

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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PROMINENT ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

MR. RUDYARD KIPLING.

OUR publication of the portrait of Mr. Rudyard Kipling comes at a moment when he has just made himself a very prominent figure in the Suffrage Question. On October 20th he published in "The Morning Post," a poem called "The Female of the Species," which expressed in his usual trenchant verse the fact that men are men and women are women, and that this makes a difference which is, in spite of the Suffragist denials, important.

Upon Mr. Kipling's work and reputation it is, of course, not necessary to enlarge.



Rudyard Kipling

He has seen more of the work of an Imperial nation than most people, and has done more than anyone to present that work "in being" to those who have no chance of seeing it. In recent books he has shown, too, how his wonderful imagination can give life to our past history, and can set before us the work of long ago, just as the work of to-day. Therefore, the influence of his opposition to Women's Votes in National and Imperial affairs must be strong, and his is a notable presence on our side.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND THE CONCILIATION BILL.

WE could not easily exaggerate the importance of Mr. Lloyd George's statement to the deputation of the Men's Political Union on October 14th. The substance of the statement is, of course, not new. Mr. Lloyd George declared a precisely similar opposition to the first "Conciliation" Bill in the House of Commons; and, as we recorded in the REVIEW, he explained to a deputation before the last General Election that in his opinion the women of the country must be educated to want the vote before it can be granted to them. These things were all clear evidence that Mr. Lloyd George believes in a wide Woman Suffrage Bill or in none. Nevertheless, there was always the chance that Mr. Lloyd George, who after all is a convinced Suffragist, would change his standpoint sufficiently to decide that as a matter of tactics he ought to support such a measure as the Conciliation Bill, as being the only practical means of securing Woman Suffrage within the near future. The importance of his declaration of October 14th, is that it finally disposes of that risk. No consideration of tactics, nothing in the world, will induce Mr. Lloyd George to support the Conciliation Bill unless we have to admit that he makes a minute reservation which we must examine. "I agree," he said, "that eventually, if after a very fair trial it is found absolutely impossible to carry anything else, I shall certainly consider that as one of the effects; but if I were to say so now that is one way of preventing the larger measure being carried. I shall work for the larger Bill until I am convinced that it cannot be carried in this country."

Next year we shall have a very fair test and a very good test, then I shall judge upon the circumstances." We wrote "a minute reservation," but we think we can fairly say that in effect Mr. Lloyd George's words are no reservation at all, for if he holds to his principle sincerely, it is not to be supposed that he will suddenly abandon it next year if he sees even a dim pros-

pect of enforcing it within the immediately following years.

Now, if Mr. Lloyd George opposes the Conciliation Bill next year, we are sure that he will find a considerable number of Suffragists, who are Radicals and Socialists even before they are Suffragists, to vote with him. These men are perfectly genuine Suffragists, but they want Woman Suffrage only as part of a radical extension of the franchise. They will not touch what they hold to be an undemocratic instrument that would hand over the best part of a million votes to the Unionists. The majority for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill on May 5th was 167. A transfer of 87 votes would kill the Bill. In our judgment, Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of policy means, then, that the Conciliation Bill will not pass next year. But if it does not pass next year it will not enjoy the protection of the Parliament Act, and the danger of its passing during the present Parliament disappears. This is indeed a welcome conclusion which we set down with pleasure and gratitude. It does not warrant any relaxation of effort among Anti-Suffragists, for it is never more necessary to press the enemy than when he begins to run, but it does justify us in fighting with higher confidence than ever. We cannot help saying that some acknowledgment for this happy turn of affairs is due to the militant Suffragists, who by persistent discourtesy to Mr. Lloyd George, and persistent misinterpretation of his motives, have probably done a good deal to harden his policy. They have brought judgment upon themselves. For months they have provoked Mr. Lloyd George with accusations of underhand hostility to their cause, and now they have driven him into overt and furious opposition. Nor have they an inch of ground on which they can base any logical complaint. Facilities were promised for the Conciliation Bill on the explicit condition that it should be open to amendment. Mr. Lloyd George only announces his intention of making use of that condition. It is amusing to hear him charged with treachery on that account.

Surely, as we said last month, the "treachery" is on the side of those who would seize the facilities while attempting to secure the suppression of the condition.

Before we leave the subject we would ask our readers to look at it from another point of view. Mr. Lloyd George said to the deputation: "We are trying to get millions of women enfranchised." That is the aim, perfectly frank, of the Radical and Socialist Suffragists. A good many cautious believers in Woman Suffrage appear to think that it would be possible to stop short after a small class of women had been enfranchised. They even argue that the enfranchisement of a select body of women would help to check a wider extension. Of all dangerous delusions this is the most dangerous. If the Conciliation Bill became law the next step would be the bare act of justice of saving married women from a position of inferiority to unmarried women. One step would lead to another. There is no logical halting place; the inevitable end of Woman Suffrage is adult suffrage for both sexes. The Conciliation Bill disguises this prospect, as far as it is possible to disguise it. Mr. Lloyd George has rendered us the service of emphasising the real meaning of Woman Suffrage—the addition to the electoral roll of "millions" of women, the vast majority of whom do not want the vote and are equipped for using it with a perfect armoury of political ignorance. We venture to think that Mr. Lloyd George's words will drive a great number of waverers into our camp. They will see that support of the Conciliation Bill on the plea that "it is but a little one" is utterly untenable.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE deeply regret to record the death, on September 29, of Lord Northcote, a member of the Executive Committee of our League. Lord Northcote's experience, calm judgment, and good sense have been of very great value indeed, and his support will be most sincerely missed. Henry Stafford Northcote was the second son of the late

Lord Iddesleigh (Sir Stafford Northcote) and was born in 1846. He spent his early years of manhood in the Foreign Office, but became a member of Parliament in 1880. For nineteen years he sat for Exeter. From 1885-1886 he was Financial Secretary to the War Office. A few years later he became chairman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. In 1899 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and was created Baron Northcote of Exeter. His ungrudging, unrelaxed, and skilful labours during the plague and famine which made his period of office of terrible memory, cannot be too highly praised. Of his own initiative he saved the valuable breed of Gujarat cattle, which was at the point of extinction owing to the famine. He next became Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth and added to his reputation for tact and skill in the management of men during some exciting political experiences. He was particularly interested in the Northern Territories which he visited. It is sad that he did not live to see the contemplated development of this little known land by the Commonwealth Government. No Governor-General was more truly liked and respected than he. He was not a good speaker, but no one who listened to him could fail to be impressed by the directness and honesty of his outlook, his generosity, and the shrewdness of his judgment.

REFERRING to Lord Cromer's article in the "Standard," "Votes for Women" said:—

"An astounding new assertion also occurs, namely, the following:—
"It is not a mere coincidence that when a strike which obliges mothers to stay at home and look after their children occurs there is a large and immediate reduction in the rate of infant mortality."

"No doubt Lord Cromer really believes this, but we challenge him for any facts to support his contention."

It is strange that the conductors of "Votes for Women" should imagine that Lord Cromer would make such a statement without warrant. Do they really believe that their own recklessness is matched in those who have been trained in the statesman's school of caution and accuracy? How much evidence might be produced in confirmation of Lord Cromer's statement we do not know, but some striking facts are given in Dr. Newman's well-known book on "Infant Mortality," and one quotation (p. 227) will be enough to

answer the challenge of "Votes for Women."

"The American Civil War broke out in 1861, and in the following year the import of cotton to Great Britain fell to 524 million lbs., against 1,297 millions in 1861. The war closed in 1865, and trade with America was resumed, the imports rising again to 1,377 million lbs. At the crisis of the famine the mills in Lancashire were not working more than half time, and in December, 1862, 247,000 cotton operatives were out of employment, and 165,000 others only partially employed. Twenty-four per cent. of the total population in the affected districts were in receipt of charitable relief. The result of the privation existing was an increase in the general death-rate, whereas the infant mortality rate declined. In Lancashire in 1861 the infant death-rate was 184, but in 1862 it fell to 168, rising gradually again to 200 in 1866. In England and Wales in the same period it fell to 142 (in 1862) rising again to 160 in 1865-66. For Coventry, too, owing to trade depression, in 1861 there was a decline in infant mortality, which led the Registrar-General to remark that 'the care of the mothers of Coventry has, it would seem, counteracted some of the effects of privation, so that neglect of their homes by mothers at work in factories is apparently more fatal than starvation.' A somewhat similar condition of things has been found to prevail at Macclesfield when the silk mills are closed or working part time."

A LETTER published in the "Common Cause" for October 12th, took us to task for saying that women Suffragists were trying to pledge members not to vote for amendments to the Conciliation Bill; the letter reminded us that the pledge was against "amendments which would wreck the Bill." This is only a quibble. Suffragists have themselves been loud in complaining that any amendment affecting the scope of the Bill would wreck it. Does any sane person suppose that when the Prime Minister spoke of a Bill that should be open to free amendment he was thinking of altering the commas? He was thinking of the scope of the Bill, as was obvious from all that he had said about the character of the measure to which the Government would promise facilities; and in pledging members against such amendments the Suffragists, we repeat, have gone treacherously behind the spirit of the Prime Minister's promise. We would remind the correspondent of the "Common Cause" that the meeting of Liberal members in July, which was called to consider amendments to the Bill, was denounced in Suffragist organs as treacherous. We did not observe any particular concern as to whether their proposed amendments were "wrecking"; it was enough that they were amendments.

WE have often wanted to know what reasons Suffragists have for believing that they have converted the country to their views. We imagine that a good many Suffragists really do believe this, for they could scarcely be so dishonest as to assert in and out of season, with a straight face, what they know to be untrue. Lately we have been wondering whether they have not in some way hypnotised themselves, achieving the reverse of the process which Paley says is characteristic of mankind, by believing confidently that those things will happen which they most ardently desire. Our own experience is that evidence of the dislike entertained for Woman Suffrage everywhere leaps to the eye, or at all events to the ear. If a thrust—often silly or vulgar enough, to be sure—is made at Woman Suffragists in a play, the theatre instantly resounds with approval. Are Suffragists deaf? Or, being hypnotised, do they hear the laughter or cat-calls at their expense like pæans for Votes for Women? It seems, after all, however, that a rational hypothesis for the Suffragists' belief is sometimes attempted. Thus, in "Votes for Women" of October 6th, we read:—

Our grounds for maintaining, in spite of Professor Dicey, that the majority of the electorate are with us are principally these: Firstly, our speakers find to-day everywhere support and sympathy and no opposition. Secondly, nearly every prominent Town Council has passed a resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill. Thirdly, while Parliamentary candidates friendly to Woman Suffrage remain firm on the subject at elections, those opposed frequently declare themselves neutral or even vaguely sympathetic; this "hedging" of Anti-Suffragists is a sign that in their opinion their real views are unpopular.

These reasons are worth examining. The first requires us to believe that support and sympathy have been withdrawn from the Anti-Suffragist cause. But this is manifestly not so. Happy thought! Have the Suffragists asked themselves whether the explanation is simply that the British people are not at all averse from hearing both sides of a question; that the present generation have been brought up in the tradition of free speech, and therefore do not interrupt; and that, in any case, they would not seriously interrupt women speakers? No doubt, the Militant Suffragists' own attitude towards free speech would not make them readily accept the explanation we offer; but we respectfully submit that it is worth their consideration. The

second reason provided by "Votes for Women" is much more amusing than the first. To hold that the expression of a pious opinion by Councillors, who depend to some extent upon the women's vote for security in their positions, proves that the country is converted, is to betray a state of mind positively disarming in its ingenuousness. The third reason is of exactly the same quality as the second. Is it impossible that Suffragists should see the truth which is so plain to others? A candidate for Parliament—according to the degree of his scruples—will always try to avoid running in antagonism to any special interest in his constituency that might be mobilised against him at the election. If the constituency has a lace trade, or a bottle trade, or a pin trade, he would be careful not to fall foul of lace, or bottles, or pins. Whatever his political convictions, he would say pleasant things of them. The candidate's reluctance to say anything hostile to woman suffrage is of precisely the same kind. He does not care to stir up a section which might be able to turn some votes against him. But his reluctance no more proves that woman suffrage is agreeable to the majority than it proves that black is white. On the contrary, those candidates who have declared their opposition to woman suffrage in explicit terms have all had reason to conclude that their honesty and courage have been gratefully recognised in their constituencies.

The Suffragist campaign in the Kilmarnock by-election appears to have had little effect on the result. Mr. Gladstone (Anti-Suffragist Liberal) polled 6,923 votes, Sir John Rees (Anti-Suffragist, Unionist) 4,637, and Mr. McKerrell (Suffragist, Labour) 2,761. In the "Common Cause" it is stated that if Woman Suffrage were submitted to a referendum, "the electors of the burghs would vote almost solidly for it." We only wish a referendum could be taken, for Sir John Rees came to quite a different conclusion. According to the "Glasgow Herald," he said:—

"It was evident to everybody concerned that the Women's Suffrage movement, which was so voluble and so spectacular, had not the slightest effect upon the poll. In no quarter of any of the five burghs had he seen the slightest evidence that all their flag-flying and all their street talking had affected a single vote. They opposed him, they opposed Mr. Gladstone, and they supported

Mr. McKerrell, and their candidate was a good last, and there was no relative difference between the first two on account of their rejection of female Suffrage. He thought that was a valuable lesson to be learned from this election."

THE Referendum in California has resulted in the adoption, by several thousand votes, of the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Constitution. Thus California becomes the sixth Woman Suffrage State in the Union. A remarkable feature of the voting was that while the rural districts were in favour of the amendment most of the larger cities were vigorously against it. In San Francisco there was an adverse majority of 16,000. It seems that throughout the United States the urbanized populations are characteristically opposed to Woman Suffrage. Thus, in the more densely populated Eastern States the cause makes little headway. The population of the six Woman Suffrage States, according to the last census, is only three and a quarter millions, or not much more than half the population of London. As Mrs. Humphry Ward has remarked in the "Standard": "One may put it that in the six Western Suffrage States, American women have now attained the local government power of Englishwomen, plus just that contact with the lower elements and the de-feminising influences of party politics, from which the women of the great Eastern States are determined, if they can, to save themselves."

We have to congratulate the "Standard" on the successful start of the page called "Woman's Platform," which has been appearing daily during the last month. We trust that the proprietors feel repaid for their enterprise. We are given generous measure as the "page" is always more than the promised page. The aim is to hold the balance as nearly as possible between Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist opinion. Among excellent articles written by Anti-Suffragists we may mention those of Lady Jersey, Lord Cromer, Lady Wantage, Ellen Lady Desart, Lady Biddulph of Ledbury, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lord Haversham, Miss Gladys Pott, Mr. Pott, and the Secretary of our League. We hope that Anti-Suffragists will consider it a constant duty to take the field in this debate, remembering that their opponents are only too ready to occupy vacant ground. We cannot demand

more from the Editor of a daily paper than we have got from the "Standard"—the opportunity of freedom of debate. If only our case is regularly and clearly presented we have nothing whatever to fear. The opinions expressed in the page have already been the means of increasing the membership of our League.

THE "Common Cause" of October 5th, commenting on the article on New Zealand which we published last month wrote:—

As there appears one definite charge, it is as well to show that charge in its true light. Here it is:—
"The high death-rate among children is a disgrace to the women of New Zealand." The "high death-rate among children" is half what it is in England (where women have no votes); it is the lowest in the world except Victoria, Australia (where women have votes, as in New Zealand). Here are the figures:—

England and Wales ...	147 per thousand.
Scotland ...	125 " "
New Zealand ...	77 " "
Victoria ...	70 " "

This is extraordinary and distressing reasoning. The rate of infant mortality in England and Wales is one of the most terrible scandals of our civilisation. It is, as we have often said, primarily a woman's question. It is in their hands to stop it. Well, in New Zealand there is a rate of infant mortality which the able woman doctor who wrote the article in the REVIEW last month considers to be "a disgrace." She lives in New Zealand; she sees what is going on, knows the local conditions, and no doubt, is familiar with the excuses for the mortality. Yet she calls it a disgrace. She does not compare it with other figures. She calls it a disgrace on its merits. Then the "Common Cause" steps in, having, as we surmise, none of the special knowledge of the New Zealand woman doctor, and perhaps even forgetting the healthy circumstances of New Zealanders, and announces that the infant mortality of New Zealand is no disgrace because the mortality in England and Wales is very much higher! Besides, in that happy land, women have the vote, and that, it seems, proves that infant mortality is as low as possible. Thus the suffrage cause is furthered by its zealots. If a few more babies die than ought to, may not a condonation of their death be fairly justified if it serve the purpose of a suffragist argument?

THE "Englishwoman" for October contained a vivid account of the Women's Strike in South London, by Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. There is a series of descriptions of starving women and children, and hopeless, stricken households. No humane person could read of such things, much less look on them, without being moved. Need we say that Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck finds in them proof positive of the need for realising the delusive suffragist doctrine of "equal pay for equal work"? She says:—

Would not our Anti-Suffrage friends have understood how impossible it is to obtain equal pay for equal work so long as one sex is politically powerless, and would they not have realised how imperative it is that we should insist on this "equal pay for equal work," if they had seen the little girls' hands lacerated and fingers lost in various factories, and heard the boys corroborate the girls' assertion that they did *exactly* the same work, but were paid with a ten or twelve shillings' difference, merely on account of their sex, with the result that more and more boys are dispensed with, and replaced by the girls, who are obliged, by reason of their sex, to act as blacklegs to their own brothers?

This passage is highly characteristic. The more distress the writer sees, the more she thinks the case for Woman Suffrage is proved, and she cannot conceive anyone holding out against it. It is as though some well-meaning person, having got it into her head that poverty was caused by comets, should adduce more and more examples of poverty, believing that thus it would be proved that that effect *must* be produced by that cause. Only the other day, by the way, Suffragists were angrily calling on a writer in the "Morning Post" to justify her iniquitous statement that women's industrial employment in Australia caused unemployment among men. Do Suffragists suppose that what Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck found happening in Bermondsey could not happen in Australia? Or was Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck misled by the same boys whose judgment she readily accepted as conclusive, that boys' and girls' work is of *exactly* the same economic value?

ABDUL BAHÁ ÁBBAS, the Persian religious leader and philosopher, who has been visiting London, has enjoyed the support of some Suffragists who are charmed with a religion that teaches equality of the sexes. Probably these ladies have forgotten that Christianity, not to say Islam, also teaches the equality of the sexes. Christianity

happens to be the best of the three, as it has put woman in a position of privilege, where she is deferred to and protected. If any of the ladies we refer to contemplate joining the ranks of the Bahaists they would do well to study the history of this movement and assure themselves first that Abdul Baha Abbas is the true prophet. Bahaism is an outgrowth of Babiism which Professor E. G. Browne has described in a fascinating book. The martyrdom of the Babis in the middle of the last century is also cited as a parallel to the Christian martyrdoms by Renan in his "Vie de Jésus." Bahaism is the embodiment of a new revelation which was thought by many of the early Babis to be contrary to their faith, and was denounced by Subh-i-Ezél, who, according to their view, was the true successor of the Bab.

THE Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise League is likely to put

GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

A PRIVATE SUBSCRIPTION DANCE

Will be given by the above League

On WEDNESDAY, NOV. 29th,
 AT THE
 GRAFTON GALLERIES.

MISS ELSIE HIRD MORGAN (15, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.) will be glad to send notices with full details to anyone applying to her.

its members into an extremely awkward position. We shall deal at greater length next month with the situation that has arisen among the Suffragists in Dublin, and will only note at present that there has been no little dismay at the fact that Suffrage meetings there have turned into Home Rule meetings.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE REFERENDUM.

AN M.P. opposed to Woman Suffrage writes: "It will be seen that the House of Commons letter to Mr. Asquith (which, with its signatures, we reprint in the present number of the REVIEW) asked for the issue of Woman Suffrage to be referred to the electors. As it is hardly conceivable that a General Election should be held on the question of Woman Suffrage, this

request clearly pointed to a Referendum. It is remarkable that about half, or more than half, of the Liberal members known to be opposed to Woman Suffrage have signed this document. The reluctance of supporters of a Government to sign a representation conflicting with Government policy, and *not* a dislike to a Referendum on Woman Suffrage, probably accounts for the fact that the remaining Liberal Anti-Suffragists refrained from attaching their signatures. It will be noticed that a number of Irish Nationalists also signed the letter.

"A student of the controversy will remember that various Liberal leaders, notably Mr. Winston Churchill, while opposing the Referendum as an ordinary part of Constitutional machinery, have declared it to be applicable to exceptional cases, and have specially mentioned Woman Suffrage as a suitable case. The issue of this letter brings appreciably nearer the acceptance of a Referendum on Woman Suffrage by the remaining Liberal Anti-Suffragists, including the Prime Minister and his Anti-Suffrage colleagues in the Government. Turn now to the position in the Unionist party. The letter is signed by ninety-five Unionist members. Besides these ninety-five, there are about twenty-five other Unionist members who can be relied upon to vote against the Conciliation Bill next year, and there are about ninety Unionists who can be relied upon by the Suffragists. This leaves rather more than sixty Unionist members who have so far successfully defied the inducements of both sides to give a vote for or against the Bill or to express any opinion which would commit them to a course of action. An important matter for the immediate future is to ascertain the attitude of the ninety Conservative Suffragists, including the Leader of the Party, on the subject of a Woman Suffrage Referendum. The Referendum being the official policy of the Party it is difficult to see how they can resist the suggestion, or how they can justify their co-operation in passing a Bill which, whether it be a good Bill or a bad Bill, has admittedly never been before the country.

"Another point. It will be noticed that a very large proportion, more than half, of the Irish Nationalist Party habitually abstained either from voting in Woman Suffrage divisions or in taking any part in the controversy. It is a well-known fact admitted by Mr. Brailsford in an article in "Votes for Women," that practically all these Irish abstainers are Anti-Suffragists, and organisation is required on the part of the Anti-Suffragists in their constituencies to bring them into the fighting line against the Bill next year."

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 97 DISTRICTS.

Electorate. Anti. Pro. Neutral. No Reply.
131,689 46,093 21,064 9,242 (Include deceased, removed and ill.)
55,270

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
S. Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
N. Paddington ...	3,700	1,090	407	98	2,105
Chelsea ...	3,355	617	566	36	2,136
Birkenhead ...	3,338	1,154	861	—	1,323
Bournemouth ...	3,281	977	589	—	1,715
Cheltenham ...	3,127	648	585	478	1,416
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
N. Hackney ...	2,044	962	453	9	620
East Berks ...	2,355	603	264	415	1,073
Mayfair ...	2,217	1,118	447	13	639
East Toxteth (Liver- pool Division) ...	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
N. Kensington ...	2,160	472	211	2	1,475
Sheffield ...	2,158	237	445	32	1,444
Oxford ...	2,145	571	353	22	1,199
Streatham ...	1,892	572	325	3	992
Brixton ...	1,826	741	267	8	810
Ealing ...	1,749	461	229	35	1,024
Birmingham Central Division ...	1,739	359	230	228	922
Torquay ...	1,640	467	210	13	950
North Hants ...	1,496	426	417	25	628
Mid Bucks ...	1,389	248	222	47	872
N.-W. Manchester ...	1,374	246	198	—	930
Gloucester ...	1,221	413	185	2	621
Richmond ...	1,098	413	98	150	437
Chiswick ...	1,078	240	141	18	679
Watford ...	934	302	178	7	447
Reigate ...	906	338	199	23	346
Hereford (part personal) ...	792	279	143	40	330
St. Andrews ...	598	142	96	47	313
Salisbury ...	594	231	163	—	200
St. George's-in-the-East ...	457	123	81	2	251
Boxmoor and Hemel Hempsted ...	450	131	35	3	281
Shottermill Centre and Haslemere Group ...	336	145	74	58	59
Hampton ...	277	92	39	14	132
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total	66,055	19,099	10,740	1,935	34,261

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Waltton ...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
S. Paddington ...	2,500	1,161	334	335	670
York ...	2,297	773	516	—	1,008
Southampton ...	2,243	1,361	147	229	506
Bath ...	2,153	1,026	230	21	876
Scarborough ...	2,116	683	513	412	508
Cambridge ...	2,098	1,168	570	271	89
Westminster ...	1,979	1,036	221	136	586
Mid-Surrey (13 districts) ...	1,819	869	151	419	380
Reading ...	1,700	1,133	166	31	370
S.-W. Manchester ...	1,473	441	416	122	494
South Berks ...	1,368	655	217	289	207
North Berks ...	1,291	1,085	75	63	68
Newport (Mon.) ...	1,291	844	113	76	258
Central Finsbury ...	1,216	535	128	257	296
Isle of Thanet ...	1,082	231	180	314	357
Weston-super-Mare ...	935	380	235	69	251
Camlachie ...	855	457	110	84	204
Guildford ...	776	428	67	72	209
Whitechapel ...	758	293	110	34	321
Penrith ...	508	251	126	—	131
Keswick ...	405	196	87	—	122
Shanklin ...	283	163	48	34	38
Camberley & Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown & Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total	65,634	26,994	10,324	7,307	21,009

TWO SUFFRAGE DEBATES.

THE debate at Queen's Hall, on September 29th, between Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Billington Greig, demonstrated yet once again the almost insuperable difficulties which beset such encounters. Suffragists, even at their best—and Mrs. Billington Greig's abilities are of their best—proceed on such immense, unrelated lines of argument, moving not as in a world of actualities but in a vacuum, as it were—relying on principles rather than expediencies is what they call it. And on this occasion their customary want of relation between Suffrage and Anti-Suffragist attitudes was, unfortunately, emphasised by political differences, more or less alien to the matter in hand.

Miss Pott, in an able and dignified speech, contended that a voter worthy the name must possess an "Imperial"—by which she meant an extensive and non-individual—outlook. Peculiarly feminine qualities she considered to be concentration and attention to detail, and powers of emotion and self-sacrifice—qualities which, excellent in themselves, tended to incline their possessors to lose sight of the whole in the part, the nation or empire in individuals. Women, she thought, seldom realised the complexity of things; suffragist speakers, for instance, were apt to take a couple of points of view into consideration, and neglect, say, half a dozen. The duties of every home appeared to her mind as naturally divided into two parts—money-earning, and economic expenditure; and, for the first, the general opinion had been that man had the better equipment; for the second, the woman. It was, of course, perfectly possible to reverse the accepted division of these responsibilities, but not, she believed, without a wastefulness of natural resources, disastrous to civilisation. Such, Miss Pott concluded, were, in outline, her reasons for moving a resolution that "The granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is contrary to the national and imperial interests of the English people."

Mrs. Billington Greig opened her reply with a generous admission that Miss Pott had made out the best case for the Anti-Suffragists she had ever heard made. But women, she argued, were human beings first, and women second; and therefore, as human beings, they had a right, without any regard to theories of government, which might range at will from state socialism to anarchy, to a share in the Government. "I do not," Mrs. Greig said, "care a snap of the fingers for any expediency argument! Do the thing that is just, without distinction of colour or sex, and ultimately, expediency will take care of itself." For herself, she had not, and did not claim to have, any "Imperial sense." Why in the world should she decry Germany and Italy for their grabbing of markets, and extol England when she did the same? Miss Pott had spoken a good deal of a "mothering instinct"; her mothering instinct was of a kind to prevent her from wishing to dominate permanently any peoples or race. Miss Pott, she said, had spoken of our present-day world as full of evils. Suffragists agreed with Miss Pott, and claimed a part in remedying those evils. What, Mrs. Greig asked, is law as we know it to-day—what but the Dead-hand, threadbare opinion—something formulated when a theory has become a truism? Who makes the laws? A wire-pulling Cabinet. The law is a compromise between the

wire-pullers. Finally, concluded Mrs. Greig, what are the differences in nature between men and women? Miss Pott had spoken of mere differences of education, and not of capacity. Women with wider scope would develop wider affections; they would help to devise some better system of government.

Miss Pott, replying, went at once to the root of the matter. She agreed, she said, with Mrs. Greig in looking on any system of Government as a regrettable evil; she only disagreed in feeling it a necessary evil. Again, she no more than Mrs. Greig desired that the will of minorities and individuals should be over-riden; she only asserted that no system of government avoiding that necessity had as yet been devised. Further, she admitted that every living being was originally the possessor of "natural rights"; but how, she would ask, when ten persons had a similar right, is each of the ten to exercise it? If it is the matter of an apple, directly any one of the ten consents to accepting one-tenth of it, he is making a compromise, and laying down his "individual rights." The task of a government is to give back to individuals as much of those original individual rights as is compatible with the good of the State. We find ourselves, Miss Pott said, under the painful necessity of having a government and a law; and she, for her part, fully believed we were at this moment progressing, and remedying legislative evils quite as fast as the complexity of our situation allowed. Our country, she said, was over-legislated already, and yet, from all she could learn from Mrs. Greig and her Suffragist friends—the women who were clamouring for the vote wished for it in order to legislate directly in regard to "innumerable evils."

Nothing Mrs. Greig said in the few moments allowed for her final reply got behind or beneath these arguments. She made one or two debating points, of course, but, on the whole, her manner and matter had fallen from the level of her opening speech. It is probably inevitable that ardent reformers should tend to see their particular reform rather disproportionately; but in Mrs. Greig's case, her abilities are of a rank that surely should warn her off phrases such as "I would point this out to the British people"! and the commoner kinds of Suffragist scoring and declamation. She was so much more effective on her ground of genuine argument, such as when she frankly allowed that Suffragists had not a consistent policy, but pointed out that Anti-Suffragists were equally various in their theories of objection. One of the most exhaustive of Mrs. Greig's arguments—in reply to Miss Pott's challenge as to how a woman's vote would benefit the Empire—in regard to the amount English women have already accomplished for the native women of India, brings us to the second of the debates, and will be best considered in relation to that.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton (on Wednesday, October 4th, at Queen's Hall) took as his text "That Female Suffrage will be the last blow to Democracy," and supported it with his characteristic combination of light-hearted paradox and fundamental seriousness. Much of what he said, concerned with definitions of democracy and discussion of its present position in Europe, interesting as it was in itself, has no place for us here. What has is the philosophical core of his discourse: first, his sense—too deep in certain aspects, as he said, for discussion—of inherent divisions of sex; and second, his

ridiculing of the absurd over-emphasis being laid on the vote as distinguished from other forms of political expression. "You," he said to the Suffragists, "have used in your campaign—call them sacraments or antics as you will—methods of revolt only employed heretofore in the history of mankind to meet grievous and immediate oppressions, and in doing this you have deluded yourselves and your followers into giving an altogether fictitious importance to the vote." You have, he said, been coming together in mobs, and working up feeling, till you are all living in a world of unrealities. You talk as if woman's vote would be an epoch in the life of the race, blinding your eyes to the obvious fact that women are divided and sub-divided by interests and snobbishnesses just as men are. How, in the name of Heaven, he asked of his audience, do you suppose a number of crosses on a ballot-paper are going at once to import into government a regenerating element which women's subtle and life-long connections with men have, on your own showing, altogether failed to convey?

If Miss Pott and Mrs. Greig stood too much apart in their outlook on life for a close-quarters encounter, the effect of the second debate was that of a piece of ordnance fired in the air. No real rejoinder to Mr. Chesterton's arguments was even attempted; the three-minute speeches that were made being divided between masculine criticisms of minor points, and feminine hortatory addresses. Probably one or two of the latter prompted a recent letter to the *Standard*, in which a male speaker of long experience entreats lady orators to rely rather less on the high notes of their voices. Certainly some of the speakers, in their oratorical irrelevance, were funny almost past belief, and one could not but suspect that Mr. Chesterton's reiterated allusions to "a lady somewhere about the middle of the room who spoke with reality and true earnestness" was meant to have a point in it—and a well-merited one! At any rate, few of us felt any difficulty in identifying the person to whom his epithets applied from out of a dozen speakers or more.

The upshot of this second debate, or rather of Mr. Chesterton's address, was to throw one's mind strongly back to the strangeness of Mrs. Greig's having advanced as a Suffragist argument the work of English women in India. For Miss Pott's, Mr. Chesterton's, and, in fact, the only adequate Anti-Suffragist, plea is that the political power women exercise now is more subtle and genuinely potent than any the franchise can offer them. It is many years since Mr. Rudyard Kipling wrote his "Farewell to Lady Dufferin from the Women of India," but through all the years Lady Dufferin's successors have carried on the work she began; and India may well serve as an example of the richest results from women's "indirect" influence on political administration. Mrs. Greig and her friends may assert that the path to English women's further helpfulness in India is blocked by want of the vote; but that is merely assertion. She may say, that women, if they had the vote, would "put a stop to child marriages" in India. But how, we may ask? Native problems do not lend themselves readily to cut-and-thrust methods, and we may be pardoned perhaps for being unwilling to entrust the direct dealing with them to minds as little complex and subtle as that of the lady who said, in reply to Mr. Chesterton, that sex was concerned with one matter, and one

matter only; in the consideration of every other department of thought and of life it could be eliminated!

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

THE Conference of the National Union of Women Workers was held in Glasgow from October 9th to 13th. The first day was devoted to a meeting of the Mothers' Union, and a meeting for girls at which Lady Laura Ridding, the president of the Union, deplored the modern craze for amusement and some modern fashions in dress. The business sessions opened on Tuesday, October 10th. Lady Laura Ridding, speaking on the formation of public opinion, remarked that an inevitable penalty of barrenness awaited all who set public opinion at naught, and did not make their first task to train and divert it.

Dr. Mary Murdoch, of Hull, contributed the first paper—upon housing reform. She placed the decent housing of the people at the head of her programme of reform, and quoted statistics of housing conditions in Hull and the results which followed from them in terms of vice, dirt, and disease. The provision of lodging-houses for women was another immediate necessity, and women could create throughout the country the public demand for such accommodation as Glasgow and Manchester now provide.

Dr. Marion Andrews said that as a nation we had no effective public opinion as regards health. The first duty of women was to awaken the health conscience of the nation.

Lady Aberdeen gave personal testimony to the value of the tuberculosis exhibitions and outlined their effects. Chief of these she placed the education of mothers and of children and the formation of local committees to work permanently against this disease.

The afternoon session was devoted to penal reform. Mrs. Walter Runciman discussed the conditions under which juvenile criminals are dealt with by the recent Crimes Prevention Act.

Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser said that the chief evil of the English prison system was that it was punitive and not reformatory, and this was particularly true of women. Growing public opinion declared against this system. The best examples of the new spirit in action were to be found in America, where the Elmira system is said to reform 88 per cent. of first offenders.

Dr. James Devon, of H.M. Prison, Glasgow, denounced in vigorous fashion the follies of police regulation of a prison system that is based upon irrational and artificial standards of morality. "Who is the criminal?" he asked. "Somebody like you and me, who happens to have been caught. Our law makes criminals of ordinary people, who would recover if

not subjected to the present system of officious and indiscriminate interference."

The Master of Polwarth declared that officials could not carry out reforms without wider powers and a more enlightened public opinion. All the speakers except Dr. Devon advocated indeterminate sentences under remedial conditions.

The evening session of the day was given up to a not very fruitful discussion of the influence of the Press. The meeting seemed to feel warmly on the subject of the usual "Woman's Column" of millinery, cookery, and gossip.

On Wednesday, October 11th, the Conference had to deal with the reports of the year's work, elections of Council, and other such business. The following were elected:—

Mrs. Alan Bright, President; Vice-Presidents: Lady Aberdeen, Lady Battersea, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Mrs. George Cadbury, Mrs. Creighton; ordinary members of the Executive: Miss Agnes Garrett, Miss Olga Hertz, Mrs. Alfred Pollard, and Miss Constance Smith.

The question of the work of women at the pit-brow was raised by Mrs. Alfred Emmott, and Mrs. Bulley, and there was an important discussion upon the work of women as councillors. Councillor Edith Sutton, of Reading, asserted that civic government was only home government in the large, and could not be conducted satisfactorily without the co-operation of women. The aid of women was, in her opinion, especially needed in the administration of the Children Act, the First Offenders' Act, the Education Acts, and sanitary and housing matters.

The special report upon the industrial position of women came next, and dealt with street-trading, labour exchanges, and the conditions of the wives of seamen.

In the afternoon the first subject of importance was the new national organisation of girls' clubs from a sectional committee of the National Union. This new body sets out to do for all societies engaged in working among girls the same sort of work done by the National Council among women—to provide a central bureau of information, to stimulate new developments, to organise united action, and to generate sympathy and enthusiasm. Two of the most recent pieces of work done by this body include the establishment of an artists' models club and the provision of rest rooms for girls at exhibitions.

Lady Aberdeen and Mrs. Edwin Gray dealt with the International Council's work and ideals. There are now seventeen countries affiliated to this organisation. Finland and Serbia have joined at the recent Stockholm meeting. Some valuable pieces of work are in hand, such as the compilation of a tabulated survey of the laws of all countries concerning the legal position of women, a similar compilation dealing with the position of women in the service of the State, and the promotion of an international standard of action with regard to the white slave traffic.

The Employment of Women Committee had a new development to show—the Students' Careers Associations, which aim to assist and advise girl students in the choice of employments. A large committee of head-mistresses and others in touch with students have agreed to work with this new and admirable body.

A private meeting of the Women's Local Government Society was held in the evening, and a visit arranged to the municipal model lodging-house for women.

On Thursday, October 12th, three special resolutions were placed before the meeting. The first, proposed by Mrs. Dudley Buxton and seconded by Dr. Helen Wilson, called upon the Government to grant immediate facilities for the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which provides the authorities with greater power to deal with the white slave traffic. Mrs. Dudley Buxton described the systematised trade of enticement and seduction which was carried on in all large towns, especially seaports, and asserted that the weaknesses of the present laws make the suppression of the traffic an utter impossibility. She explained the clauses of the proposed measure, which has been approved by the Home Office and received sympathetically by a large body of Members of the House of Commons. Dr. Helen Wilson devoted herself to elucidating the principle upon which the bill was drafted. She stated that it does not make any new crimes, but aims at preventing the traffickers in this trade from reaping an easy and profitable harvest from it. "Severe laws against immorality always fail," she said; "the real change must be a change of thought and spirit." Meanwhile, the existing laws must be stiffened up in such a way that they could not longer be continually evaded. Lady Cohen spoke on behalf of the Jewish Ladies' Association, which has done pioneer work in this cause, and was followed by Lady Knightley, Mrs. Alfred Booth, Mrs. Bulley, and others.

A resolution dealing with the status of health visitors in relation to the work of sanitary inspection followed, upon which the Conference refused to give a conclusive decision.

The last resolution was submitted by Mrs. Alfred Emmott, convener to the Legislation Committee, and seconded by Miss Potter. It called upon the Government and upon all Members of Parliament so to amend the National Insurance Bill as to secure that one of the insurance commissioners should be a woman, and that one-fifth of the advisors' committee and one-fourth of every health committee should be women also.

In the afternoon the question of rescue work under the Poor Law was presented by such experts as Mrs. Higgs, Mrs. Morrison, and Miss Clifford, Mrs. George Cadbury occupying the chair. Mrs. Higgs described the types of vagrants, paying particular attention to the degenerate tramp type. She declared that prison was no remedy, and that some form of segre-

gation was essential, the segregated being placed in the hands of moral nurses.

Two addresses were delivered in the evening at a meeting largely attended by the public. The speakers were Mrs. Creighton and Dr. George Adam Smith, Principal of Aberdeen University. Lady Laura Ridding presided.

Mrs. Creighton dealt with human responsibility in thought and action. The chief subject of the week had been the formation of public opinion, and she desired to emphasise that our first social and sacred duty was the deliberate effort to uplift and purify public opinion. This duty could not be fulfilled unless we first examined our position, defined it, gathered together for ourselves such scattered fragments of truth as we were able to make our own. Independence of mind was the first essential. We must recognise our responsibility for the opinions we repeat.

Dr. George Adam Smith turned his attention towards the problem of the sweated woman-worker. The position of this type of worker was somewhat better than twenty years ago, for the work of preparation had been well begun, chiefly by the women investigators of voluntary organisations such as were united in the National Union. It devolved upon the social crusaders to bring home the facts first to the women-workers themselves, second to the general public, and third to the Legislature.

These meetings concluded the work of the Conference.

METHODS AND MANNERS.

BY A FORMER SUFFRAGIST.

A LARGE room, whose walls, distempered in buff and severely bare of all ornament, have the oft-repeated legend "Votes for Women"; crowded rows of chairs; every inch of standing room occupied; a sea of eager, upturned faces, straining with parted lips to where, on a raised dais, stands a young girl who is glibly pouring forth a flood of oratory. Her voice is high, and rather strained (what wonder when night after night she is haranguing crowded audiences in large halls?); she is very slight and undeveloped, and looks much younger than her twenty-three years; my mother's heart goes out to her. Poor child! she ought to be playing hockey and going to dances. But one need not pity her, for it is evident she is enjoying herself hugely as she relates to the exultantly appreciative audience how at a Suffragist meeting she faced for fifty minutes a mob of howling, whistling, trumpet-playing students. The narrative is not of absorbing interest to an outsider, and I find my attention wandering to the audience which presents some points to an observing mind. What fervent attention! What suppressed enthusiasm! Certainly, if Suffragism has done nothing else, one must be grateful to it for this—that it has brought into many hundreds

perhaps rather dull lives, a vital interest, brightness, and colour, the gleam and glory of romance. One realises, as one looks, the possessing force of an ideal to change the aspect of life and inform it with radiance. Certainly in this case the ideal must be a strong one; for there is nothing in the level flow of eloquence from the platform, where the young speaker has left her experiences, and is now dealing with principles, to account for the reverential attention with which these unexceptionable platitudes are received.

I had been led to Clement's Inn by a sentiment of profound interest and sympathy, and a wish to come into actual touch with a movement of whose abstract justice I had (much against my will, for I am old-fashioned) become convinced by solitary reading and reflection. Of the methods adopted by the W.S.P.U. I could not be so sure, and when a friend offered to take me to the headquarters of Militant Suffragism, I accepted with alacrity. "Here, if anywhere," I told myself, "will my doubts be met and resolved. The spiritual daughters of J. S. Mill will confirm my halting faith and justify their methods. I shall go away reassured and comforted." Thus, hopeful, I entered the hall. How my hopes were borne out let the sequel tell.

The speaker having exhausted her eloquence, invited questions, and a mild-looking, elderly gentleman (one of the two or three present) rose and, after expressing his complete sympathy with the movement, rather timidly asked leave to put one.

"I have often been asked," he said, "if there were any logical grounds by which your action in breaking up meetings could be justified. So far, I own I have been able to find no reasonable answer." The reply was instant and emphatic; such disturbance being the only means of forcing the notice of the Government, was not only justifiable but necessary. The speaker then quoted from a letter in the Press, which stated that while the Franchise Bills of 1867 and 1884 were before the public no one opposed to them was allowed to speak in public. Great applause followed, and the poor gentleman collapsed, plainly not satisfied; as, indeed, how could he be, when his question had been begged altogether? Except myself, however, everyone appeared to consider this as a masterpiece of debate, and I was left to recover as best I could from my surprise at this novel and curious reasoning.

After this little skirmish, another lady rose and delivered an impassioned appeal for help, financial, clerical, and especially militant, as in canvassing and interrupting meetings. As an inducement to volunteer for this last, she reassured possible helpers as to the extent of the martyrdom they might have to incur. The worst to be faced was ejection, and the chances were strong against even that. With modest satisfaction she extolled the generalship which at a recent meeting had surrounded their champion with a stal-

wart body-guard of male supporters (from whose midst the heckling of the Liberal speaker had been triumphantly and safely continued). And in a voice thrilling with emotion she read an extract from a provincial paper, in which it was announced "that Englishmen would never consent to stand by and see women roughly handled," which chivalrous sentiment elicited a tempest of applause. I was dumfounded. In my simplicity I had imagined the Suffragette going into battle with her life, so to speak, in her hand, and scorning to claim from men a forbearance based in the first instance on her physical and mental inferiority. That at the approach of danger she should fly, shrieking, to the bomb-proof shelter of her sex, gave a rude shock to my notions of fair play and my sense of logic (though the latter, indeed, had become somewhat blunted since my arrival).

At the end of the speeches I approached a lady whom I knew for a shining light of the party, and who received me most affably as a possible recruit. It required courage to question the views of so great an authority, but curiosity triumphed over cowardice, and (first assuring her of my sympathy as to the main issue) I ventured to ask her to explain the allusions in Miss ———'s speech, the relevancy of which to the present circumstances I failed to grasp. The great leader's brow darkened perceptibly, and my heart sank as she coldly asked me to explain myself. But I was in for it now, and retreat was impossible; besides, I had a consuming wish to know by what mental *tour de force* any intelligent woman could have brought herself to look on the two cases as in any way parallel.

"It seems to me," said I, "that you can't compare them. In the first the extension of the franchise was a definite and burning issue before the electorate; and if a speaker was hostile to it, those in its favour had at least some show of reason for preventing him from airing views which might prejudice their cause. But in this case (forgive me) the question is still an academic one, and I can't see the reasonableness of preventing a man from speaking on old age pensions or reform of the House of Lords. If anyone spoke directly against Women's Suffrage, it would be a different matter, but, as far as I know, no member of the Government has ever done so; on the contrary, many have expressed sympathy with it."

"You don't appear to understand," returned Mrs. ———, loftily, that we do it to call attention to our wrongs."

"I know you do, and of course I'm not in a position to say if your facts are good or not. All I object to is the analogy which Miss ——— seemed to draw between your action and that of the franchise-extensionists of 1867 and 1884. But I thought, perhaps, you would explain to me—"

"Really," said Mrs. ———, very shortly, "you had better ask her yourself; it was her speech, not mine. Be-

sides, she didn't say it; she was quoting from Dr. Cooper's letter in the paper, and I'm sure he ought to know; he's been forty years in Parliament."

"I have every respect for Dr. Cooper, and shouldn't dream of setting up my opinion against his, but do you think he really meant—?"

I caught a gleam in her eye, and quailed, as I added hastily and pacifically, "I only want to *understand*, you know, in order to meet the enemy in the gate!"

The gleam died down. "Quite so," was the affable reply. But if I hoped for arguments I was disappointed. With an air of brushing aside trivialities and coming to essentials, "What are you going to *do* for the cause?" she asked in thrilling tones.

I murmured something about "not being prepared to take an active part at present."

"And why not?" sternly. "Sympathy is no use without *work*. Will you not at least subscribe to our funds? You should be ashamed of allowing other women to work and suffer for you, and reaping the profit of their labours."

This view had not struck me, and for an instant I almost felt as if I *ought* to be ashamed, so scathing was her tone; but a brief reflection showed me that my misgivings were unfounded. "I don't see why I should," I replied plucking up spirit (for her tone seemed unnecessarily offensive), "You wouldn't be working for me, you know, for I don't care in the least if I have a vote or not. It wouldn't better my position, and would be rather a tiresome responsibility."

"You don't care, then, for the thousands who *do* want it and whose interests depend on making themselves heard?"

"That is another matter," I replied, rather flurried by this rapid change of ground. "I *do* care for them, and I think if they want the vote they ought to have it. My point is that, as I personally have nothing to gain by your exertions, I fail to see why I should be ashamed of not joining them."

She looked disdainfully at me.

"That means you will not help us?"

"Indeed," I replied, "I fear I cannot, at least not actively. I am not alone in the world, and must study others, whose opinions are strongly opposed to yours. But all I *can* do I will. I will try to form and strengthen my own mind, and to influence that of others. If I were now to take the active part which you think the only useful one, I should turn every man of my family and circle irrevocably against the cause. By not assisting, I may yet do something for you. Surely, 'they also serve who only stand and wait?'"

"We have no use for that kind of thing," was the grim reply, as she stalked away. "Good luck," I said, as I held out my hand. But no answer was vouchsafed.

"Alas! alas! are *these* the methods and manners (I asked myself as I rather sadly

turned away) "by which men's and women's hearts are gained to great causes?"

THE "MANDATE" FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A Lesson from America.

At this time, when Suffragists audaciously speak and write as if a mandate had been received from the people for the passing of a Woman Suffrage Bill—although this tremendously revolutionary proposal has never been before the people as the salient issue at any election—it is well to be reminded how cautiously and soberly Americans of the State of New York would be compelled, by their Constitution, to set about the consideration of such a vast change in political and social custom.

Mrs. O. H. Kiliani writes:—

"I have been asked to furnish a brief statement, for publication in THE REVIEW, of the procedure by which the electoral franchise would be conferred upon women in the State of New York. The Woman Suffragists cannot cause an Act of Legislature to be passed, as they can an Act of Parliament in England, because such an Act would be unconstitutional—contrary to Article 2 of the Constitution, which states that "Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote . . . for all officers that now are or hereafter may be elective by the people, and upon all questions which may be submitted to the vote of the people." Their Bill must, therefore, always be in the form of an Act to amend the Constitution by striking out the word 'male' from Article 2. Constitutional amendments are very difficult to pass. After having been favourably reported by the Judiciary Court to their respective Houses, the Bill, which was introduced in Senate and Assembly at practically the same time, and identical in form, must not only pass its third reading in both Houses, but it must be re-introduced and again passed by the succeeding Legislature. The Senate is elected for a term of two years, the Assembly for one; therefore, a Bill passed in the first year of the Senate, may not come up again in the following year. Although there would be a new Assembly, the Senate would still be the same. It must, in this case, wait until the second year from its first passage, for re-consideration and final vote. After successfully passing two Legislatures, the Bill to amend the Constitution by striking out the word 'male' from Article 2 would finally be referred to the electors of the State as a Constitutional amendment at the next general election, in the autumn of the same year."

We do not, of course, desire or suggest that our own Constitutional methods

should be replaced by the written formula of any American State, but there is something to ponder carefully in the caution of the great American democracy. It would be outrageous if the insistence and enterprise of a comparatively few women in Great Britain were allowed, through the apathy of others, to commit the country to an extension of the franchise which we know to be contrary to the deepest and wisest instincts of the mass of men and women throughout the United Kingdom.

SOCIALISM AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE story goes that, many years ago, after a certain patent medicine had achieved considerable success in European countries, the proprietors decided to push its sale in various tropical regions of which, at that time, little was known. Each consignment of the medicine was accompanied by a letter calling the agent's attention to the blank spaces at the bottom of the printed labels on the bottles. "Here," the letter directed, "please fill in the names of any local diseases. For not only is our remedy a specific for those we suffer from, but if there are any others peculiar to your part of the world, it will certainly cure them as well." Which thing is a parable. Of all nostrums for indiscriminate treatment of effects irrespective of their relative causes, the foremost are Woman Suffrage and Socialism. They are twin talismans for which fanatics claim millennium-producing efficacy!

We are probably most of us familiar with the description of Socialism as the only remedy, the only hope for the ills of suffering humanity. A typical illustration of the faith Suffragists hold was provided in my

A PUBLIC MEETING

(Birmingham and District Branch)

WILL BE HELD IN

BIRMINGHAM TOWN HALL,

ON

Tuesday, Nov. 7th, at 8 p.m.

CHAIRMAN—

THE RIGHT HON.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

SPEAKERS—

THE RT. HON. EARL OF CURZON,
MRS. GREATBATCH,

AND

A. McCALLUM SCOTT, ESQ., M.P.

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hearing the other day, when, as a corollary to a complaint that she had not, like her brothers, been equipped for earning her own living, a young woman of my acquaintance remarked that "the sooner we get votes for women the better!" Though what connection there was between Woman Suffrage and her parents' want of foresight and her own lack of initiative—dual origin of her grievance—did not appear. The votelessness of women and individualism are truly precious additions to the private flock of scapegoats of a certain type of people.

Yet it was the President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Henry Fawcett herself, in her little book on Political Economy, who reminded us that "the evils of our present social system, whatever they may be, are, in the main, produced by defects in human nature; and as long as these exist, they will bear their crop of ensuing misery." And Low, one would ask, is the elimination of "sloth, vanity, greed, selfishness, self-indulgence, and the like" to be brought about by application to the body politic of such measures as the Woman-vote, State-ownership of the instruments of Production, Distribution, and Exchange, with all that that control implies?

But it is not only as universal panaceas that the similarity between the two movements lies. The more thoughtfully we compare them the more convinced are we that each current flows in the same direction, and that at their goals they merge. We find ample confirmation of this assurance, notably throughout "The Woman Socialist," wherein that ardent Socialist and Suffragist, Mrs. Philip Snowden, testifies to that near relation, and applies, as we should ourselves (to return to our original simile), the same label to both doses.

For although Woman Suffrage and Socialism are frequently urged upon us by permeative and evolutionary methods, the medicine must inevitably, once the wrappings are off, take the form of Revolution. We have only to turn to a recent number of "Votes for Women" to see how Suffrage exponents of "the unscrupulous violence of a few" are reckoning on and gloating over that alas! undeniable "apathy of the many"; and to those two causes, without doubt, is to be traced the growth of Socialism, never systematically opposed until within the last few years.

"The raising of women to the present position of men would be as important in its consequences," we are told, "as the destruction of the present social and industrial system." We quite agree; it would. But, in process of analysing the two prescriptions, we remark that there is no precedent in the world's history for the adoption of either of them. Whereupon, Socialists, on the whole, advance the theory that "the strength of

the Socialist case lies in the fact that it has never been tried." In the sense in which the phrase is used, it applies no less to Woman Suffrage. The responsibilities of Empire as contrasted with those of countries and colonies; the difference in the numerical proportion of the sexes in Great Britain from the places where women vote; considerations such as these render any comparison as ineffective as between those sectional attempts at Socialism, which have already been made, and the national, even international scale, at which it aims. But we are the first to admit the interest and instruction derivable even from such limited experiments.

With regard to Socialism, hear the words of Professor Flint. "Wherever Communistic Associations have not proved failures as industrial or economical experiments, their success has been dependent on two conditions, namely, a small membership and a strict discipline; the one which proves that Communism cannot be applied to nations, and the other which shows that it is not in harmony with the temper of a democratic age." A criticism strikingly reminiscent of standard objections to extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women; and these deductions have, besides, a very special bearing on any scrutiny of the Woman Suffrage case. Since, admitting always that in Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Norway, and the American Suffrage States, "brands" of Socialism differ, in some respects, from those we have for home-consumption, the outcome of the woman-vote has been a marked acceleration in that direction.

Which is not surprising, surely, when we remember that both "cures" originate from the same root-basis—a demand for equality. It seems like reiterating the fact that Queen Anne is really dead, to remind people that under no imaginable system can we ever be really equal in the aggregate, for the good and simple reason that even children of the same family are not born so; and "the establishment of Social and Political Equality between the sexes" (vide the programme of the Social Democratic Party) must remain an unattainable ideal, because, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "of the permanent and vast difference of type impressed upon women and men respectively by the Maker of both." Therefore, genuine equality being out of the question, an artificial semblance of it can only be maintained by strictly bureaucratic methods, at the cost of liberty. A reflection which distinctly detracts from the effect of that beautifully well-sounding formula, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," (no less applicable to Woman Suffrage than to Socialism). For on examination we see it to be a bunch of contradictions merely: Liberty and Equality being manifestly antithetical; and Fraternity not a sentiment

made to order, or in the least likely, to flourish in an official-ridden community. The equality at which Socialism and Suffragism likewise aims stands, amongst other things, for the dissociation of relative rights and duties by, we repeat, the apotheosis of bureaucracy; which is to a great extent, we take it, the reason why neither of the quack medicines we are discussing has got itself "swallowed" throughout this country, yet!

To our contention that Woman Suffrage would be the shortest of cuts to Socialism, we sometimes hear it objected that "women are so conservative." Party politics out of the question, the words are true, in the sense that all down the ages, thoughtful women have been on the side of the angels—a characteristic conserved in the present generation in the form of an overwhelming impetus towards what a great writer has described as "raising the average of human joy." But in their beautiful impulse on behalf of the betterment of humanity, there are various differentiations some of them incline to forget—for instance that between Socialism and Social Reform. Socialism has for its objective the socialisation of everything and everybody, by means of the confiscation of material personal incentive, and consequent levelling down of a free people to State slaves.

If in our righteous determination to alter regrettable externals, we lose sight of the fact that character, and not circumstances, is destiny's most powerful arbiter, we shall be, like that queen of illogicians, Mrs. Tulliver, blaming we do not know whom for we do not know what.

MABEL SMITH.

THE SOCIETY OF WOMEN MUSICIANS.

A SOCIETY, which claims no connection with politics, but which aspires to its place in the development of Art was inaugurated on July 15th last, at the Women's Institute, by a representative gathering of musical women. The Society of Women Musicians, as it is to be called, opens its membership to both Composers and Executants, the latter term including Performers, Teachers and Conductors of Music; and also invites men musicians to become Associates of the Society.

To those unfamiliar with musical life there might seem to be no reason why a Society for Women Musicians distinctively should be brought into being, and certainly the mere fact that no such society already exists would not be sufficient reason for starting one. There are better reasons than this.

Music at present seems to be in a curious state of transition. We have pessimists, on the one hand, declaring that music is going to the dogs, that no one has written anything worthy to be called music since Wagner, or perhaps since Beethoven; and, on the other, optimists proclaiming that the golden age of music has just begun. The bounds of harmony have been stretched to bursting, and

The Council are arranging an interesting programme for the autumn which it is hoped will meet the interests of members in a variety of ways, and they invite all musical women to whom a love of beauty and a passion for truth have given the courage to stand up for things unseen, to unite with them in working for a better conception of Music's function and a more generous and happy spirit among her servants.

The Hon. Secretary of the S.W.M. is Miss Katharine Eggar, who will be happy to reply to communications addressed to her at

THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE,
92, Victoria-street,
London, S.W.

WAS IT WORTH WHILE?

MRS. FAWCETT has written a triumphant letter to the "Times" pointing to the concession of Woman Suffrage by the State of California. We extract the following passage from Mrs. Humphry Ward's reply:—

"How will this look ten, twenty years hence? Turn to the account given by Miss Helen Sumner, herself a Suffragist, of the aptitude shown by Colorado women for the various arts of political corruption, and let me quote a paragraph from the last issue of the Boston 'Remonstrance' (October, 1911). 'The Colorado Legisla-

The Kensington Branch of the NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN THE
BADMINGTON HALL,
St. Mark's Road, Kensington,
ON
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, at 8.30 p.m.

Chairman—
MARY COUNTESS OF ILCHESTER.
Speakers—
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD and
THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

ture, which enjoys the distinction of being the only Legislature with women members, passed at its recent session, in spite of the indignant protests of the decent elements of the public and the strong opposition of the Governor, a Bill to legalise race-track gambling. . . . All four women members voted for the Bill. . . . The Governor, himself a Suffragist, vetoed the measure, and in his message to the Legislature thus referred to the women concerned: "Let this Bill become a law, and the finger of scorn and ridicule will ever after be pointed at the influence of woman's franchise in State affairs!"

"May not one ask as one looks at all that women have achieved in the non-suffrage states, Was it worth while to have won Woman Suffrage in Colorado twenty years ago? Ten years hence will it seem to have been worth while in California?" While Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Pankhurst rejoice, is not the higher

civilisation wounded in the house of its supposed friends?

"Meanwhile, let me make one final remark. All these successes in America have been won upon a popular Referendum. The question 'Will you have Woman Suffrage, or will you not?' has been put to every male elector in each State which has adopted it. Is Mrs. Fawcett prepared to abide the same test here? There is nothing that Anti-Suffragists more sincerely desire."

MARRIED WOMEN AND COUNCILS

WE take the following from the "Manchester Guardian":—

The Women's Local Government Society has decided upon an autumn campaign on behalf of the Local Government Qualification Bill, which would enable married women to serve on town and county councils. It does this by giving a residential qualification alternative with the voting qualification for becoming a member of a council. How greatly this bill might expand the work of women in local government can be judged from the case of district and parish councils and boards of guardians. The Local Government Act of 1894 provided a residential qualification for these bodies, and the result was that whereas it had taken eighteen years for the number of women guardians to reach 169, it went up in a single year after the bill to 875, and in 1908 it was 1,318. The bill, which proposes to open town and county councils in the same way to married women, has been backed by members of every party, but it has had very bad luck in the House. In 1908 it lost its day owing to the adjournment of the House on the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in 1909 it was talked out, in 1910 it lost its day by the death of King Edward, and in this year Mr. Charles Roberts, who now has the bill in hand, could get no better chance for it than the last few minutes of the sitting on June 2nd. It is hoped that it will have the success it deserves next year. It should derive much strength from the fact that Anti-Suffragists are at least as zealous as Suffragists for women's work in local government, and should lend all their help to this measure.

A Women's Qualification Bill on precisely the lines described in the preceding paragraph has been already introduced into Parliament on behalf of the Local Government Advancement Committee, now affiliated to the Anti-Suffrage League. It is to be hoped that Mr. Roberts and Mr. Hills may join forces in the matter.

BOOK REVIEW.

The History of The Women's Militant Suffrage Movement, 1905-1910. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. (Gay & Hancock. 6s.)

THE manner of this book is, on the whole, deserving of praise; it is direct and unaffected and sequent. Its author's errors of taste are almost entirely confined to dissertations on the alluring personal appearance of her own family and friends; and the corresponding uglinesses of their opponents. Incidentally, the innermost council of the W.S.P.U. is revealed as a curiously restricted mutual admiration society; but then that is not news! Praise due to the book's manner

might be extended to its matter could it be regarded as a mere record—a history of events. It is in respect to the value and weight, the kind of reasoning, she attaches to events, that the writer's slender equipment—her triteness and juvenility—show themselves. Even in points well outside the main controversy, such as her description of Peckham, the rather more informed and less obvious observer well may dissent from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's views. "Peckham," she says, "as every Londoner knows, is one of that great forest of suburbs of mushroom growth on the south side of the river. It is full of honest, worthy people, but there is nothing romantic about it."

As to the central thread, the underlying argument in the mind of the writer, this can only be said to grow wider the longer and further one reads. The Suffragette, with never a smile it appears, expects to score in ever succeeding and unrelated rôles all round the clock. As insurgent, martyr, prison reformer, ennobled and ennobling always, she seems unhindered by the smallest misgivings as to cause and effect. Mr. Curtis Bennett's irritation at Miss Christabel Pankhurst's interminable speechifying and witnesses, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Asquith's wrestle with the girls who pursued them at Clovelly—"Mr. Gladstone is a better fighter than he is a politician. The Suffragettes have often been called hooligans, but these two Cabinet Ministers certainly showed they could be hooligans too when no one was looking"—the attitude of wardresses and forcible feeding in Holloway, these, with darker and uglier deeds, Miss Pankhurst sets down without, apparently, the smallest discrimination between initiative and response, provoker and provoked. There are certainly at Holloway matters of detail to which it is well the eyes of the Home Office should be drawn; but here too wide differences of view are confounded. To most of us it seems advisable still that a gaol should be somewhat less comfortable than these ladies' homes! Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, we are told, conceived the idea of this book, and fortified and encouraged Miss Pankhurst in its writing.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE M.P.'S.

IN order to remind our readers of the names of those M.P.'s who are definitely opposed to the Conciliation Bill we reprint the text of the letter sent to Mr. Asquith last August, and append the 114 signatures.

August, 1911.

SIR,—We, the undersigned Members of the House of Commons, desire to approach you with the earnest request that the Government may take steps to ascertain the views of the people before there is any imminent prospect of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill being passed into law.

The great change proposed in this measure has never even been considered, much less approved, by the electors, and we submit that it would be in the highest degree unconstitutional to further the passage of this Bill into law, until the principle of the change has been referred to the people and accepted by them.

We desire to point out that the anxiety of

the Suffragists to obtain further facilities for their Bill is clearly due to the fact that they are afraid of the people, and desire to use the machinery of the Parliament Act in order to carry Women's Suffrage without reference to the electors.

Contending, as we do, that the great majority, both of men and women, in the United Kingdom are opposed to Women's Suffrage, a contention in support of which a large quantity of evidence has already been submitted to the House and the country, we confidently appeal to the Government not to commit themselves to supporting the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.—

Yours faithfully,

T. C. Agar-Robartes. Kerry.
George W. Agnew. John H. M. Kirk-wood.
William R. Anson. G. R. Lane Fox.
M. Archer-Shee. Arthur Lee.
H. T. Baker. Maurice Levy.
Joceline Bagot. George Lloyd.
H. T. Baker. Oliver Locker-Lampson.
Balcarres. M. Lockwood.
Stanley Baldwin. F. G. Banbury. Walter Long.
H. Barnston. John N. Barran. John B. Lonsdale.
John N. Barran. John B. Lonsdale.
A. B. Bathurst. Charles Bathurst. W. J. MacCaw.
Charles Bathurst. H. J. Mackinder.
Gervase Beckett. Leonard Brassey. Donald Macmaster.
J. Annan Bryce. R. J. McMordie.
J. F. L. Brunner. H. Manfield.
W. Burdett-Coutts. James Mason.
W. R. Campion. John T. Middlemore.
Edward Carson. Charles T. Mills.
John Cator. P. A. Moltano.
H. S. Cautley. W. A. Mount.
Evelyn Cecil. G. Parker.
R. G. W. Chaloner. Wm. Pearce
Austen Chamberlain. W. Peel.
Henry Chaplin. W. Frank Perkins.
H. Craik. R. J. Price.
Henry P. Croft. A. Priestley.
Dalrymple. W. Pringle.
David Davies. Herbert H. Raphael.
Charles H. Dixon. J. F. P. Rawlinson.
William Doris. M. Reddy.
Arthur Du Cros. John Roche.
J. Hastings Duncan. Ronaldsbay.
B. Eyres Monsell. Lionel de Rothschild.
G. D. Faber. Edmund Roysds.
J. P. Farrell. J. Rutherford.
G. Fetherstonhaugh. Stuart M. Samuel.
Val Fleming. George L. Sandys.
Moreton Frewen. Leslie Scott.
George A. Gibbs. Samuel Scott.
J. Gilmour. F. E. Smith.
John Gordon. Harold Smith.
J. L. Grant. John R. Starkey.
John Gretton. G. Stewart.
Walter Guinness. Arthur W. Soames.
Rupert Gwynne. Edmund Talbot.
W. Hall Walker. Alexander Thynne.
Angus Hambro. Alfred A. Tobin.
Claud J. Hamilton. Tullibardine.
Laurence Hardy. Valentinia.
R. L. Harmsworth. A. Ward.
E. Haviland Burke. C. E. Warde.
Helmsley. J. Cathcart Wason.
H. G. Henderson. Archibald Weigall.
Ivor Herbert. R. Williams.
T. E. Hickman. Winterton.
M. H. Hicks-Beach. A. Stanley Wilson.
Clement Hill. Edward Wood.
J. W. Hills. Samuel Young.
Gerald F. Hohler. Wm. Young.
J. F. Hope. G. W. Younger.
Rowland Hunt. Ernest Jardine.
The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.

TO A RECRUIT.

I.
If you would be a Forward bold,
List to the maxims I unfold;
No fighting Suffragette should hold
Herself above them.
We only strive to break the peace
In hope that strife thereby may cease;
We only batter the police
Because we love them.

II.
If you should go to Downing Street
To break the windows, be discreet,
Because so difficult a feat
Your skill may cozen;
For when the mark's a yard away,
A shot or two may go astray;
Take several missiles with you—say
A baker's dozen.

III.
To demonstrate in Palace Yard,
Alas, is getting rather hard,
Now that the force is on its guard,
'Tis vexing, very!
Yet greater glory shall attach
To her who shows a guile to match,
You might outwit (or even scratch)
A Scantlebury.

IV.
'Tis dangerous to face debate
Because, though sad, it's true to state
That "Antis" will retaliate
When you attack them;
And if they take a vote, beware
Lest it be done "upon the square";
'No meetings ever can be fair,
Unless you pack them.

V.
Beware lest reason should cajole
And bind you 'neath her chill control;
Soon shall the longing of your soul
Be soaring higher.
Our maxims keep, our laws obey,
And I shall hope, some glorious day,
To see you drive to Holloway
In Black Maria.

PRINCESS SOPHIA DULEEP SINGH AND MRS. BILLINGTON GREIG.

WE have received the following communication from Princess Sophia Duleep Singh:—"Princess Sophia Duleep Singh reads on page 181 of the September ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, a sentence: 'It would be most interesting if one could find out what percentage of Suffragists abandon their cause.' Like the writer of this letter, Mrs. Billington Greig, and others less distinguished, Mrs. Billington Greig has not abandoned the cause. Although she broke away from the society to which she belonged, she is still a Suffragist. A correction should be prominently inserted in the next issue of the ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

[As we have several times alluded in the REVIEW lately to the manner in which Mrs. Billington Greig abandoned her cause, our readers cannot have understood us to mean that Mrs. Greig had ceased to be a Suffra-

gist. Mrs. Greig is still, of course, a believer in the principle of Woman Suffrage, but we gather from her writings that she thinks the present movement to win the vote utterly futile. She has successively seceded from the W.S.P.U. and the Women's Freedom League. In a recent article on the Suffragists she said:—

"Women make it clear that they have not made up their minds whether they desire equality or privilege; whether they mean to impose restrictions upon men or to remove the restrictions now imposed upon women; whether they want economic independence or a strengthening of the bonds of dependence; whether they claim liberty as human beings or protection and endowment as mothers; whether they wish to stereotype existing differentiation between men and women by making such differentiation permanently of greater advantage to women, or to establish real sex equality with its burdens as well as its advantages; whether they are going to rely upon legal compulsion to gain their ends or upon the elimination of slave feelings in the woman and tyrant feelings in the man. The gravity of the position is not reduced by the complacent unconsciousness with which the present hubbub of antagonistic advocacy is given utterance."—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

THE LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

IN a recent number of "Votes for Women," Mr. Pethick Lawrence produced, as a series of arguments for Woman Suffrage, a number of statements as to the inferior position of women in this country. Some of them are rather double-edged weapons for suffragists to use. Thus the fact that the "age of consent" is fixed at sixteen is quoted as an injustice. But a recent article in the "Englishwoman" on the working of Woman Suffrage in Colorado showed that in that State, when the "age of consent" was dealt with after the adoption of Woman Suffrage it was fixed at sixteen. That is also, we believe, the age fixed in New Zealand since Woman Suffrage was established there. There can hardly be much complaint of unaided masculine legislation fixing that age. Again Mr. Pethick Lawrence makes a great deal of the inequality in the Divorce Laws. He must, however, be aware that objection to any legislation on Divorce is as strong among some women as it is among some men. He complains, on another line, that by the laws of intestacy real estate goes to sons before daughters. He does not say, however, that one-third goes to the wife for life, and that the rest goes to the eldest son. The trouble here is not a sex differentiation, but the far wider question of primogeniture, which can bear as hardly on all but one of the male members of the family as on the female. It is, also, unfair to leave out the fact that in the division of personal estate no distinction of sex is made; male and female children share alike. This is enough to prove that in the matter of real estate any unfairness is due to the principle of primogeniture. Mr. Pethick Lawrence's further complaint that a man may leave by will all his money away from his wife and leave her penniless, is one of these pieces of special pleading at which Suffragists are adept. It is equally true that he may leave a son, or all his sons, pen-

niless in cases where he has the disposal of his property. Besides, a woman is just as free to leave all her money away from her husband, since the Married Women's Property Act of 1883.

"The State," Mr. Pethick Lawrence writes, "pays women less wages than men for the same work," and he quotes, for one of his examples, labour in the Post Office. It happens that a day or two after the publication of his article the yearly report of the Postmaster-General was issued. It there appeared that the average number of days' sickness in the year was very much greater in the case of women than in the case of men. Here are some comparisons: London, per man 7.9 days, per woman 12.7 days; Scotland, per man 5.5 days, per woman 9.8 days; Ireland, per man 8.5 days, per woman 13.6 days. Is it so unnatural that there should be a difference in wages?

The position of a wife's income under the laws relating to income tax is a matter that will probably be dealt with by men themselves. It is special pleading, again, to make this out to be an injustice solely to women, for it works quite as hardly on men. Take the case of a man with an income of £600; he is entitled to one abatement of £120. But if his wife has £10 a year it has to be scheduled with his income, and his abatement is forced down to £70.

The various points of married women's liability which Mr. Pethick Lawrence raises are, in the prevailing Suffragist fashion, treated as if all the difficulties of the financial position of married women were due to malignant oppressiveness on the part of men. Married women, we are reminded, when engaged in trade are not liable to imprisonment for debt or for breach of fiduciary responsibility, but only liable to the extent of their separate estate; and this, Mr. Pethick Lawrence argues, is a handicap when married women traders wish to enter into contracts. All such questions, and the responsibility of a husband for the wife's torts, may be stated as problems, but they have two sides.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

NO BIRTH RATE AT ALL!

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

SIR,—Among the many futile though characteristic, and therefore edifying, letters from voluble Suffragists, for which the *Standard* finds room on its "Woman's Platform," surely the following takes the cake:—

"Sir,—With reference to the assertion that the basis of government must ultimately rest on physical force, and that the voting power of a stable State must remain with those that wield that force—namely, males, I would like to ask whether the 'males' would be able to maintain that force if women of Great Britain were to refuse to marry or to perform those functions for which alone they are deemed so eminently suited, and what in such circumstances would become of the Army and Navy in the next generation?—(Miss) Marion Reeves."

16, Bracewell-road, N. Kensington.

I conclude Miss Reeves's idea is that, there being no males to exercise the physical force, the females would govern the country very well without it. But the dear lady seems to

overlook the fact that, in the circumstances she conjures up, there would be no females either! The country would be destitute of inhabitants and there would be no further need for army, or navy, or government, or anything at all. As Dominie Sampson would have said, "Prodigious!"—I am, Sir, Yours, &c.,

J. MASSIE.

Old Headington, Oct. 17th.

A SUFFRAGIST'S CRITICISM.

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

SIR,—I am glad to see you are so fair-minded as to insert letters in your correspondence column from those who are not in agreement with your Anti-Suffrage views, because I think it is good for all of us to study both sides of a question. It is for this reason I occasionally read THE REVIEW and that I now desire to draw your attention to what appears to me to be a misunderstanding on the part of the Antis of a very important point in the Woman's Suffrage question.

In the current number of your magazine Mrs. Waterman is quoted as having written in the *New York Sun*: "I don't want the vote. I protest against having it forced upon me." It seems to be generally imagined by the Antis that when our Franchise Bill is passed every woman will be obliged to vote, whether she wants to or not. Mrs. Waterman evidently thinks so, and I have come across many women labouring under the extraordinary delusion that the day may come when the vote will be "forced upon" them.

Again, on page 179, I find the following statement: "The Suffragists' only logical position is based on the belief that it is right to give the vote to a large number of women because a few demand it." I would rather express it thus: "We believe it right to give the opportunity of voting to those qualified women who desire it." Whether this implies a "large number" or "a few" is of small consequence to us. We are perfectly well aware that a large proportion of women are profoundly indifferent and absolutely uninterested in all the vital questions of the day, many who do not know the difference between a "Suffragist" and an "Anti," and do not even want to know. We do not imagine that women of this stamp desire the vote, or would know what to do with it if they had it. I am quite willing to accept the result of your recent canvass, and to believe that the majority of women, like Mrs. Waterman, have no wish to be enfranchised. Carlyle told us, in his blunt, downright fashion, that the population of England numbered so many millions of people "mostly fools."

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So much for "majorities"! Personally, I am asking for the vote, not for myself, for I should not come under the head of a duly-qualified person, but for those competent, intelligent women (be they two, three, or a million) who are far more capable of using a vote to good purpose than the multitude of illiterate men, yet who are debarred from this right, most unjustly it appears to me, on account of sex alone.—I am, Sir, &c.,

A. F. WHITELEY
(Member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies).

[Miss Whiteley will forgive us, we hope, for saying that she has missed the point wherever it was possible to miss it.]

(1) We have never met an Anti-Suffragist who imagined that if a Woman Suffrage Bill were passed women would be compelled to vote—drawn to the booth by halters, we suppose, and compelled to put their crosses on the paper under threat of a thumbscrew! All that Anti-Suffragists mean by saying that the vote would be forced upon them is that the responsibility of voting would be uncongenial to them and to the vast majority of women; that they could not exercise this new duty to the advantage of the State; and that if ever they were required to do so, it would be solely because the demands of a few women had prevailed over the wishes of the many. Where Miss Whiteley got her extraordinary idea from we cannot imagine.

(2) Miss Whiteley, while professing to disagree with us, admits the truth of what we say that Suffragists wish the opinion of the many to be subordinated to the opinion of the few.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

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

SIR,—I wish to endorse the views expressed by a correspondent in your last issue, with regard to the distribution of the League's literature. It is of paramount importance that our leaflets should be more freely circulated, for it is distressing to reflect upon the great number of persons one meets who have not even heard of the existence of our organisation. It would be well if those who have the interests of our cause at heart would devote an hour or so of their spare time in the evening to the distribution of the League's leaflets: I have indulged in many such an interesting outing, accompanied by a friend, and during the last General Election circulated as many as 2,000 of our pamphlets. One must, of course, be prepared to meet an occasional "cold eye," but we found that in most cases where persons declined to accept our leaflets, it was owing to the fact that they had mistaken us for Suffragists! Let our warriors go forth full of enthusiasm for the cause, and let their motto be "Spread the light."—I am, Sir, &c.,

RONALD KELLY,
21, Bradiston-road, Maida Hill, W.,
September 23rd, 1911.

FRIENDLY ADVICE.

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

SIR,—In some ways we are rather benighted in my part of the world. Hence it was only the other day I had the pleasure of seeing your paper for the first time. It would be impossible to praise it or its pur-

pose too highly. Perhaps I may say so without emulating the unconscious humour of certain correspondents of "Votes for Women," which I have read too often and which seems to me to be a publication written mainly by imbeciles for their kind. You do not tell of the lady who wrote to it saying that she had written to the editor of her daily paper to stop supplying her till Woman Suffrage was an accomplished fact. Was not that a death-blow? The journal ought forthwith to have put up its shutters.

From certain remarks of yours in your September number, I see that you bewail the apparent apathy of your supporters. Do not despair on that score. The opposition to Woman Suffrage, though silent, is overwhelming throughout the country, so far as experience goes. Then, again, we are fighting for a negative—the defence—and it is impossible for that side of any campaign to be so noisy or showy as that of the screechers. Ever since the real row began in 1905, I have canvassed industriously every man I met. The number is fully 5,000. Of that number 4,500 are against, 500 for. Several of the 500 have recanted since. Possibly they had meanwhile read "Votes for Women." Anyhow, I know that many of them religiously attended Woman Suffrage meetings for a time. The rest of those "for" consist chiefly of old men, with one foot already in the grave, who are about done with this world and its works, and care little what evils befall so long as they get peace. Surely even this present Government will not commit an act so traitorous as the giving of Woman Suffrage, without first consulting the electorate. If they do not, there will be civil war. The men will not stand it for one moment. This is an industrial centre with a large artisan populace. Most workmen howl with derision at the very mention of Woman Suffrage.

It is difficult to know how best to proclaim the opposition. Most of us know that petitions to M.P.'s are merely so much waste-paper. I think individual post-carding of members from their respective constituencies is much more effectual. Can your League not arrange for that? For my part I let no Suffrage letter to the editor pass without challenge in the newspapers I read, and many times I have had the massed Suffrage batteries of Edinburgh and Glasgow—two Suffrage hotbeds, each being full of single, idle, dowered women—shooting ink at me.

With all deference I think it is a mistake to publish the results of your canvass. This just shows our hand.

But there is one ground of opposition I think should be discarded once and for all. That is the physical force argument. It seems to me to be the weakest part of the case against, though absolutely sound, for it does not appeal to the people at large, and is the most easily answered.

I hear Suffragists often jeer at Anti-Suffragists for not being able to muster so many or such good and clever women speakers as they can. Whether this is true or not I do not know, for I have never had a chance of attending an Anti meeting. All I can say is that most of the Suffragists I have heard appear to glory in a repartee that smacks of the gutter. In that they are without rival. Much the most forcible objection is the danger to the nation and the Empire of giving women—especially the Suffrage type of woman—the vote. Also, when our extremely virile neighbours—such as France, Austria, Italy, Germany—give the suffrage to

women, it will be time enough for us to think about it.—I am, Sir, &c.,

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

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE.

THE new Local Government Advancement Committee affiliated to the Anti-Suffrage League, is now in process of formation and is beginning to push forward its work. A full list of the Committee will be given next month. It contains several Members of Parliament, including Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P.; Sir Thomas Dyke Acland has also joined it. Mrs. Humphry Ward, Chairman of the Committee. A series of leaflets are being prepared, pointing out that in the development of Local Government, women have a great field before them, which is the natural legitimate alternative to the demand for the Parliamentary vote. Arrangements will be made as soon as possible to support Anti-Suffrage candidates in local elections and those who wish to co-operate with the new Committee, and to help forward its work, are requested to communicate with Mrs. Ward, at Caxton House.

ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

BRANCHES can obtain advice, information, and pamphlets about Women's Local Government Work by applying to the Secretary of the W.L.G. Subcommittee, which meets at our offices at Caxton House once a month.

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of the committee will be held by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, on Wednesday, November 8th, at 11.30 a.m. It is hoped that all Branch Secretaries of the League who are able to do so will try and attend these meetings. Hon. Secretary: Miss Manisty, 33, Hornetton Street, Kensington, W.

The greatest activity and enthusiasm has marked the past month for Anti-Suffragists. The tale of meetings and campaigns all over the country is a very large and important one. Some are occurring too late for full reports in this issue, but any omitted thingscote were also present. Miss Pott's month will receive due attention next. Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Archibald Corrie have both conducted Scottish tours and addressed large meetings in connection with the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League. Out-door meetings all around London have been

The Women's Local Government Society,

FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ESTABLISHED ON A NON-PARTY BASIS.

President—LADY STRACHEY.

OBJECTS.

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

Publications and information can be obtained at the OFFICE: 19, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER. Tel.: 1903 Victoria.

Cumberland and Westmoreland (Carlisle).—At the third annual meeting of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Branch, there was a very large gathering of members.

The Hon. Mrs. Hill, President, was in the chair, and delivered a striking address and urged Anti-Suffragists to do all in their power to prevent the passing of Sir George Kemp's Bill. "Let us remember," said Mrs. Hills, "it is only on the surface that our movement is 'anti,' it is at bottom a really constructive movement, having for its object the enlargement in its real and natural sphere, the duty of woman."

The Hon. Secretary's and Hon. Treasurer's reports were entirely satisfactory and proved that the Branch has greatly grown in the three years of its existence. Lady Mabel Howard (Deputy President), expressed the regret felt at the resignation of the Hon. Mrs. Hill, to whom the Branch owed so much and announced that Miss Cropper had kindly consented to be President.

Kirkby Stephen.—On September 21st a public meeting was held in the Coronation Rooms, Kirkby Stephen, Colonel Mason, Eden Place, presided, and was supported on the platform by Lady Wynne, Warcop, wife of General Sir Arthur Wynne. After the Chairman had briefly explained the object of the meeting, Lady Wynne, in a short speech, declared herself an enthusiastic supporter of the Anti-Suffrage movement.

Mrs. Maggs also spoke well and clearly on the work of the League.

Deal and Walmer.—A new Branch just started here, with Lady George Hamilton as President, is a great success, and at the inaugural meeting on October 5th, a number of members joined.

Dublin.—The first Committee meeting of the Irish Branch for the autumn session of 1911-12 was held at 5, South Anne-street, Dublin, on October 2nd. The first business dealt with was the report of the Subcommittee, who had been elected to appoint a secretary. Miss B. White was unanimously appointed. A letter from Miss Morton, the outgoing secretary, was read, in which she expressed her regret at being obliged to resign the post of secretary, and her willingness to act on the Committee, and to work for

the objects of the League. It was decided to call a special meeting of the Committee to arrange for public and drawing-room meetings to be held during the winter.

Epsom Division (Oxshott).—A very successful drawing-room meeting took place at the residence of Mrs. Lugard, Oxshott, on October 7th. A number of guests accepted Mrs. Lugard's kind invitation, and Mrs. Greatbatch's speech on Anti-Suffrage work was well appreciated.

Farnborough and Fleet.—A successful meeting was held at Fleet on October 3rd, arranged by the North Hants Branch of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, the meeting was conducted in the Market Square, close to the Oatsheaf Hotel, and the speaker was Mr. G. L. Borrodaile. Mrs. Currie, of Minley Manor, was identified with the arrangements for the gathering, and the speaker addressed his audience from one of Mr. Laurence Currie's waggons. His remarks were listened to by a numerous assemblage, and at the close of the meeting cheers were given. Several questions were asked and answered at the close of Mr. Borrodaile's address, and various other open-air meetings were arranged by the North Hants Branch of the League.

Fulham.—A large gathering of members of the Fulham Branch attended a drawing-room meeting at St. Oswald's Parish Hall on October 12th, upon the invitation of Mrs. Corbin. Miss Stuart gave an interesting address. Other speakers included Mr. T. Spyers and Miss Carr. Among those present were Mrs. Richard Harrison (President), Miss Winthrop (Honorary Secretary), and Miss King (Honorary Treasurer).

The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

A very interesting debate took place on October 10th, in St. Oswald's Parish Hall, Anselm Road, Walham Green, between Mrs. Harold Norris, from the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and Mrs. Tipsett, speaking from the Suffragist side. The Rev. Wilbraham Ward, the Vicar of the Parish, took the chair.

Mrs. Harold Norris moved the resolution "That in the opinion of the meeting the enfranchisement of women would be dan-

going on all the month. Mrs. Agnes Stewart did well at the Kilmarnock by-election and with the working people at Leicester in a series of outdoor mass meetings.

Bradford.—At a meeting at Bradford, on October 10th, a large number of interrupting Suffragists did their best to prevent the passing of the Anti-Suffrage resolution, but in spite of their disorder and criticism it was carried. Suffragists present also amused themselves by hissing the name of every prominent Anti-Suffragist mentioned during the evening. Mr. W. B. Gordon presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. G. L. Borrodaile, of London. Sir William Priestley, M.P., and Lady Priestley were on the platform.

Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. G. L. Borrodaile made interesting speeches. Lady Priestley moved, and Mrs. G. Hoffmann seconded, a resolution protesting against Parliament passing any measure which would confer "votes on women without a distinct expression of opinion from the nation."

There were loud Suffragist outcries against M.P.; Sir Thomas Dyke Acland has also joined it. Mrs. Humphry Ward, Chairman of the Committee. A series of leaflets are being prepared, pointing out that in the development of Local Government, women have a great field before them, which is the natural legitimate alternative to the demand for the Parliamentary vote. Arrangements will be made as soon as possible to support Anti-Suffrage candidates in local elections and those who wish to co-operate with the new Committee, and to help forward its work, are requested to communicate with Mrs. Ward, at Caxton House.

The Chairman, putting the resolution to the meeting, declared it carried.

Bristol.—A drawing-room meeting was held, on October 6th, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Culverwell, at 46, Cotham-road, to hear Mrs. Gladstone Solomon speak.

Mrs. H. C. Trapnell took the chair and mentioned that the numbers of the Bristol Branch had now nearly reached two thousand, including men taking an active and responsible part in politics on both Liberal and Conservative sides. Hitherto, they have directed their efforts mainly to ascertaining the wishes of women.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon made an able and eloquent speech, taking for her subjects taxation and representation, women's responsibilities, adult suffrage, the inevitable result of partial suffrage, and its consequences, and the faults of the Conciliation Bill.

At the close of the meeting a resolution against Woman Suffrage was carried by a large majority, and a good number of those present joined the League.

Campaigns in Scotland.—Miss Gladys Pott had a very successful week in Glasgow, from October 12th to 17th, addressing large meetings at Largs, Ayr, Renfrew, besides attending, as a delegate of our League, the conference, at Glasgow, of the National Union of Women Workers. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, from October 18th to 23rd, spoke at Hawick, Peebles, Kirkcaldy, St. Andrews, and Dundee.

Cirencester.—On October 20th a meeting was held in the Corn Exchange in connection with this newly-formed Branch, of which Lady Bathurst is President, and Mrs. Gordon Drydale, Vice-President. Lord Bathurst presided at the meeting, supported by Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., and Miss Gladys Pott.

The Hon. Mrs. Bathurst and the Hon. Mrs. Kingscote were also present. Miss Pott's month will receive due attention next. Miss Gladys Pott and Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun have both conducted Scottish tours and addressed large meetings in connection with the Scottish Anti-Suffrage League. Out-door meetings all around London have been

gerous to the Empire, and that there is no adequate reason for submitting the Empire to that danger."

This meeting resulted in a "draw."

Glasgow.—The Duchess of Montrose presided over a meeting held under the auspices of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League, in the Charing Cross Halls on October 13th. Between 300 and 400 people were present.

Before introducing the Speaker, Miss Gladys Pott, the Duchess made a most excellent and interesting speech. She said there were many members of Parliament who thought they could safely vote for the Conciliation Bill, and that if they granted the vote to a few women they would satisfy all women. That, however, was a delusion. Enfranchising a few women now meant enfranchising all women later. The many would demand what the few had obtained. They should realise the truth, which had begun to be generally admitted, that Women's Suffrage involved adult suffrage, and that the result of that would be an electorate of which women would constitute the majority.

At the present time our country was face-to-face with questions of the greatest national importance—the relations between capital and labour, the redistribution of wealth, and Tariff Reform—and they strongly felt that the introduction of a large female element into the electorate could not fail to weaken the central governing forces of the State and be fraught with peril to the country.

Miss Gladys Pott, in the course of her speech, dwelt principally upon the characteristics necessary in a voter, and the Conciliation Bill.

A number of questions were asked, and very ably answered by the Speaker.

In regard to one, concerning the pit-brow workers, Mr. MacCallum Scott, who was in the body of the hall, said that the Bill (in relation to this) had not yet been before the House of Commons, only in draft before Committee, and that some of the keenest supporters of the cause of the pit-brow workers were Suffragists, whereas he and many of the Anti-Suffragists were stringently opposing it.

An excellent programme of music was rendered, and tea was afterwards served.

Accompanying the Duchess of Montrose were the Lady Hermione Cameron, Lady Helen Graham, Lady Griselda Cheape, and Mrs. J. M. MacLeod.

A drawing-room meeting was held on October 14th, at 4, Park Circus Place, by kind permission of Mrs. J. M. MacLeod, President of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League. Mrs. MacLeod presided.

Miss Pott gave a most excellent address to the audience, which consisted chiefly of university students, teachers and nurses. Tea was afterwards served.

Liverpool.—Two immensely successful open-air meetings were held here, at Humberside-street and Castle-street, on October 14th. Mrs. Agnes Stewart, who, with Mr. Horace Diprose, conducted the meetings, appealed to a class of people who admittedly know very little of the question of Woman Suffrage. Particularly successful was her treatment of one or two Suffragists who were present. The opinion of the meeting was unanimously and enthusiastically with Anti-Suffragism.

Manchester.—The work of the Manchester Branch has been carried on very actively during the past month. The Committee have arranged for a series of meetings to be held in and around Manchester, the dates and details of which will be given next month.

Offers of help in the work of the Branch have been received in many different directions, and there are encouraging signs of increased activity among the members. Thanks are particularly due to Mrs. Hughes and Mrs. Parish, who very kindly gave us help in the clerical work of the office.

A debate took place between the Secretary of the Manchester Branch of the N.L.O.W.S. and Miss Margaret Robertson, B.A., of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage before the Bradbury Women's Liberal League, on September 21st. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was lost by five votes only, and several new members joined the League as a result of the debate.

Miss Moir also addressed a meeting before the Moss Side Literary Society on October 6th. Here, again, some new members have joined the Branch after hearing the Anti-Suffrage case.

On October 11th, Miss Moir and Mr. H. A. Pickup, Hon. Secretary of the St. Anne's

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATE.

MISS GLADYS POTT

Will Debate with

MISS CICELY HAMILTON

On Monday, November 6th, at 5 o'clock,

IN

THE SMALL QUEEN'S HALL.

Tickets 5/-, 4/, 2/6, and 1/-

(This date having been altered from Tuesday, October 31st.)

Branch, debated with Miss Margaret Robertson and Mr. Holt at Preston.

On October 13th, a debate was held in connection with the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, Mrs. Hiller, a member of this society, having kindly lent her drawing-room for the purpose. The speakers were Miss Margaret Ashton, for the Suffrage, and Miss Cordelia Moir for the Anti-Suffrage. The audience was greatly divided on the question, but no vote was taken, the hostess being anxious that the meeting should be a friendly discussion. Much interest was shown in the debate and several ladies who were not members of either society have since joined the Branch.

Oswestry.—We had a crowded meeting on October 20th, and Mrs. Norris made a most forcible speech, and answered the opposition very fully and most good-temperedly. Both sides are full of her speech, and several of the other side have come over to us.

Pinner.—Two very successful meetings were held in October, the first at the house of Mr. Gardner Williams, and the second at that of Miss Parkhouse. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the principal speaker at both meetings, and clearly explained the fundamental difference between the Imperial and the Municipal vote, and the reasons for

which the Anti-Suffrage League, supporting every legitimate activity of women, is opposed to the granting of the Parliamentary vote. At the second meeting, she dealt with the Conciliation Bill, and its anomalies. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon answered several questions put by Suffragists, and resolutions against Woman Suffrage were passed. There were considerable accessions to the membership of the Branch, and offers of drawing-rooms for meetings.

Sheffield.—At the Cutlers' Hall, Sheffield, on September 20th, the annual meeting of the Sheffield and District Branch was held. Mr. J. E. Beal, J.P., was in the chair, and was supported by Miss Colley (treasurer), Mrs. Edward Bramley (secretary), Miss Watson (vice-president), and others.

In the annual report, read by Mrs. Edward Bramley, "the Committee record with great regret the resignation as hon. secretaries of Mrs. Balfour and Mrs. Munns, whose work for the society has been invaluable."

Mrs. Edward Bramley has kindly consented to be Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman said the society was in a good, sound financial position, and it had everything to congratulate itself upon; but new members should join. Judicious canvassing would do more in this direction than anything else. The only way to get at people was to ask them. There were many people who never would vote until they were asked. What was really wanted was that the ladies should form themselves into small committees—not large ones—and to get at the people by quietly canvassing.

The report and accounts having been adopted, Miss Watson proposed a vote of thanks, which Miss Colley seconded, to Mrs. Balfour and Mrs. Munns "for their tireless work for the cause of the society."

The Chairman was thanked on the motion of Mrs. F. Littlewood; the Rev. Torrens seconded.

Stoke Newington.—On October 9th, a debate was held at Stoke Newington Congregational Church in connection with its Literary and Debating Society. Mrs. Mustard spoke for, and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon against, a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage. May we take this opportunity of urging Anti-Suffragists at debates to say something, even if it is only a bare declaration of their opinion, in support of their own side.

A BY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN. KILMARNOCK BURGHS.

We have received the following interesting report of our recent campaign in Scotland.

"The Anti-Suffrage League was very much in evidence during the by-election in Kilmarnock Burghs, much to the chagrin of the W.S.P.U., the Freedom League, and Constitutionalists, who have good cause to fear our oppositor when they recollect the result of their candidate in Camlachie last General Election.

A very successful meeting was held at Kilmarnock on September 18th, when the speaker was Mrs. Agnes Stewart (London), and in the chair Miss Maude Adams (Glasgow). Mrs. Stewart spoke to an audience of 300 to 400 people for over an hour; no questions were forthcoming and the question of "Woman Suffrage" was put to the vote, with the amusing result that the Suffragists had only one supporter! The meeting was

then declared closed, but a unanimous request from the audience to again address them in anticipation of the Opposition forces (who were then dispersing from a meeting in the Agricultural Hall) coming to the front with queries, was acceded to. The audience was, however, disappointed to observe that the Suffrage party were conspicuous by their silence. Cheers were raised for the Anti-Suffrage League.

Two very successful meetings were held in Rutherglen on September 19th, when Mrs. Stewart once more had the satisfaction of seeing the Suffragists hoist the white flag and decamp on her approach. At both these meetings the majority—the women emphatically—were in sympathy with our views.

At Port Glasgow on September 20th, again the Suffrage party experienced a rebuff, and a large audience, chiefly composed of working men and women, listened with great eagerness to our views, the majority agreeing that "Woman Suffrage would not only be a bad thing for our nation, but even worse for women themselves."

At Dumbarton on September 21st, an amusing incident took place. On our approach, a Suffragist who had been holding a meeting felt so ruffled when her audience left her for the other platform, that she with great bravado rushed forward and waved a flag in the face of our speaker. Then she thought to distract attention by heckling continuously, but Mrs. Stewart was able to meet her and asked why the Suffrage party, who have the interests of the poor so much at heart, did not lend a helping hand to the girls from Pinks' jam factory who were on strike, many of them starving. This representative of the emancipation movement admitted that women may starve in the fight for existence, but their funds could not be used for anything else but the cause.

An exceptionally large audience encouraged our efforts on our second visit to Dumbarton on September 22nd. The Suffrage party had a lengthy platform erected, from which several speakers tried to counter-act our audience. Once more the militants were to the fore with their cardboard banners, but soon grew tired of holding them up, and vanished. Even when the services of Mr. Lansbury, M.P., were requisitioned from a marquee (all in readiness for Miss Pankhurst) he could do naught to divide the attention of our supporters, as they eventually proved themselves to be. At this meeting Mrs. Stewart challenged Miss Pankhurst, on her arrival, and offered to answer any questions asked, but Miss Pankhurst would neither ask questions nor answer them. Leaving our platform, Mrs. Stewart entered the marquee, as did the whole of her meeting (the marquee being only partially filled until our entry), took notes of Miss Pankhurst's speech, and, returning to the Anti-Suffrage platform, took point after point of her arguments. Miss Pankhurst (who was observed at the rear of some 1,000 people) was again challenged from the platform, but vanished in her motor-car.

Mrs. Stewart spoke for over two hours on the evenings of September 23rd and 25th, an again finding the majority against votes for women, closed a most successful campaign.

A noticeable feature of this campaign was the use of Anti-Suffrage flags and banners to decorate the wagon bearing the inscriptions "No petticoat Government" and "Nature knows no equality."

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Patrons:
HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

President: H.S.H. THE DUKE OF BUCK, G.C.V.O. Chairman: COLONEL SIR EDWARD WARD, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.

The work of this Society, which was founded in 1824, and has branches in most of the large towns of England and Wales, has a strong claim for the support of the charitable lovers of the animal creation. It is supported only by voluntary contributions, and the Council need every assistance to enable them to continue their work—which is both educational and punitive.

WHAT THE SOCIETY DID LAST YEAR (1910).

6556 offenders were prosecuted and convicted for cruelty to animals.
153 persons were acquitted, but the Society's costs were remitted, which justified the Society's action.
1,073 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were admonished in writing.
24,344 persons guilty of minor acts of cruelty were cautioned by Inspectors.
3,243 sermons were preached on the subject of Mercy to Animals, by Clergymen of the Church of England.
99,133 Essays were written by school children on the subject of Kindness to Animals.

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

105, JERMYN STREET, LONDON, S.W.

EDWARD G. FAIRHOLME, Secretary.

The Hanover Institute for Nurses and Private Hospital,

22, GEORGE STREET, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON, W.

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Supplies the Public with reliable Hospital-trained NURSES.

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FOR LADIES', GENTLE-
MEN'S & CHILDREN'S
WEAR. CARPETS,
HOUSEHOLD LINEN, etc.

FULL CATALOGUE OF ALL DEPARTMENTS POST FREE.

WESTBOURNE GROVE

LONDON, W

A considerable quantity of various leaflets and literature was distributed at each meeting, those assisting in the campaign being Mrs. Adams, Miss Winnie Adams, Miss Angus, Mr. Victor Adams, Mr. Albert Atkins, and Mr. L. Clarke. The organiser was Mr. D. B. Kyles, and the secretary Miss Deane.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

Mrs. Agnes Stewart, of the Brixton Branch, addressed some thirteen or fourteen open-air meetings during October, and has had considerable success. On Wimbledon Common on Sunday, the 8th, some 500 or 600 people assembled, and Mrs. Stewart had a lively passage at arms with some local Suffragists who were routed entirely by her arguments.

At Katharine Street, Croydon, on Thursday, October 19th, Mrs. Stewart and Mr. Diprose addressed an audience of about 400, and when the vote was taken, after questions had been asked and answered, only three hands were held up in favour of Woman Suffrage.

The meetings have been at Streatham, Pimlico, Walworth Road, Norwood, Loughboro' Junction, Hammersmith, St. James's Station, Chelsea, Wimbledon Common, East St. Pancras, and Wandsworth. Space forbids a detailed account of the meetings, and, indeed, of any of the numberless Branch meetings which have been held during October.

The Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has appointed Mr. J. Ormsby Scott, as chief organiser at the Central Office, to make arrangements for holding important public meetings throughout the country. Any Branch desirous of holding such meetings should communicate direct with Mr. Scott at the Offices of the League.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 4d. each.
4. Queen Victoria and Woman Suffrage. Price 3s. per 1,000.
5. Is Woman Suffrage Inevitable? Price 5s. per 1,000.
6. Nature's Reason against Woman Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1,000.
7. What Woman Suffrage means. Price 3s. per 1,000.
9. Is the Parliamentary Suffrage the best way? Price 10s. per 1,000.
10. To the Women of Great Britain. Price 3s. per 1,000.
12. Why Women should not Vote. Price 3s. per 1,000.
13. Women's Position under Laws made by Man. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (1) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (2) Woman's Suffrage and Women's Wages. Price 3s. per 1,000.
15. (3) Votes and Wages. Price 5s. per 1,000.
15. (4) Women's Wages and the Vote. Price 6s. per 1,000.
16. Look Ahead. Price 4s. per 1,000.
18. Married Women and the Factory Law. Price 5s. per 1,000.
19. A Suffrage Talk. Price 3s. per 1,000.
20. A Word to Working Women. Price 3s. per 1,000.

21. Votes for Women (from Mr. F. Harrison's book) Price 10s. per 1,000.
22. "Votes for Women?" 3s. per 1,000.
24. Reasons against Woman Suffrage. Price 4s. per 1,000.
25. Women and the Franchise. Price 5s. per 1,000.
26. Woman Suffrage and India. Price 3s. per 1,000.
27. The Constitutional Myth. 3s. per 1,000.
28. We are against Female Suffrage. Price 2s. 6d. per 1,000.
29. Mrs. Arthur Somervell's Speech at Queen's Hall. Price 5s. per 1,000.
30. Women and the Suffrage. Miss Octavia Hill. Price 4s. per 1,000.
30. On Suffragettes. By G. K. Chesterton. Price 3s. per 1,000.
- * 31. Silence Gives Consent. (Membership form attached.) Price 7s. per 1,000.
- * 32. Taxes and Votes. Should Women have Votes because they pay Taxes? Price 4s. per 1,000.
- * 33. The "Conciliation" Bill. Revised Version. Price 4s. per 1,000.
- * 34. Woman Suffrage. From the Imperialistic Point of View. Price 5s. per 1,000.
- * 35. Women in Local Government. A Call for Service. By Violet Markham. 7s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 1,000.
38. Substance and Shadow. By the Honourable Mrs. Evelyn Cecil. Price 5s. per 1,000.
39. Against Votes for Women (Points for Electors). 4s. per 1,000.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS.

- A. Freedom of Women. Mrs. Harrison. 6d.
- B. Woman or Suffragette. Marie Corelli. 3d.
- C. Positive Principles. Price 1d.
- D. Sociological Reasons. Price 1d.
- E. Case against Woman Suffrage. Price 1d.
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Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park.

LEATHERHEAD—
President: C. F. Gordon Clark, Esq.

Leatherhead—
Hon. Secretary: Miss Cunliffe, Tyrrels, Leatherhead.

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

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

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

GUILDFORD AND DISTRICT—
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Vice-President: Lady Martindale.
Hon. Treasurer: Admiral Tudor.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carter, 15, Wodeland Road, Guildford.

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

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

MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN—
President: Mrs. Kelsall.
Hon. Treasurer: George W. Moir, Esq.
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PURLEY AND SANDERSTEAD—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Atterbury.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sadgrove, "Clonard," Foxley Lane, Purley.

REIGATE AND REDHILL—
Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq.

Reigate—
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate.

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

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

SHOTTERMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE—
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pittfold, Shottersmill, Haslemere.

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

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

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

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

SUSSEX.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE—
President:
Hon. Treasurer: F. Page Turner, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Curtis, "Quex," D'Avigdor Road, Brighton.
Co-Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Shaw, 250, Albert Road, Brighton.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WARWICKSHIRE.

BIRMINGHAM—
President: The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.
Vice-Presidents: Maud Lady Calthorpe; Miss Beatrice Chamberlain.
Hon. Treasurer: Murray N. Phelps, Esq., LL.B.
Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Saundby; W. G. W. Hastings, Esq.
Secretary: Miss Gertrude Allarton, 109, Colmore Row, Birmingham.

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

WILTSHIRE.

SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—
President:
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: Miss Kane, Wilsford.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

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

WORCESTER—
President: The Countess of Coventry.
Hon. Treasurer: A. C. Cherry, Esq.
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YORKSHIRE.

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

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

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

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

LEEDS—
President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Mrs. Frank Gott.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 3, Woodsley Terrace, Clarendon Road, Leeds.
District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, 152, Otley Road, Headingley, Miss M. Silcock, Barkston Lodge, Roundhay.

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

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

SHEFFIELD—
Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.

The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tipton Crescent Road, Sheffield.

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

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

THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

LONDON—
President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earls Court.
Such Branch Secretaries as desire Members of this League to act as Stewards at Meetings should give notice to the Secretary at least a fortnight prior to the date of Meeting.

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

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

IRELAND.

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

SCOTLAND.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

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

BRANCHES:

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

DUNDEE—
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. MacGillivray, 23, South Tay Street; Miss Craik.

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

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

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

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

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

WALES.

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

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