST. ANDREWS—

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

WALES.**CARDIFF—**

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

NORTH WALES (No. 1)—

President: Mrs. Cornwallis West.