

ROYAL ALBERT HALL



VIOLET MARKHAM



THE HON. EVELYN DUFF



Demonstration

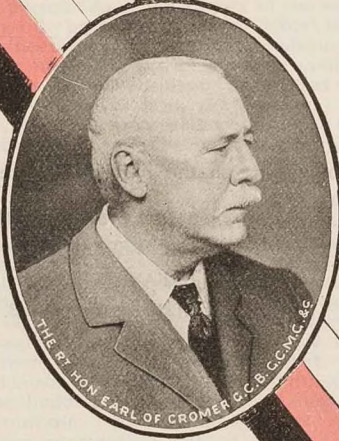
AGAINST

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

28th February,

1912.

Under the
auspices of the
NATIONAL
LEAGUE
for
OPPOSING
WOMAN SUFFRAGE.



THE HON. EARL OF CROMER

FULL REPORT.



THE HON. EARL LORPBURN



THE HON. LEWIS HARCOURT



THE HON. ESMOND D'ALMEIDA

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The Great Demonstration against Woman Suffrage.

THE great Demonstration has been held, and the Woman Suffrage bubble has been pricked.

For a long time the advocates of the enfranchisement of women were allowed their own way. It was difficult for the nation to realise that their proposals would be taken seriously, still less that these would come within measurable reach of adoption. The movement was given a free course, and the fullest advantage of its opportunities was taken. Only one side of the question—and that inaccurate—was presented. Few people deemed it necessary to enter into an elaborate refutation of the claims or statements of the Suffragists, and indifference or ignorance inevitably lapsed either into contemptuous tolerance or thoughtless acquiescence. Not until it was found that, in the words of the Lord Chancellor, promises were being wrung by private pressure brought to bear upon distracted candidates at the crucial moment of a Parliamentary election, was the full significance of the danger threatening the country brought home to thinking people.

It was realised that steps must be taken to prevent the nation from being led blindfolded to its own undoing—and the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage resulted.

The object of the League has been three-fold: To combat the claims of the Suffragists by disseminating knowledge of the subject; to inquire whether there was any large body of opinion among the electorate or among women for the Parliamentary vote; and to draw attention to the spheres already in existence where woman's rights of citizenship and service could find the fullest expression, and were, indeed, most urgently needed. This campaign has been carried on throughout the country, and the great Demonstration at the Albert Hall on Wednesday, February 28th, formed a fitting climax to a series of meetings held in other parts of the kingdom.

No sooner had the League established the fact that there was no demand for Woman Suffrage on the part of the majority either of the electorate or of women, than the Suffragists found it necessary to change their tactics. To leave the question to the sober judgment of the nation would be fatal to their claims, and they grasped eagerly at the opportunity of profiting by the disorganisation of parties in order to rush their scheme through Parliament. In this outrageous device they have secured powerful support; and the country is rapidly approaching the moment

when the attempt will be made to snatch a decision of the House of Commons on a suffrage measure, and subsequently to pass it over the head of the House of Lords, without allowing the opinion or wishes of the nation to be heard.

An appreciation of the gravity of the issue possessed the great meeting in the Albert Hall on Wednesday night. That vast audience—a moiety only of those who had been anxious to attend—meant business. It wanted no rhetorical fireworks from the speakers; it would brook no encroachments upon the decencies of debate. This business-like spirit took by surprise those who had been led to believe that capacity for disorder was the only qualification for government. The first offender contrived to utter four words, and his place knew him no more. There was a minimum of effort on the part of those who were charged with the maintenance of order, but their determination was not lost upon would-be offenders. One other disturber made an equally vain attempt, and by this time there was ample evidence that the several hundred stewards distributed throughout the building had been requisitioned to some purpose. Succeeding speakers were free from interruption, until it came to the turn of Mr. Lewis Harcourt. Then the obligations of Suffragette vows proved too strong; three female forms momentarily acquired undue prominence, and then three more seats were vacant. When the resolution was put from the Chair, the shouts of several score of opponents were evidence that Suffragists had been duly represented; but order had been maintained. The meeting was not only a successful vindication of the strength of opinion against Woman Suffrage—it was also a triumph of organisation.

No one of the 9,000 people present could have failed to be struck by the contrast between this Anti-Suffrage meeting and the Suffrage meeting that had been held in the same hall on the previous Friday. The difference between the conduct of the two audiences was in keeping with the total dissimilarity of the speeches from the platform. On the Friday, as Suffragist arguments no longer hold water, there was only scope for declamation, and a perfervid appeal for closing up Suffragist ranks in order to cheat the democracy. On Wednesday the cause of withholding the suffrage from women was set forth in eloquent and reasoned phrases, full of unanswerable argument. Nor was it possible to ignore the significance of the composition of that notable gathering. In addition to the names

of those who carry the greatest weight in the political world on both sides of Parliament, the Clergy, the Army and Navy, education, commerce, the manufacturing and other important interests were, in the words of the Chairman, all represented by men many of whose names were known not only throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, but in Greater Britain beyond the seas. They were there not for party purposes, not to create a fictitious semblance of popular approval for a cause that they would not venture to submit to the popular vote, not to elaborate a scheme for hoodwinking the country; but they were there to champion a principle fraught with the significance of life or death to the nation at large. The clear, deliberate utterances of the Lord Chancellor, no less than the impassioned eloquence of Lord Curzon, aroused continued rounds of applause. It was, however, left to Miss Violet Markham, with her incisive analysis of the two causes, Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage, to stir that assembly to its highest pitch of enthusiasm. A more telling exposition, uttered with the eloquence of whole-hearted sincerity, could hardly be imagined. It was a great speech, worthy of a great occasion.

Long before the hour fixed for the opening of the meeting, the Albert Hall had filled up, and by the time Lord Cromer and his principal supporters on the Speakers' platform filed through the middle of that vast concourse, every available seat in the building was occupied. The Anti-Suffrage colours that were extended across the back of the huge, sloped platform threw into relief the serried lines of human beings, while the long white line of "stewardesses," who, after their activities before the meeting, had taken their seats on the last row but one of the platform, afforded a striking break in the general sombre effect of a political gathering. Mr. H. L. Balfour presided at the organ, and his rendering of each item of the musical programme was received with applause. During the speeches there were only five or six attempts at interruption, though occasionally a mild "hear, hear," when a Suffragist statement was quoted to give point to an argument, indicated the presence of the "other side." The speakers were followed with the closest attention, and the high level of intelligent argument maintained in the speeches was thoroughly appreciated by the audience.

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The following were among those who occupied seats on the platform:—

Lord Cromer, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Curzon, the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., and Mrs. Harcourt, the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., the Right Hon. F. E. Smith, M.P., Miss Violet Markham, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., the Right Hon. J. A. Pease, M.P., Lord Roberts, the Right Hon. J. B. Seely, M.P., Viscount Peel, the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P., Lord St. Aldwyn, the Duke of Norfolk, the Right Hon. Reginald McKenna, M.P., Lord Middleton, Mr. George Lambert, M.P., Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., Lord Eversley, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Rothschild, Duke of Devonshire, Lady Loreburn, Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., Lady Sheffield, Lord Sheffield, Sir William Crookes, Lady Headfort, Mrs. Fredk. Harrison, Mr. Fredk. Harrison, Lord Balcarras, Mrs. Jack Pease, Sir William Anson, Mr. John Massie, Mrs. G. A. Hardy, Mr. G. A. Hardy, Mr. J. W. Cleland, Mr. Fred Maddison, Sir Rose Bradford, the Hon. Arthur Eliot, Viscount Allendale, Lady Robson, Colonel le Roy Lewis, Duchess of Montrose, Lord Ashby St. Ledgers, Mary, Lady Ichester, Sir David Gill, Mrs. Raymond Asquith, Mr. Raymond Asquith, Lord Atkinson, Mrs. J. E. B. Seely, Canon Henson, Mrs. McKenna, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Mr. H. Bleasby, Major Sir A. Biggs, Prebendary Wace, Sir William Ramsay, the Master of University College, Oxford, Lord Errington, Mr. Baring, Mr. W. C. G. Gladstone, M.P., Mr. Neil Primrose, M.P., Miss Strachey, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, Lord Durham, Lady Granard, Lord Granard, Lord Desborough, Lord Harris, Lord Macdonnell, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Glenconnell, Lord Hollenden, Lady Haversham, Lord Haversham, Mr. Henry James, Lady Reid, Sir James Reid, Dr. Latham, Lord Fortescue, Lady Fortescue, Lord Hastings, Major the Hon. H. Guest, M.P., Lady Desart, Lord Desart, Earl of Leicester, Lord Glentane, Lord Colebrooke, Lord Herschell, Lord Muncaster, Lord Welby, Lord Heneage, Lord Nunburnholme, Dr. Pelliet, Lord Reay, Lord Redesdale, Lord Robertson, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Guest, Lord Amptill, Lady Beatrice Thynne, the Hon. W. F. D. Smith, Lady Griselda Cheape, Admiral Fremantle, Lady Fremantle, Lord Longford, Mr. S. Coke, Mrs. S. Coke, Col. Ivor Herbert, Lady Simon, Lady Dunmore, Lord Dunmore, Mr. H. J. Craig, M.P., Mr. Lane-Fox, M.P., Mr. Harold Baker, M.P., Mr. J. F. L. Brunner, M.P., Mr. J. Annan Bryce, M.P., Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P., Lord Waldegrave, Mrs. Somerville, the Hon. Agar Robartes, M.P., Lady Tree, Sir John Barran, M.P., Lord Kerry, M.P., Sir Charles Henry, M.P., Mr. Halsey, Sir Maurice Levy, M.P., Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., Lord Ashton of Hyde, Lord Claud Hamilton, Sir John Dewar, M.P., Sir Clarendon Hyde, Lady Hyde, Sir Herbert Raphael, M.P., Professor P., Chalmers Mitchell, Lady Priestley, M.P., General Bradshaw, Mr. A. A. Tobin, K.C., M.P., Sir Compton Rickett, M.P., Mrs. P. A. Molteno, Mr. P. A. Molteno, M.P., the Hon. Chas. Lawrence, Hon. W. Peel, M.P., Sir A. Williamson, M.P., Mr. L. W. J. Costello, M.A., M.P., Sir D. Ford Goddard, M.P., Mr. Arthur Soames, M.P., Professor Gardner, Mr. Heber Hart, Mr. Wm. Young, M.P., the Hon. Edward Wood, M.P., Mr. Charles Mills, M.P., Mrs. A. Balfour, Mr. A. Balfour, Colonel Bathurst, Mrs. Bathurst,

Mr. Burdett Coutts, M.P., Lord Valentia, M.P., Sir Hugh Bell, Miss Bell, Lord Montague, Lord Zouche, Lord Wolverton, Lady William Seymour, Lady Ernest Seymour, Lady Price, Mrs. Romer, Lord Hylton, Lady Hargreave Brown, Lord Winterton, M.P., Sir George Agnew, Lord Helmsley, M.P., Lady Helmsley, Sir F. Banbury, M.P., Sir Robert Buckell, Mr. Rowland Barran, M.P., Mr. J. Cathcart Wason, M.P., Mrs. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Edmund Gosse, Sir Edward Sterne, Mr. L. de Rothschild, M.P., Mr. E. F. Hohler, K.C., Rev. C. R. Hudson, Mr. J. F. P. Rawlinson, K.C., Mr. W. J. Macan, Mr. Stuart Samuel, M.P., Captain Henry de Montmorency, Mr. Angus Hambro, M.P., Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Sir John Wolfe Barry, Mr. Harold Russell, Lady Victoria Russell, Sir William Corry, Sir Johnson Ferguson, Captain Weigall, M.P., Mr. Harold Smith, M.P., Sir Cuthbert Quilter, Mrs. Rupert Gwynne, Mr. Rupert Gwynne, Lady Durning Lawrence, Miss Durning Lawrence, Sir Edward Durning Lawrence, Sir Alexander Henderson, Lord Killanin, Hon. Gervase Beckett, M.P., Sir Aston Webb, Mr. Blomfield, Mrs. Blomfield, Mr. George Lloyd, M.P., Mrs. Gershom Stewart, Mr. Gershom Stewart, M.P., Mr. J. G. Butcher, M.P., Sir Lionel Spencer, Colonel John Rutherford, M.P., Lady Spencer, Hon. Mrs. Peel, Hon. J. Parker Smith, Mr. W. A. Mount, M.P., Lady Aston Webb, Mr. W. R. Campion, Mr. John Astor, Mr. W. Fraser, Mr. J. A. Stirling, Mrs. J. A. Stirling, Mr. Edward Fielden, Lady Barnes, Sir Hugh Barnes, Mrs. Thomson, Mr. W. Finlay, Mr. Hobbhouse, Mr. Lewis Coward, K.C., Mrs. Potter, Mrs. St. John Hankin, Sir Bryan Donkin, Mr. J. E. Allen, Sir Charles Ryan, Mrs. Percy Thomas, Mr. Rhys Williams, Mr. Lockett Agnew, Mr. Abel Ram, K.C., Mr. C. Grenfell, Mr. Maurice Glyn, Dr. Spencer, Mr. Howard Morley, Mrs. Howard Morley, Mr. W. S. Rawlinson, Mrs. Lawrence, Mr. Walter Cunliffe, Mr. Potters, Mr. Fred Maddison, Mr. H. Puckle, Mr. Brember, Mr. W. T. H. Bradley, Mr. A. A. Banmann, Mr. J. K. Javid, Miss A. F. Billington, Mr. Belfort Bax, Mr. E. B. Gould, Mrs. E. B. Gould, Mr. F. Wyatt, Mrs. Taylor Whitehead, Mr. F. C. Hyland, Miss Hall, Sir William Ramsay, Mr. E. W. Binckes, Hon. M. Cortland Thomson, Mr. Harold G. Craven, Mr. H. Batterton, Mrs. Bethell, Hampstead Committee, Miss M. Kenyon, Mr. Stuart Moore, Mrs. Stuart Moore, Mr. Andrew Taylor, Mr. Ford Brown, Mrs. Ford Brown, Mr. A. H. Brown, Mr. W. Gregory, Mr. M. W. J. Williams, Mrs. M. W. J. Williams, Mr. W. R. Prior, Mr. C. Clarice, Mr. C. Sidney Giddins, Mrs. Sidney Giddins, Mr. C. J. Cawood, Mrs. C. J. Cawood, Mr. Horatio Myer, Mr. A. E. Moore, Mrs. Hewitt, Mr. T. Atholl Robertson, Mrs. Atholl Robertson, Mr. A. T. King, Mr. Edward Currie, Mrs. Harold Norris, Mrs. Greatbatch, Mr. A. M. Stewart, Mr. M. H. Truelove, Mr. A. Hastings Gear, Hon. Mrs. Grosvenor, Sir Walter Lawrence, Lady Lawrence, Mr. David Davies, M.P., Mr. James Baker, Miss Pott, Mr. T. L. Price, Sir Ernest Schiff, Miss Phyllis Broughton, Mrs. Synge Hutchinson, Dr. Douglas Cowburn, Mrs. Cowburn, Mr. J. H. Gwyth, Mrs. Gwyth, Mr. Alfred Brewer, Mrs. Brewer, Mr. R. Mudie Smith, Mrs. Mudie Smith, Mr. J. P. R. Lyell, Mrs. Lyell, Mr. Arthur J. Collett, Mr. Walter Wethered, Miss W. M. Evans, Mr. C. H. Arunde, Mr. J. Dane McEwen, Mrs. A. P. Blake, Mr. G. Hudson, Mr. D. A. Munro, Miss Jessie Cress, Dr. Max

Wischer, Mrs. Hunter Walker, Mr. F. W. Howells, Miss A. E. Brahams, Mrs. Dumbard, Miss Tuniwills, Miss Heyes, Mrs. Forbes, Mr. Folls, Mr. J. O. Cohen, Mrs. H. Greenwood, Mr. H. Cockburn, Mr. Ford, Mrs. Ford, Mr. P. Bruce Seare, Mr. A. Wenyon Samuel, Mr. S. Hopkins, Mr. E. H. Bowden, Miss A. V. Salter, Mr. H. Budd, Mr. John Stuart, Dr. Alex. Sanaison, Mr. G. M. A. Spence, Mr. W. A. Prince, Mrs. Beauford, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. H. Benson, Mr. J. Mark, Mr. H. Manton, Mr. Walter Sutton, Mr. R. J. Snell, Miss Gauntlett.

PARTY LEADERS AND THE QUESTION.

At the outset, Lord Cromer said: My lords, ladies and gentlemen. Before commencing the proceedings this evening I will, with your permission, read one or two interesting letters and telegrams which I have received. The first is from the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. (Cheers.) Mr. Asquith writes to me:—

“DEAR LORD CROMER,

“I hold, as I have always held, that in this country the grant of the Parliamentary Suffrage to women would be a grave political mistake. I hope that public opinion in this matter may find free and full expression.

“Yours sincerely,

“(Signed) H. H. ASQUITH.”

The next letter which I will read is from Lord Lansdowne. (Cheers.) Lord Lansdowne writes to me:—

“MY DEAR CROMER,

“I am sorry to be unable to attend your meeting on the 28th. I am, as you are aware, heartily in sympathy with your view on the question of Woman Suffrage. I am, indeed, in complete agreement with the Prime Minister's opinion that to grant the Parliamentary Franchise to women in this country would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind. It would, to my mind, be intolerable that a measure so profoundly disturbing our present representative system should become law until the electors have had the fullest opportunity of passing judgment upon it.

“I wish your meeting all possible success.

“Yours sincerely,

“(Signed) LANSDOWNE.”

I will now read you a telegram from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—(cheers)—whose son, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, is sitting on the platform beside me. (Cheers.) Mr. Chamberlain telegraphs:—

“EARL OF CROMER,

“I am sorry that under present circumstances I cannot take part in the agitation against Women's Suffrage, which, however, has my entire sympathy and approval.

“(Signed) J. CHAMBERLAIN.”

I will now read an extract, and this is the last one, from a letter from Mr. Walter Long. (Cheers.)

[The following is the full text of Mr. Long's letter]:—

“DEAR LORD CROMER,

“I am sorry I am unable to attend the meeting to be held to-morrow in the interests of the Anti-Woman Suffrage movement.

“I need hardly say that I am heartily in accord with the objects of your meeting, believing, as I do, that it is undesirable to extend the franchise to women, and feeling very strongly, as I do, that a change of so important and far-reaching a character ought not to be considered by Parliament until it has been put fully and frankly in all its bearings before the electors of the country and a definite decision taken upon it. At present, we have very indifferent information as to what the effect of any Woman Suffrage and Franchise Bill would be, and we ought to know how it will alter the electorate of the country and what will be the position when women have been enfranchised.

“Personally, I do not myself believe that any ‘half-measure’ comes within the range of practical politics. I am convinced that it would only lead to a demand for the extension of the principle, and objecting to it altogether as I do, I object the more strongly to the half-measure, which is, I think, really misleading.

“Believe me,

“Sincerely yours,

“(Signed) WALTER LONG.”

LORD CROMER'S SPEECH.

Lord Cromer continued: I do not doubt that the large majority of the audience which I am now addressing are Anti-Suffragists. But it may be that some of our opponents are also present. Conditionally on their good behaviour we welcome their presence. (Hear, hear.) I wish, however, to point out that free speech is the heritage of Englishmen and Englishwomen, and I would appeal to the sense of honour of those who do not agree with the speeches about to be delivered not to interrupt. Should this appeal be disregarded, the stewards will at once remove any interruptor, but without any unnecessary violence. I would also ask the remainder of the audience, in the event of interruptions, not to show their disapprobation in too emphatic a manner. (Laughter.) I make this appeal because my own experience, and the experience of others on these occasions, is that the expressions of disapprobation, such as one sympathises with them, sometimes cause as much disturbance as the original interruption itself.

The circumstances under which we are met together this evening are very exceptional. It has not often happened in the course of the history of this country that the British public and its acknowledged leaders have indulged in the luxury of treating a political issue of first-rate importance without reference to any considerations of party, and without allowing themselves in any way to be influenced by any party organisations. Yet this is what is now taking place in connection with the all-important question of granting Parliamentary votes to women. Eminent men of all shades of political opinion are represented on this platform and in the body of this hall, and they are supported by other representatives of well-nigh every important branch of thought, learning and action in the country. The Clergy, the Army and Navy, Education, Commerce, the Manufacturing and all other important interests are all represented here this evening by men many of whose names are known

not only throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, but in many cases throughout that Greater Britain beyond the seas. It is these whom Mrs. Fawcett, plagiarising from a well-known saying of Lord Beaconsfield's, described in a speech made in this hall not many days ago as extinct volcanoes. I rather doubt their extinction. (Laughter.) Neither is this remarkable assembly confined to representatives of one sex. Following the lead of one of the most illustrious ladies that this country has ever produced, that of the late Queen Victoria—(Cheers)—many of the most distinguished ladies of the day are present here this evening in order to testify that in the interests of their own sex they reject the unwelcome burden which it is sought to thrust upon them. All these are united to attain one common object; they wish not only that these Islands, but that that great British Empire, of which we are all so proud, and which was built up by men, should in the future, as in the past, be governed by that sex which is alone physically capable of defending it. (Cheers.) They wish to protest against a vast and complicated political machine, such as has found no counterpart since the days of ancient Rome, being subjected to a hazardous and empirical experiment, which has never yet been tried on a large scale by any other great nation, and which has not even been tried on a small scale by any community under circumstances at all similar to those which exist in the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.)

From another point of view the circumstances are also exceptional. We hold with Mr. Asquith who, as we know, warmly sympathises with our views, with his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Gladstone, and also with that eminent Liberal statesman, Mr. John Bright—(cheers)—that an extension of the franchise is altogether indefensible unless adequate proof exists that the class which it is proposed to enfranchise is almost, if not wholly, unanimous in wishing for enfranchisement. I would ask, Does any adequate proof exist in the present case? I answer that question with a decided negative. All the evidence we have so far been able to obtain goes to show that the whole of this Suffragist movement is a hollow and artificial affair—(cheers)—and that the large majority of women in this country do not want a Parliamentary vote. Was ever such a thing heard of as Associations of working men objecting to enfranchisement in 1867, or of agricultural labourers in 1884? On these occasions Parliament was dealing, as it is about to deal again, with the enfranchisement of a class. Now the case is wholly different. It is proposed to enfranchise a whole sex, and what has been the result. The result has been that all over the country Associations of women have been formed to protest against the proceeding. And more Associations, both of men and women, would unquestionably have been formed, had it not been that up to the present time the country has hardly yet realised the gravity of the situation. There are welcome signs that this attitude of indifference is being abandoned. This hall holds, I believe, some 9,000 people. As you will see, it is crammed to the roof; but vast as are its proportions, it is too small to hold all the men and women who wished to express sympathy with our cause. The League of which I am President have received more than 20,000 applications for seats. I hope

and believe that an assembly of this sort, coming as it does after crowded and enthusiastic meetings at Manchester, Bristol, Edinburgh, Dublin, and other important Provincial centres, will go far to prick the Suffragist bubble, and will show Parliament, which is about to consider the question, as to the true nature of public opinion in the country. Are we or are we not to allow the voices of the male electors of the United Kingdom to be swamped by giving a vote to some eight or ten millions of women, and that without the electors themselves having had any adequate opportunity afforded to them for expressing an opinion on the subject? That and that alone is the true issue; all other subsidiary points may be swept aside.

And now, having stated the issue, I leave to others who can speak with greater eloquence and authority than myself to deal further with the subject.

I call, in the first place, on a distinguished statesman, who is universally respected by political friends and foes alike. (Cheers.) I call on Lord Loreburn, the Lord Chancellor of England. (Cheers.)

LORD LOREBURN.

Lord Loreburn (Lord Chancellor of England) moved the following resolution:—

“That the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects, both socially and politically, ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate.”

He said: I am very anxious to compress what I have to say in as short a compass as possible in order that you may have the advantage of seeing the distinguished speakers who yet have to follow.

No one can doubt the grave importance of this question, or that it has now reached a critical stage. With all becoming respect to those who differ from me in my opinion, common-sense has always hitherto recognised that in the distribution of work and of duties, Nature herself has drawn a dividing line between what is appropriate for men and what is appropriate for women. (Cheers.)

It is not a question of superiority or inferiority between them. Women are superior in many things, and men are superior in some things. (Laughter.)

The question really is: Whether the business of Parliamentary and electoral warfare and the Imperial responsibilities of a great nation ought to be entrusted to women. We have not, and cannot have, any machinery for selecting exceptional women to whom these duties can be committed. It is a simple and broad choice. Ought this country to be governed by the feminine point of view and temperament and mode of action in its great Imperial affairs?

Before this change is made, let us fully realise what it means. It means, to begin with, the addition of one, five, seven, or more millions of voters to the electoral roll in this country. The larger number is that with which we must reckon, for the days of property qualification are passed, and the idea of bestowing upon widows a privilege which is denied to wives or spinsters is obviously chimerical.

Again, if women are suitable for votes, it is impossible to show a single reason why they should not also become Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, Judges, or, indeed, anything else, unless you draw the line at soldiers or sailors.

I, for one, oppose any such revolutionary change of this startling character or a social departure resulting in dangers which no one can foresee.

We are told that this is necessary to raise the status of women. If this were so, I should be prepared to pay a heavy price to attain that result, and to run even great risks. But is it so? Women have their full share of suffering and sorrow in this world. In some ways they suffer more than men, in other ways they suffer less. Is their burden made heavier than it need be by the laws which men have made? No one will say that our laws are perfect. We stand in need of perpetual vigilance to prevent them producing suffering or oppression. But, taken as a whole, our laws are more merciful to women than to men—(cheers)—and are more mercifully administered towards women than they are towards men.

This view may be right or wrong, wise or foolish, approved or detested, by the community at large. One thing, however, cannot be denied. The project of giving Parliamentary votes to women is a project far-reaching in its consequences, incalculable in its effects, and vital, whether for good or evil. I maintain that we are entitled, and indeed bound, to be satisfied that the country deliberately desires this change before we commit so momentous and irrevocable a step.

We have often known differences of opinion whether or not the country really has approved this or that legislative proposal. General Elections seldom turn upon a single issue. Sometimes it may be difficult to ascertain what is really meant by a General Election. Sometimes there is ground for reasonable dispute on this point. But in the present case there is no ground for dispute at all. There is not one Member of the present House of Commons who has been returned because of his opinions upon the subject of Women's Suffrage, nor one defeated candidate who has been defeated because of his opinions upon that subject, whether those opinions were in favour of or against the extension of the franchise. Indeed, during the whole Parliamentary history of this country not a solitary election has ever turned upon this question in any degree.

A CONSTITUTIONAL OUTRAGE.

In these circumstances, which cannot be controverted, I say it would be a constitutional outrage—(cheers)—if such a change were passed into law without the express sanction of the constituencies. I have an unfeigned respect for the authority of the House of Commons. I quite concede that we have no right to be perpetually scanning its decisions in order to see whether the constituencies have sanctioned beforehand what the House determines. But it must surely be acknowledged that where great and signal departures of policy are concerned, for which no Ministry is prepared to shoulder the responsibility, it is not legitimate to spring a surprise on the country or to treat a vote of the House of Commons as deciding something which has never really been before the country. And I can

imagine few things more dangerous than that a small body of people should bring private pressure upon candidates at the crucial moment of an election, and, when they have secured, perhaps, reluctant pledges in the belief that they would never be practically effective, should be allowed to parade the artificial majority thus obtained—(cheers)—as though it really represented the real feeling of England.

My conviction is that the great majority of people in this country are opposed to this proposal—(cheers)—and that we ought to do, as I shall certainly do, all in our power to prevent its becoming law without the real consent and deliberate demand of the electorate. (Cheers.)

Lord Cromer said: I will now call upon Lord Curzon to second the resolution.

LORD CURZON.

Lord Curzon, who was received with cheers said: Lord Cromer, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—I follow the Lord Chancellor with great pleasure, and I second the resolution which he has moved. I have often had the honour of following the noble and learned lord in more Houses of Parliament than one—always with admiration, seldom, I am afraid, with agreement—(laughter)—and yet to-night we are absolutely one—(hear, hear)—and there is not one word which I would not endorse in his powerful and closely reasoned speech.

Ladies and gentlemen, what is it that has brought us together, not merely this great audience in this hall, but all those gentlemen and ladies seated on this platform, many of whom have never met on a single platform before? It is because we feel that we are face to face with a great national issue, an issue compared with which our party differences melt into insignificance, an issue which must profoundly affect the whole structure of our society in the future, which might dangerously affect our existence as a great and sovereign state. (Cheers.) Personally, I am not the least concerned as to the way in which women, if they were enfranchised, would vote for one party or the other. I am told that most ladies, being of Conservative inclinations, would be likely to vote for the party to which I happen to belong. If they did so, that might be a meagre and tardy consolation after the mistake had been committed. But that would not alter my view. (Hear, hear.) Then I say this truthfully, that even if I were assured that the great majority of women being enfranchised were going to vote for my party at the next election—to which many of us attach great importance—I would not purchase that party advantage at the cost of what I should regard as danger to the nation. (Cheers.)

INJURY TO THE NATION.

Why do we say that the nation would be injured by the grant of votes to women? Our answer, I think, is clear. It is because there is no class in the nation that would not suffer. Women would suffer in the first place, because they would be taken away from that which is their proper sphere. They would have thrust upon them operations and activities for which they have neither the aptitude, the training, nor the inclination—(hear, hear)—activities which must exercise—I think they have already

exercised—a deteriorating influence on their character—(cheers)—and which would draw them away from the highest and most responsible functions of womanhood. Men would suffer because, equally with women they value the integrity and harmony of the home, and because they would be forced into political association with those who would have the vote but would have none of the responsibility that ought to and must ensue upon the vote. And the State would suffer not merely because it is the aggregate of the men and women who compose it, but because there would be introduced an element of instability and uncertainty into our politics which would have a demoralising effect—I even think a corrupting effect—upon politics in this country, and might seriously weaken our work as an Empire abroad. Therefore, our claim is to both sexes and to all classes of the community. My lords and gentlemen, I protest against the charge that this is a man's movement. (Hear, hear.) You have only got to look at the spectacle of this great hall; you have only got to regard the composition of our Executive Committee to see that without the women we should be nowhere. (Laughter.) We could not conduct this movement with any enthusiasm, we should not conduct it with the slightest chance of success, unless we felt that the majority of women were upon our side. (Hear, hear.) I protest against the charge that it is an anti-woman movement. (Hear, hear.) We desire to place upon woman no badge of servitude which she does not willingly bear, and has not hitherto regarded rather as her glory than her shame. We place no bar to the industrial advancement or to the intellectual emancipation of women; but we are unable to believe that by means of the vote, if it were given to-morrow, she would acquire anything that she does not already possess and cannot easily attain. And most of all, I think, I resent the charge that this is an upper-class or a titled movement. I daresay in reality the upper classes would be those who would be least affected by the vote if it were given, and probably they would exercise it with the best effect in consequence of the education they have received.

THE WORKING WOMAN.

But we are not fighting the battle of the educated women alone; we are fighting the battle of the working women of this country. (Cheers.) My belief is that they have just as keen an idea of womanhood, just as keen a conception of the home, as any of those who belong to the classes above them. Indeed, I believe it is in the poorer classes that you will find the opposition to this movement most strong. Therefore, do not let us complicate the issue, do not let us muddy the stream, by any of these false distinctions of rank or station. We are fighting, not for one class but for all classes, and we make our appeal to the nation as a whole on behalf of the nation as a whole. (Cheers.)

The second point that I would like to make is this. We, in this hall to-night, are resolutely opposed to any grant of the vote to women, great or small. (Cheers.) Let there be no doubt about that. We are as much opposed to the Conciliation Bill—(cheers)—so-called—miscalled—as we are to any larger measure that may be grafted on to the Adult Suffrage Bill of the Government. We resist just as much an addition of one

million voters to the register as we should five millions or ten millions. (Hear, hear.) I hope that no one here will be beguiled by the idea of petty or insidious instalments. Once a beginning is made, there is but one logic and there can only be one result. (Cheers.) If the unmarried female householder is given the vote, the married female householder must have it too. You cannot break down the bar of sex and set up a new bar of marriage. You cannot disqualify women at the very moment when they assume the highest and most honourable responsibilities of their sex. If you give the vote to the married woman who owns property in a separate county from her husband, you must give it to the married woman who owns property in the same. And I agree with the Lord Chancellor if you give women the right to vote you must give them the right to stand and to sit. (Laughter.) And if you give them the right to sit, you cannot confine it to the back benches of the House of Commons. You cannot put a rope round the Treasury Bench and say: "Only elderly gentlemen are admitted here." (Laughter.)

THE EXAMPLE IN NORWAY.

Let me give a little illustration of the argument of the Lord Chancellor, which I am developing now. It is always good to turn to other countries, even small countries, and see what they are doing. In Norway—a very democratic country—the women obtained the vote in 1909, and more rapidly and more successfully than their sisters here, they also obtained the right to sit in Parliament on the same occasion. One of them already, I believe, sits there, and is, I believe, likely to be joined by others at the next election. Were they content with this? Not a bit. They at once commenced an agitation, and so successful has it been that already, in less than three years, every office in Norway is open to them with certain notable exceptions to which I will refer. They are not yet allowed to be Cabinet Ministers,—(laughter)—but it is generally recognised that this is the first barrier that will go, because you can hardly have a Parliament open to women and the Cabinet reserved to men. Secondly, female clergymen are not yet allowed in Norway. (Laughter.) But already an agitation is springing up and three Cabinet Ministers have severed themselves from their colleagues—a phenomenon not absolutely unknown in this country—(laughter)—and are leading an agitation in Norway in favour of ladies in the pulpit, on the ground that those who practise morals are thoroughly qualified to preach them. The third bar in the category is that of consuls and diplomats, and it is for the reason that, I think, all of us will understand very well—the Norwegian Government is afraid that female consuls and female ministers might somewhat diminish the respect in which their Government is held in foreign lands. And the last category from which women are at present excluded is that of military commanders. Yet, strange as it may seem, there is a party in Norway at this moment which is arguing, upon the analogy of Joan of Arc, that women have great latent military capacities and genius, and might be capable of showing extraordinary enthusiasm in the field. (Laughter.) You may think this is a joke; I assure you it is a solemn fact. What has happened, and is happening, in Norway would

ultimately happen here. The pace would be slower, I grant, the ultimate end might be longer postponed, but from the first step of the first Parliamentary vote given to women in this country, to their ultimate presence upon the judicial bench, the Treasury bench, the pulpit—wherever you please—would be merely a matter of time. And if this generation were to make itself responsible by passing any of these measures for initiating such a process, they would be responsible for starting this country upon a steep and perilous incline. (Cheers.)

THE NATION'S VERDICT.

Now one word about the second part of the resolution which I am asked to second—the part which says that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate. Ladies and gentlemen, it is incredible that anybody should require to argue this proposition. Can anybody in this Parliament contend that the matter was even considered at the last general election? In how many election addresses was women's votes mentioned? I believe in only 100 out of 1,200. In how many speeches did it figure? How many votes were given for it? I believe the total was 57. Was there one man in 10,000, one man in 100,000, who, after the election, would have said that he had assisted to return a Parliament which had any mandate to deal with this question? I agree with what the Lord Chancellor said. I think he used the words "constitutional outrage." (Cheers.) Coming from the Lord Chancellor, the main repository of the legal traditions of our country, such language is, indeed, strong and impressive. (Hear, hear.) I agree with him. It would indeed be an abuse of all constitutional forms, and I would go further and say a fraud upon the electorate if any such measure should, under these conditions, be allowed to pass into law. That outrage would not be the more pardonable and that fraud would not be the less because they were committed by the House of Commons. Let us be quite clear about that. This House of Commons has no right whatever to deal with the Woman Suffrage question. (Cheers.) No House of Commons has any right to add 1,000,000 women to the register or even one woman to the register, except with the express consent of the electors of this country. (Cheers.) And if such a precedent be admitted, all I can say is this—that representative Government and constitutional liberty would become almost a sham. How can you talk about representative institutions when the people are not even allowed to state their views to those whom they have returned to represent them? And how can you talk of liberty, if the House of Commons is to be allowed the right to settle this matter by itself? (Cheers.) Therefore I beg to submit to you this thought—that it is not merely the battle of the suffrage that we are fighting; it is also that of constitution. (Cheers.)

AN APPEAL.

Before I sit down the noble Chairman asked me not to conclude without making an appeal to this great audience. My appeal is two-fold. In the first place I beg of you all to realise the enormous gravity of the crisis with which we are confronted. In a few weeks' time—in a few months' time—

a Bill, or an amendment to a Bill, may be passed in the House of Commons. In two years' time, under our present constitution, such a Bill if so passed might become the law of the land. Therefore this is no remote or visionary or hypothetical danger with which we are dealing. One may truly say that "the Gauls are at our gates." What are we to do? The House of Commons has not yet passed this measure or any measure about it. The House of Commons, of which I speak with the respect that naturally comes from an old member of it, is a very sensitive organism, very responsive to outside opinion. Its members enjoy very much to vote according to their own convictions, but they also like sometimes voting according to the convictions of their constituents. (Laughter.) Therefore, I would say, there is an interval in which pressure, steady, persistent and persuasive, may be applied. Apply such pressure to every member of Parliament. Unless he has pledged himself to vote for this Bill, induce him to pledge himself to vote against it. And if he will not vote against it, ask him to abstain. If this measure passes through the House of Commons and comes up to us in the House of Lords—I have no idea of what the views of the House of Lords about Female Suffrage are—I am not aware that the question has ever been tested in that House—but I should be very much surprised if the House of Lords thought it any part of their duty to pass into law a measure coming up to them under such conditions without any indication of what the people thought or desired about it. In my view they would be false to any conception of their duty, broad or narrow, if they were to let any such result ensue. If this be so, and if the House of Lords threw out the Bill, what would ensue? There are many of us who, in these circumstances, would like an appeal made to the country, some by Referendum.

THE NEED FOR HELP.

I am not going to discuss that thorny question to-night, because opinions are divided upon it. But upon this we shall all be agreed—that whatever be the form, there must before this measure is passed into law, be some reference, direct rather than indirect, sooner rather than remote, to the final authority of the people. (Cheers.) In the interval, before that takes place, I appeal to you to work. The work of this organisation cannot be done by a few hardly worked men and women in London; neither can it be done by a few active and energetic sympathisers in the country. It can only be done by the co-operation of all men and women, who are with us in this matter. That is the first limb of my appeal. The second—you know what that is—the second is for funds. I thought the most significant episode of the meeting the other night of our opponents in this hall was not the speeches or the interruptions that took place—which we have fortunately been spared to-night—but this paragraph in the "Times": "At an interval between the proceedings promises of donations towards the funds of the Union were collected from the audience and announced from the platform. It was stated that for the work of the present year £40,000 would be necessary. There was already before the meeting £16,000 in hand, and the amount received in addition was £5,280 as the result of the collection." Ladies and gentlemen, we have been more

considerate this evening. Cards are strewn about the room, but we have not had an interval in which we have appealed to you for money. I think, perhaps, also, we are rather more modest in our claims because we do not have at any rate certain calls. We have not to spend so much money on processions and trumpets and drums—(laughter)—neither do police court expenses appear in our account book. (Cheers.) But at the same time, if £40,000 is to be spent in attacking the fortress this year, a good many pounds will have to be spent in its defence. Therefore you must not be surprised if you presently receive an appeal from your noble Chairman, asking all of you, according to your means, to contribute to the battle which we are fighting on your behalf. I commend that appeal to you.

"THIS SHALL NOT COME."

There is only one other word which I would like to say. Ladies and gentlemen, do not let any of us be moved by the hateful and cowardly plea "the vote must come." (Cheers.) In the domain of politics nothing must come. (Cheers.) And when things do come, they are then more apt to come because of the apathy and irresolution of their opponents than they are from any inherent force or momentum of their own. Let our motto be, not "This must come," but "This shall not come." (Cheers.) It is, I believe, in our power to prevent its coming, and if the great mass of the people of this country are, as I believe them to be, opposed to its coming, and if we can by our action secure to them the opportunity of expressing their views, for which they have an indefeasible right, then I believe it will not come at all. (Loud cheers.)

Lord Cromer said: You have now heard an eminent Liberal and an eminent Unionist statesman. I think you would be very glad to hear what a lady has to say on this subject. (Cheers.) I will, therefore, call on Miss Violet Markham to address you.

MISS VIOLET MARKHAM.

Miss Violet Markham said: Lord Cromer, my lords, and gentlemen, I beg to support the resolution which has been moved in such weighty and such eloquent terms by the Lord Chancellor and by Lord Curzon. Four years ago in a small hall in Kensington it was my privilege to speak at the first Anti-Suffrage meeting held in London. We were a small band in those days, but we stuck to our job. Public opinion in the interval has mounted like a great wave. To-night this great hall is all too small to hold the men and women who have come to protest against a policy which they hold to be disastrous to the Empire, disastrous to the cause of that womanhood which it sets out and professes to serve.

I leave to the great statesmen here to-night the task of dealing with the more directly political issues of the situation. As a woman I address myself to the woman's side of the question. And, first of all, what are we here to-night to affirm?—because it is on the affirmative, not the negative, side of our work that I take my stand.

WOMAN'S CITIZENSHIP.

In the first place, we are here to affirm that a woman's citizenship is as great and as real

as that of any man, that her service is as vitally necessary to the State. But unlike our Suffragist friends, we do not fly in the face of hard facts and natural law.

We believe that men and women are different—not similar—beings with talents that are complementary, not identical, and that, therefore, they ought to have different shares in the management of the State that they severally compose.

We do not depreciate by one jot or tittle woman's work and mission. We are concerned to find proper channels of expression for that work. We seek a fruitful diversity of political function, not a stultifying uniformity.

I do not waste your time or mine in combating the statement that we Anti-Suffragists regard our sex as inferior beings.

I treat that suggestion and you will treat it, too, with the contempt it deserves. (Cheers.)

We, on our side, do not challenge the sincerity and good faith of many admirable and distinguished women in the Suffragist ranks. But in return we demand from them the recognition, no less great, that our faith and zeal for womanhood is as vast as theirs. (Cheers.)

THE NATION'S GOOD.

And secondly, we stand here to-night for the principle that you can only judge great national issues by the standard, not of what is good for this or that section or class, but by what promotes the highest interest of the nation as a whole. We are told that women want votes and therefore they must have them. In the first place the majority of women do not want votes. (Cheers.)

But even so it is not a question of what women want, or what men want for the matter of that. It is a question of what is best for the State. (Cheers.)

We do not think it will increase the efficiency of the State to put the balance of political power in this country into the hands of women.

Obviously if you are going to enfranchise women at all, adult suffrage is the only way out of the injustices and anomalies of any limited Bill. I agree with every word of that fine tribute paid recently in this hall by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the working woman. That is the woman a large section of the Suffragists are practically prepared in a large measure to disfranchise under the Conciliation Bill, so-called. (Cheers.)

But, obviously, you must not take the picked women of every class and then hold up your hands in surprise that they prove more capable than the gardener and the coachman.

You must compare like with like.

Franchise questions are questions of averages. Until you repeal Nature's Salic Law the average political experience of the average woman is bound to be less than that of the average man. Man is and man will continue to remain the business spirit of the world, and the work of Imperial Parliament, work such as defence, commerce, finance, is in the main work of a nature which lies outside woman's practical experience and with which man is best fitted to deal. (Cheers.)

On these grounds we reject this policy. We say it will not promote true liberty or true democracy. We say, even granting it might bring some advantages to women, those advantages would cancel out against

obvious disadvantages to the nation as a whole.

Further, what is bad for the nation can never in the long run be good for women themselves, for what is not good for the beehive can never be good for the bee.

WOMAN'S SPHERE.

Thirdly, while women are seeking to control branches of public life for which they are not particularly fitted to deal, they overlook and neglect other important public duties for which on the contrary they have special aptitudes.

Suffragists claim that once they have the vote they will reform and moralise England. (Hear, hear.)

But I want to know if they are honest in these professions why they do not make a better use of the rights and votes they already possess. (Cheers.)

If the work of Imperial Parliament belongs more naturally to men, the work of Local Government, with its splendid opportunities for civic betterment and the uplifting of the race belongs more naturally to women. (Cheers.)

Here her powers of citizenship and service can find the fullest and noblest expression.

And yet while Suffragists tramp streets and smash windows, what do we find?—this great field of equal rights and opportunities with men is practically neglected. (Hear, hear.)

Think of it, in the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, there are only 21 women elected on Town Councils, only 3 on County Councils, and you have no less than 232 Boards of Guardians without a woman member on them.

Those figures are the most ironical commentary, as they are the most crushing condemnation of the whole Suffrage agitation. They expose its essential hollowiness in a dramatic manner. (Cheers.)

The Suffragists are always prating about social reform. I want to know why do they as ratepayers tolerate slums and insanitary dwellings, infant mortality, indifferently education, and child labour, ever one of the gravest blots on the escutcheon of a great nation—all matters with which a municipality can deal if it chooses—all matters with which existing legislation has power to deal if only these powers are put into vigorous execution—all matters which go to the very root of a nation's strength and well-being. (Cheers.)

Is it not humbug to talk about women having no share in the national life when, a small minority excepted, they have shown so little practical interest or sympathy in causes which concern the aged, the sick, the destitute, the erring, the welfare of little children?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Local Government does not lend itself to limelight and self-advertisement—(cheers)—and fine phrases about democracy and liberty and natural rights. It means hard work—(cheers)—unemotional work, conscientious work generally, in a stuffy Board-room. Ventilation is more than Imperial or Local Government can ever hope to achieve. (Laughter.)

But it is work on which the whole future of the race turns.

One more word in conclusion. ("Go on!" and cheers.) The Suffragists tell you that the possession of the vote is the symbol of liberty. I ask you to consider that its absence is a symbol of something even greater

—the symbol of disinterested service. (Cheers.)

Think what it means to the deeper, more spiritual life of the State, that it holds within its ranks bands of devoted workers who are giving of their best for the love of the faith within them without one thought of profit or reward. (Hear, hear.)

The ugly scramble for place and power, for the loaves and fishes of preferment and offices—that is all part and parcel of these political rights of men some women are anxious to assume.

We say that this is a bad game when played by men; it would be an abominable game played by women. (Cheers.)

Suffragists claim to stand for the spiritual forces of the future. I tell them that they have not yet learnt the elementary spiritual truth that renunciation is eternally a greater thing than possession. (Cheers.)

In opposing the demand for the vote we claim to stand for the true view of woman's place in the State.

One of the greatest democrats the world has ever known, Joseph Mazzini, laid down the noble proposition that the sole origin of every right is in a duty fulfilled. (Cheers.) And we hold that it is through the faithful fulfilment of duty through service, not self-assertion, that woman will arrive at a true conception of her place in the body politic. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Lord Cromer said: I will now call on Mr. Lewis Harcourt to address you. (Cheers.)

MR. LEWIS HARCOURT.

Mr. Lewis Harcourt said: It is small wonder that, after the four able speeches which have been already made, I find little that I can add to the object of this meeting. Circumstances have arisen which make it necessary that those who strongly and honestly believe that the policy of Women's Suffrage would be a disastrous mistake should publicly testify to their belief, and that, irrespective of all other political questions (for this is not a party matter) they should join with those who feel with them in resistance to proposals which they believe to be wrong.

I am opposed to the Parliamentary Franchise for women because, in the words of the Prime Minister, I believe it would be "bad for the woman and bad for the State."

It would tend inevitably to draw them from spheres of activity in which they shine; from duties they adorn and which can be performed adequately by none but themselves, and to direct their energy and thought to matters on which they are, as a sex, less competent to exercise a stable discretion. I object to the great questions of Diplomacy, of Peace and War—possibly of conscription to which they would not be liable—being decided by an electorate composed of a majority of women, for that is what it would come to.

In dealing with this momentous question it is necessary to decide, or at least to have a clear view, as to whether there is or is not, for the purposes of the Parliamentary Franchise, a sex disability.

In my opinion there is; but those who hold the opposite view must be prepared

for the necessary lengths to which it will carry them.

There are certain physiological facts which, though unfitted for discussion on the platform, cannot be neglected or rejected in the assumption of sex equality.

They are facts so immutable, carrying with them consequences so immense and results so indisputable, that, at the proper time and in the proper place, they must be discussed and considered—even, if need be, at the cost of delicacy. But the time is not now and the place is not here. In saying this I am convinced that there is a sex disability—I am not so foolish as to pretend that there are not some women of greater ability than some men—but that is not the question. I believe that, taker as a sex or a class—taken as a whole—women are less fitted, not only by training, but by temperament, for the exercise of that political discretion which is essential, or at least desirable, in the conduct of public affairs. (Cheers.)

If that is so, the dilution of the male electorate by an equal or perhaps larger mass of less stable judgment must tend to the damage of—perhaps disaster to—the State.

In my opinion the true basis of the franchise is Manhood—by which I mean the ultimate sanction of force and the power in the last resort to compel the acceptance of its decrees which constitute our code of laws.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

But those who take the other view, those who hold that womanhood is an equal qualification and that there is no disability of sex, must propound the policy that all women should have the vote on the same terms as men. The most honest and the most active of the protagonists make no secret that this is their intention and belief. What, then, becomes of the so-called Conciliation Bill? It is a Bill which conciliates no one, but only creates for a temporary purpose an appearance of agreement, resulting from the concealment of fundamental difference. It is a Bill which has always been a farce and is in danger of becoming a fraud. (Cheers.) The Conciliation Bill is designed to enfranchise the spinster and the widow—and to keep unenfranchised the active mothers of the race.

It is said that women should have the vote because they understand children and their needs—legislative and otherwise—and then it is proposed by their own friends to deprive them of the vote during their best years of knowledge and fertility.

And yet people are to be found who call this Conciliation!

No wonder the leaders of the Militant party call this Bill a "broken reed," and it is said with glee by one of my colleagues to have been "torpedoed." I think he was right in his estimate of the situation but wrong in his view of the method by which it had been attained. He thought it had been "torpedoed" by some yet unpublished proposals of the Government for Electoral Reform. It has, in fact, been torpedoed by the logic of facts and the frank honesty of those who are most clamorous, if not best fitted for the vote. We need not, I think, much trouble ourselves about the wreck after the torpedo. We can get to real business and consider what is the real claim of equal rights, as a result of which women would then be able successfully to assert their undoubted superiority—in numbers.

My same colleague said, at the Horticultural Hall, that he is opposed to a "limited franchise," and believes that amendments will be carried which will "enfranchise millions of women." Some careful calculations have put the amount at anything from eight to twelve millions. Even Sir Edward Grey, in a burst of headlong sincerity—(laughter)—puts it at six millions, on some amendment to be moved by a Cabinet Minister. Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who is with us here to-night, who share our views, sent a circular to their friends who had supported the Conciliation Bill last year, in which they said "a limited Woman's Suffrage has become impossible, the choice lies between the enfranchisement of all women or none." But do not imagine that so-called emancipation will, or is intended to, stop there. The late Mr. Gladstone—himself opposed to Female Suffrage—(cheers)—said, "the vote in the hands of any person has always given the right to be voted for." Lord Haldane, in a letter read with approval by Sir Edward Grey, saw the logic of the situation: in a sentence worthy of Schopenhauer—(laughter)—he said, "the domain of public life has been thrown open to women; how can we insist any longer on a supposed natural disqualification for Government?" Not votes, mark you, but Government—so the pace is quickening with the momentum of decline. (Laughter) If you enfranchise women you cannot deprive them of the powers and privileges which accompany it; if they are to share men's political duties they must enjoy his rights, they must be eligible for the bar, the bench, for the civil service and for election to Parliament. Once in Parliament you cannot brand them as a class or sex apart, to be deprived of any of the high offices open to men. If they are not to attain these offices it cannot be by the avowal of sex, but by an admission of incapacity.

But there is another point which is worthy of a moment's attention. Has this demand the approval of the great mass of men, or even of women themselves? There is nothing in the history of the incidents of this movement to prove or to suggest that there is any widespread demand for this revolution amongst either of the sexes.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain has said that "it is a revolution not only in political, but in social and domestic life, and that the majority of thinking women view the proposal with horror and disgust."

Suffragists are gravely misled if they mistake the noise of a few for the demand of the many.

Where tests have been attempted, prophecies have been falsified by results. You are in grave danger of inflicting on the majority of women a heavy responsibility which they do not desire to bear. (Cheers.)

QUEEN VICTORIA'S OPINION.

The late Queen Victoria did much by her achievements to encourage a belief in the governing capacity of woman, but her early training was received from, her maturer years were guided and directed by, men. What was her opinion, founded on her experience, of the claims and the capacity of her sex?

In 1852 she twice wrote on this subject to her uncle the King of the Belgians, and she said, "We women are not made for governing, and if we are good women we must dislike

these masculine occupations. And again, "I am every day more convinced that we women, if we are to be good women, feminine, amiable and domestic, are not fitted to reign." But in 1870 she went even further, and wrote as follows: "The Queen is most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Women's Rights' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor, feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety. . . . God created man and woman different—then let them remain each in their own position. . . . Woman would become the most hateful, heartless and disgusting of human beings—(laughter)—were she allowed to unsex herself; and where would be the protection which man was intended to give the weaker sex?" Those were Queen Victoria's words. (Cheers.)

I do not see anything in the twentieth century conditions which make it derogatory to a woman to remind her of her womanliness. (Hear, hear.)

It is sometimes said that women need not and perhaps would not, use the vote if they acquired it. That is a low view of civic morals, and one not to be inculcated or encouraged in any class or sex. (Cheers.) There are cases in which a right becomes a duty. I should like to see the exercise of the franchise made as compulsory as the payment of taxes. (Laughter and cheers.)

To add a great mass of indifferent opinion and power to the existing electorate would be as futile as it would be foolish.

It is a heartless and cruel deception to tell poor women that the possession of a vote would enable them to raise their wages. Parliament has never attempted such a thing for men.

What women workers want is organisation, not legislation or votes. (Cheers.) They want to learn how to co-operate and combine for mutual objects. Where they have done this, as in the textile trades, women's wages have risen by 24 per cent., whilst men's wages have risen only 22 per cent. No vote, no Parliament could have done them this service. It is not true that women are paid lower wages than men because they are women. Their wages are lower because their strength and capacity are less. (Hear, hear.) In the great staple trades, where piece work is paid, the remuneration of women *per unit produced* is the same as men.

But, alas! there are many women who will, for the sake of a pittance, take sweated jobs that a man would sooner starve than touch. No vote will cure that crime! If Parliament were to pass a law to compel the payment of the same wages to women as to men, what would be the result? The total unemployment of women! (Cheers.)

In the first Parliament of the present Government, in November, 1907, Mr. Lloyd George said to a Suffrage deputation: "No Government could deal with such a gigantic question till it had been before the country in a definite and concrete form." (Cheers.) Neither he, nor any other responsible politician had attempted to give it that concrete form in the intervening years, unless stones and satchels and hammers are "concrete forms." (Laughter.)

It is the business of Suffragists not to prove that the male vote is bad, but that the female vote would be better. There is no question of superiority or inferiority as between men

and women. It is a question of difference—difference which is natural, organic, hygienic, essential, immutable.

It will be a bad day for the country and for the sex when so-called women's rights come in conflict with women's duties. (Cheers.)

Lord Cromer said: Lastly, ladies and gentlemen, I will call upon one of the least extinct of Mrs. Fawcett's political volcanoes. (Cheers.) I call on Mr. F. E. Smith. (Cheers.)

MR. F. E. SMITH.

The Right Hon. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., said: My lords, ladies and gentlemen, I think it is just a week ago since Mr. Lloyd George said—(cheers)—that Female Suffrage was now safe. The expression "safe" in this context is a little ambiguous. (Laughter.) But to anybody who would construe it in the sense that any measure of Female Suffrage was to become law in this session, this amazing meeting—a meeting the like of which I do not believe the closest research into our political history could supply—I will venture to say to that claim this great meeting constitutes an effective and final reply. (Cheers.)

What is the position in which the country really finds itself to-day? And if it were not a matter of universal admission that the danger is at once so immediate and so grave no one would believe it. What is the position in which we find ourselves? It is this, that whereas no great country in the whole world at any stage of the history of the world has ever made this experiment we are told that we, with a civilisation more complex, with an Empire more diverse—(interruption)—owing responsibilities to a greater number of creeds and nationalities than any empire in the world—as Lord Cromer has reminded you since Imperial Rome—it is suggested we should, for the first time, play that mad gamble which no country in the whole history of the world has ever been so foolish as to attempt. (Cheers.) And not only are we to take a step of which I will venture to say the varied speeches you have heard to-night by cumulative wealth of illustrative argument completely demonstrated the absurdity, not only are we asked to take that step, but to do it under circumstances which by universal admission mean that the citizens of this country are to have no voice in a decision at once so tremendous and so irrevocable.

THE VOICE OF THE COUNTRY.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that the suffrage is safe in this session of Parliament. Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard measured language criticising the claim. The constituencies have never been consulted on this question. I spoke, I think, at the last election, and perhaps I might almost say at the last two elections, in as many constituencies as most candidates for Parliament, and I can truthfully, and with the most exact recollection, say I never heard at any meeting in any constituency the subject of Female Suffrage by one candidate or the other even remotely referred to. (Cheers.)

The great political parties differ, naturally, and inevitably differ, as to the extent to which political issues were so considered by

the constituencies as to enable the party successful at the election to claim a mandate to deal with them. But I agree with what the Lord Chancellor said on this point. In many cases it was open to serious and reasoned argument, but there was a case like this in which no Government vindicated it, and in which no Opposition was concerned to warn the electorate, and no Opposition did warn the electorate. Supposing any candidate at the last general election had been asked on what he stood, and had replied that he stood on Female Suffrage. (Laughter.) He might as well have said that he stood on the result of the Test match in Australia. (Laughter.) And we may be permitted to point out that it is not without significance that those who were determined that this measure should become law without the constituencies being consulted are most vehement and insistent in their objection to any means whatever being taken to prove or to disprove their claim that a majority in the country or a majority of women desire this great change. (Cheers.) They object to any form of appeal that can be devised on these grounds. They say, "unless your appeal is to women as well as to men it has no moral validity." (A voice: Hear, hear.) Well, then, if an appeal to the whole body of the electorate has no moral validity how can a decision coming from a Parliament elected by men alone have any moral validity? (Cheers.) And these being the circumstances under which we are told a change alike momentous and irrevocable is to be taken, what are the tactics by which it is proposed to be carried out, and when I deal with these tactics I say the time was fully ripe for a non-party meeting to deal with the question of Female Suffrage, because the most amazing attempt is now being made, with the assistance of men of both parties, to present the appearance of agreement where there is no agreement that I recall in my political life. It appears, ladies and gentlemen, that the Conservative supporters of the Conciliation Bill are under the impression that they are likely to gain some party advantage at the expense of the Liberal supporters of the Conciliation Bill, and the Liberal supporters of the Bill are under the impression that they are likely to gain some political advantage at the expense of the Conservative supporters—(laughter)—by first of all obtaining the ratification of the principle and then amending it in what is generally described as a democratic sense.

THE BILL IN PARLIAMENT.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I agree with Lord Curzon. I am against both the Conciliation Bill and any democratic expansion of the Conciliation Bill—(cheers)—and I shall contest the Conciliation Bill through all its Parliamentary stages with the same vehement opposition that I shall put forward against the Government measure if the Government measure ever reaches that length. (Cheers.) I have no hesitation at all in stating what is the course which I shall myself adopt in the House of Commons and which I think might properly be adopted by every sincere opponent of Female Suffrage upon principle. Let me state first what is the conclusion upon which I base myself. It is that the greatest disaster of all will be if the House of Commons does not pronounce, when it irrevocably commits itself to the principle of female voters, if it does not at the same time pronounce upon the

whole question, as it must within a short period inevitably be committed to Parliament. In other words, let no one vote at the final moment when the measure leaves the House of Commons for a limited measure who would not vote for an extreme measure if that limited measure were passed first, for, let the matter be made perfectly clear, I am an opponent of both proposals; but if once the principle be conceded of giving any vote to any woman, I know of no argument by which I can resist the extension of that vote to women under precisely the same circumstances as it is enjoyed by men. (Cheers.) Believing, as I do believe this, my course during the Committee Stage of the Conciliation Bill will be a perfectly simple one. I shall vote against the second reading which affirms the principle at that stage of the Bill. I imagine in the course of its Committee Stages a number of amendments will be moved in the House of Commons which will have the effect of extending the scope of the Conciliation Bill. Inasmuch as I take the view that every one of those amendments, however objectionable in itself, is at least a change in making the Bill at once more honest and more consonant with a shape which it will inevitably take

in the end, I shall, holding those views, have no hesitation at all in voting in favour of those amendments, as and when they are brought forward in the House of Commons, and I shall vote against the third reading of the Bill. (Cheers.)

I can only say this in conclusion—we have the advantage of having on our platform here Lord Loreburn and Mr. Harcourt and many other distinguished members of the Liberal Party. It is no light sacrifice that they have made—(cheers)—to come here for the sake of principle and conviction, and indicate dissent in the weighty language which they have used of the proposals of others of their colleagues. It would be an ill reward for the services which they have rendered to the country—and, I think, to the Empire—if any Conservative attempted to gain party advantage out of their presence on this platform to-night. (Cheers.) I can only tell them most sincerely and most conscientiously that in the great struggle which lies in front of every one of us, a struggle as to the ultimate success of which I entertain not the smallest vestige of doubt, I can only assure them that in the course of that struggle, and without considerations of party, they may rely upon the loyal help

of those Unionists in the House of Commons who agree with them with the same confidence of meeting it with which I know we shall appeal to them to fight side by side with us at every stage of resistance to a measure which we are convinced will be the source of unmeasured calamity to the State, to the Empire, and to womanhood itself. (Loud cheers.)

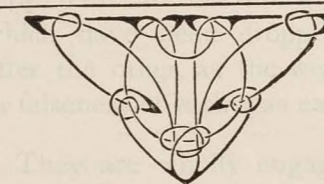
Lord Cromer said: Before I put the resolution to you, let me read it again. It is as follows:—

"That the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare and the welfare of the State, and that a change so momentous and so incalculable in its effects both socially and politically ought not to be entertained except upon a clear and deliberately expressed demand by the electorate."

Those who are in favour of the resolution say "Aye." Those to the contrary will say "No."

The resolution having been put to the meeting, the Chairman declared that the "Ayes" had it by a very large majority.

This brought the meeting to a close.



THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

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ELEVENTH-HOUR TRUTHS.

WHAT is all the energy of the Suffragists being given to just now? Not to the arguments they used to offer, arguments which have been dropped one after the other, as the weakness or falseness of each was exposed.

They are wholly engaged in trying to force some measure of Woman Suffrage through the House of Commons. Their speeches are given up now to attempting to make the House believe it has committed itself upon the question; to attempting to make the country believe that the Government, as a Government, has committed itself.

Suffragists do not want the

country to have any opportunity of expressing its own opinion.

Miss Pankhurst says the electors have got nothing to do with it.

The whole game is to get some form of Woman Suffrage into the Reform Bill, and give women votes before there is any chance for the country to be asked to decide. At the best, such an amendment to the Bill could only be carried, in their own calculations, by a paltry dozen or score of votes; and this is to be the method of driving England into an experiment that no great country has yet made.

Is that what you want to see your representatives in Parliament doing?

£5 PRIZE.

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

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

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ACTION.

THERE has recently been an example of the kind of confusion which is bound to arise under any system of Woman Suffrage, an example so full of warning that it is worth examining at some length. It occurred in New Zealand, and it puts a very sharp point on one of the strongest general arguments against Woman Suffrage.

The argument in question is that when voting is dissociated from the physical power to enforce its results it loses its character of finality, and the way is open to widespread disobedience and resistance. The vote becomes something that may after all be upset by the physical opposition of a part of the nation possessing the greater physical force. The reply of the Suffragists to this argument is generally that women would not vote in a solid mass, but their votes would be divided as men's are. To which, again, the answer of the Anti-Suffragists is that, even if women did not vote in the mass, there would be constant cases in which the majority was composed of a disproportionate number of women. To take an example, which was used ten years ago; suppose in France, on a question between clerical and anti-clerical legislation, ten million women and eleven million men went to the poll. Suppose that the voting for clerical government was made up of four million men and seven million women, a total of eleven

millions; and against clerical government, seven million men and three million women, a total of ten millions. Would the seven million men accept a policy odious to them, which had only four million men to enforce it?

The case which has now arisen is far more striking than any imaginary case. The first liquor prohibition poll was taken in New Zealand on December 7th. The question submitted to the electors was whether they wished, at the end of four years, to make a complete end of alcoholic liquor, rendering it penal to buy or sell, import or make or have any intoxicating beverage. Nearly 56 per cent. of the electorate replied in the affirmative, but as a two-thirds majority was required, the prohibition just failed to be carried. Is New Zealand therefore a remarkably temperate State? On the contrary, its consumption of liquor per head is approximately equal to that of the United Kingdom, and, *instead of falling, the consumption has been steadily increasing during the last seventeen years.* A correspondent of "The Manchester Guardian," writing from Wellington, New Zealand, a week after the poll, says: "It is, in fact, almost impossible to believe that there are as many abstainers in proportion to the population as there were before the local option movement took concrete shape in 1896. The consumption of liquor has increased a fraction more than one and a half times as fast as the voting against it."

Can there be any reasonable doubt of the cause of this muddle—for voting has certainly become a muddle when it conflicts with plain facts of a community's life and habits? We have here the woman's vote at work, if not in a mass (though that is likely enough), at any rate, in disproportionate solidity. We are not concerned here with the moral aspects of the question. Our only interest is that here is an actual case in which Woman Suffrage has almost certainly obscured the meaning of voting, if not destroyed the meaning altogether. The vote, we are told, took the community by surprise; there was every reason why it should,

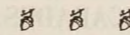
seeing that it does not represent any general tendency towards greater temperance, or any reforming spirit in the State at large. And what reliance could be placed upon a prohibition vote carried in such a way? The consumption of liquor, we are told, is steadily increasing. Would the consumers sit down quietly under a vote which in all human probability has not got the physical force of the country behind it? Would a vote carried mainly by women prevail against habits which are growing stronger and not weaker?

The matter is interesting in one further respect. It shows, again, the tendency of the feminine vote to rush far ahead of the moral sense of the community. In some degree, legislation may well be ahead of the general sense; but there are limits in this, as in all things. We know from Suffragist speeches here how wild are the ideas of what legislation can do, how little regard is paid to the necessity for educating first the moral sense. The New Zealand prohibition vote gives us precisely this topsy-turvy method in action. The Local Option Act, which may be taken to represent some approximation to the general sense of the nation, has been really handicapped by the recent vote. For the first time in nine years the continuance vote actually exceeds the no-licence vote, and not a single bar will be closed by this last poll. The Woman Suffrage influence has gone for the spectacular, sweeping thing, and neglected the practical, possible thing.

We cannot conclude better than in the words of the "Manchester Guardian's" correspondent: "There is just one aspect of the question that ought to be noticed. A majority of voters is not necessarily a majority of the people, and it will be extremely difficult to enforce prohibition until a very substantial preponderance of the population desires it." Are we in this country going to have the meaning of our polls turned into uncertainty, and the power to carry them out called in question? That is one of the things that Woman Suffrage means.

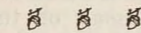
NOTES AND NEWS.

By the time this number is in the hands of our readers the Anti-Suffrage campaign will have progressed far. We have to apologise for the appearance of THE REVIEW at a date later than the usual date, but we have held it back in order to give all members of the League the opportunity of receiving with this number the full report of the great Albert Hall Meeting, which is included as a supplement.

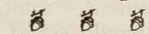


ON February 23rd, a demonstration in favour of Woman Suffrage was held in the Albert Hall on the initiative of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Mr. Lloyd George, on the occasion of his first "star" appearance in the Suffragist arena, made the embarrassing mistake of trying to speak in support of a cause that he had not taken the trouble to study. To-day he is wiser; he declines "to discuss the merits of the question." His message to the Albert Hall gathering was to the effect that he had dragooned the Cabinet into toeing the line on a policy that the Prime Minister has announced to be fraught with disaster for the country. For the rest, he counselled Suffragists (particularly the militants, who were appealed to in vain, "to behave themselves like ladies for once") to sweet reasonableness on the ground that salvation could only come to them from a Radical Government. The cause, however, was not left without one argument. Mr. Lloyd George declared that this plan of adding from 8,000,000 to 12,000,000 voters to the register ought to be adopted because the Constitution consults "the drunken loafer" on questions like the national settlement of religion in Wales. We are not concerned with the Chancellor's analysis of the vote that forces this or that policy on the Government; but it is poor logic that, because undesirables have gained a footing in the present franchise, you must extend it to include as many others as possible. Equally statesmanlike was Mr. Lloyd George's utterance on the subject of the Referendum. This Government, he said, in effect, will not allow the Referendum to be applied to Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment; how can they be permitted to introduce that test to Woman Suffrage? We understood that the former measures were held to be exempted from further

reference to the electorate on account of a mandate at the last election. No mandate can be claimed for Woman Suffrage. Where, then, is the analogy? It is to be feared that, although Mr. Lloyd George went to preach peace at the Albert Hall, the net result of his speech will be to convince the militants that stones will still have to do duty for arguments. The greater need for those who oppose the Suffrage to drive home their present advantage.



WE were taken to task a little while ago for a word in THE REVIEW which was, in point of fact, misprinted. Suffragists were very indignant because by this mishap we appeared to have said that what they liked was to be "rude." The word would not at the time have been hard to justify; it was soon after a Suffragist had interrupted the Prime Minister, at the Suffragist deputation, when he was explaining his difference of opinion with some of his colleagues on the Suffrage question, with the unmannerly interjection: "Then you can go." There has since been another example of ill-temper. Mr. Lewis Harcourt received a deputation of Suffragists in his constituency late in January. He was subjected to many interruptions whilst he was expressing his opinions. He was told in one instance that what he stated was "rot." Another of the deputation said: "You might have talked like you are doing to our grandmothers, but not to us." As he left, one member of the deputation shouted: "You are going from the (Rossendale) Valley next time, and we shall do all in our power to make your life miserable." We begin to be almost sorry that our use of the word "rude" was only due to a misprint.



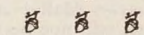
ONE incident of the very successful Anti-Suffrage campaign in Lancashire is instructive. At one of the meetings a question was put on the subject of the protection of young girls from certain moral evils. The question came from a young woman, and the speaker who answered it referred to that fact somewhat severely. We think that few ordinary people would have failed to see the speaker's point. It is not, and nothing will make it, a simple and natural thing that a moral question of some considerable unpleasantness should be raised in a public meeting by a young woman. It is not, and nothing

will make it, helpful; the ordinary man or woman would not care to enter into discussion on such terms. Yet, because the speaker expressed something of this feeling, Suffragists rushed into print to declare that Anti-Suffragists had no consciousness of social evils, disregarded them either from ignorance or malice. The general answer to the attacks which were made was well summed up in a letter written by Mr. Arthur Pott to the "Manchester Guardian." The letters he refers to are some that were printed in that paper. He says:—

Few persons will differ from Mr. Blease's contention that instruction as to the facts of the sex evil is necessary, fewer still with his opinion that the methods of instruction must vary, but it is surely a tenable position to maintain that not every occasion is suitable for the dissemination of this knowledge and that not every audience is fit to hear discussion upon it. To speak of the degradation imposed by disfranchisement is to beg the whole question, and to assume that Anti-Suffragists acquiesce in what they know to be degradation is a monstrous libel.

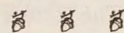
Mr. Price's statement that Anti-Suffragists do not "realise the unprotected position of women in the industrial world" is almost as ridiculous as untrue. Those who are competent to judge would probably prefer the authority of Miss Violet Markham, Miss Octavia Hill, or Miss Frances Low before that even of Mr. Price.

The insinuations that have been made that we Anti-Suffragists are indifferent to or unconscious of the social evils to which this correspondence refers are due to ignorance or malice; in either case they are baseless and impotent.

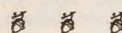


A CORRESPONDENT writes that as the servant protest failed to affect the Clause relating to domestics in the Insurance Bill, she feels it incumbent upon her to become a Suffragist. To this we would reply that in spite of the far greater number of protests from the doctors, the Insurance Act as it affects them still remains in force. Women, as a matter of fact, have shown themselves quite capable of defending themselves without the vote. To quote the most recent case. In Committee on the Mines Bill, in 1911, it was proposed by a member for a mining constituency that work on the pit-brow should be forbidden to women. Deputations of women saw the Home Secretary and the Under-Secretary in charge of the Bill, and secured the defeat of the amendment. The case came up in exactly the same form in 1886, with the same result under a Conservative Government. The case

of married women under the Insurance Act of 1911 was another indication of the power of women to influence legislation without votes. A very large extension of the original benefits was introduced in Committee on representations made by certain committees organised by women. The period of greatest advance in male artisans' wages was from 1850-1867, which was before the mass of artisans had the vote.



DR. O'DWYER, Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, in his Lenten Pastoral, refers to the claim of women to obtain the Parliamentary suffrage. Hitherto, he said, the question was merely an academic one. Now it had come within the range of practical politics, and was a matter for weighty consideration. Many Irish women would think it impossible that a measure for which they never asked, which public opinion in Ireland had never demanded, should be imposed on them. Yet it was possible owing to the game of parties in Parliament, and it was well for them in Ireland to realise the danger of the measure becoming law without their consent.



We quote this delightfully ingenuous letter "in toto." It appeared in a recent issue of the "Standard" :—

WOMEN'S TURN.

Sir,—Mr. Charles Mallet is quite right in saying women will not be satisfied with the vote, but would want to get into Parliament, and hold offices of State. The vote is only the thin end of the wedge. We mean to push on until we get into Parliament, and finally end in "a women's Cabinet." Women are proving themselves far superior to men. Men have had their day, and now it is women's turn, and when we are in power we will treat the men folk kindly, and give them some fairly good posts. Women have had to play second fiddle long enough; now men must learn to do so; it may come a bit hard to men folk, but it can't be helped. The minority always has to bend to the majority. To hint at Referendum is preposterous. We have not a majority on our side yet, but we soon shall have; then, if Parliament won't give us the vote, we will have a Referendum, and women shall decide for themselves.

The obvious wisdom of not having a Referendum until they have a majority in the country is beyond all praise. One is glad, however, to see that when women are in power, the men folk are to be treated "kindly and given some fairly good posts."

THE SOCIALIST-SUFFRAGIST ALLIANCE.

It was an old Suffragist cry that if women had the vote the danger of Socialism in England would be averted, and as long as Woman Suffrage remained a purely academic question, there was no means of disproving this. Now the alliance between the Labour Party and the Suffragists is the most conspicuous feature of the Suffrage movement, and it becomes closer daily. In a recent issue of the "Labour Leader" there appeared an eloquent appeal to *those who are inspired by the Socialist ideal* (the italics are ours) to fight to the utmost for Womanhood Suffrage. The unfeigned gratitude of the Suffragists is not surprising, as it was only the Prime Minister's statement on Adult Suffrage which has brought the woman's question into the region of practical politics. One could multiply instances without number of the Socialist leaders who, to quote the jubilant article in "Votes for Women," "are undertaking a vigorous campaign in different parts of the country in favour of the inclusion of women in the Government Reform Bill." Mr. Keir Hardie, at Glasgow, said that, "speaking for himself and for many of his colleagues, they would oppose this Government Bill both by speech and vote, and by a campaign in the country, unless women were included."

This campaign culminated in the great demonstration held at the Albert Hall on February 14th by the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. Mrs. Despard, seconding Mr. Arthur Henderson's resolution, said that she and others had often looked forward to the time when "the great Labour movement, that great spiritual force, and the women's movement, another great spiritual force, would stand together." Miss Mary McArthur referred in glowing terms to the Labour Party, "which stood for complete and pure democracy," and she reminded her audience that the Labour Party was the only party that had taken up the demand for Woman Suffrage. Finally Mr. Anderson, speaking at the close of the meeting, impressed on his hearers that the Suffragists and the Labour Party were "at the gateway of a great victory, if they were determined, courageous and strong." It is interesting to note that the alliance between the Socialists and the Suffragists is not confined to England. At the debate in

the Reichstag, on February 15th, Herr Franck, a prominent Socialist, spoke strongly in favour of Woman Suffrage as a Socialist measure. Those who, under the guise of fighting for their "rights," wish to hasten the fulfilment of the Socialist ideal, will join the ranks of the Suffragists. Clear-headed patriots, men and women of both the great political parties, are strengthened in their Anti-Suffragist principles.

SOME RECENT SUFFRAGETTE ESCAPADES.

THE Suffragettes have been comparatively quiescent, presumably because they are holding themselves in readiness for their promised display of militancy on March 4th. Nevertheless, some of the more irrepressible spirits have done their playful best with various members of the Cabinet. We call the following from the "Daily Telegraph" :

"Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is Lord Rector of Glasgow University, was last night the principal guest at the Glasgow University Union house dinner. During the evening some amusement was created by the pranks of a number of Suffragettes, who, having entered the University grounds, took up a position just under the window of the Union at the rear of the seat occupied by Mr. Birrell. Two of the ladies, kept up a chorus of 'Votes for women!' while one of the intruders threw in at an open window a bundle of literature, which fell on the head of one of the guests. The humour of the situation appeared to be enjoyed by Mr. Birrell. Ultimately the stewards closed all the windows and drew the blinds, and the Suffragettes then withdrew."

MR. AND MRS. CHURCHILL PESTERED BY SUFFRAGETTES ON THEIR RETURN FROM IRELAND.

[DAILY CHRONICLE, Feb. 12th.]

"The London Suffragettes who went to Belfast in anticipation of Mr. Churchill's visit, and accosted him at railway stations on the way and in the neighbourhood of his meeting, dogged him right from the start to the finish of his journey.

"As he was returning some of the women took up the hunt on the boat between Larne and Stranraer, and endeavoured to prevent the First Lord of the Admiralty from having any rest. He settled himself comfortably for a sleep between Stranraer and Glasgow when two Suffragettes knocked on his door and disturbed him before the conductors could intervene.

"More of the women were on the warpath at Glasgow. One of them knocked his hat off, and another, with callous ingenuity, had concealed a stone in a small bag, to which was attached a long string. She threw the bag at Mr. Churchill, and then pulled it back by means of the string.

"Outside the hotel at Glasgow the women broke the window of a motor-car, thinking that Mr. Churchill was inside; but the car belonged to other visitors at the hotel.

"When the train bearing Mr. Churchill arrived in London at 7.15 on Saturday morning, the Suffragettes were waiting on the platform. He remained in the train until eight o'clock, and, finally, as the women

were misbehaving themselves, they were removed by the police."

According to another Suffragist report, his reception at Stranraer was still more lively. "Just as he got to the end of the gangway," wrote one, "I rushed forward and hit him across the face with a tri-colour, saying, 'No Referendum for us, Mr. Churchill.'" According to this same account there were two members of Parliament travelling to Glasgow with Mr. Churchill who had always worked for Woman Suffrage, but who were so disgusted with the behaviour of the Suffragists on this occasion that they have since become converted to the right side, and are now enthusiastic "antis."

However, according to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Suffragettes are now going to pester the Government as they had never done before. There would be far more pestering, she said, when speaking at Northampton, "but they would not sacrifice precious bodies of delicate women being battered by police." It was better to break windows than women, she argued, for property was worshipped in England. It was the nation's god, and attacks upon it would make the public force the Government to concede votes for women. Why the long-suffering public, who so far have endured Suffragettes' militant displays with a half-humorous contempt, should wish to give these law-breakers, who now promise us a serious attack on property, the vote, we fail to see. There is no doubt that there will be a great response to the invitation to demonstrate on March 4th, but we fear the average level-headed citizen will not take the view of their action so delightfully expressed by Miss Mathieson, who writes in "Votes for Women": "I look on them (*i.e.*, the Suffragists) as I look on the great ones who go as missionaries and nurses to leper colonies."

SUFFRAGETTES AND THE PREMIER ON THE CHANNEL.

MR. ASQUITH, of course, has no peace, not even on a Channel crossing. One Suffragist writes that he had not been on the Channel for ten minutes before they began their tactics. We quote the account from "Votes for Women": "We met on the main deck just as the vessel started, and I stood opposite him for one paralysed moment, but the next found myself saying, 'Votes for women, Mr. Asquith,' in a determined tone into his ear. He started, pretended he hadn't heard, and walked on, followed by his family. . . . Each time I passed I gave him the reminder with added courage and aplomb, as our French cousins say. Nine times he stood it, although one could see his anger was rising. . . . That last shout sent the Prime Minister of Great Britain scurrying into a private cabin. And he must have minded, for his aide-de-camp, Mr. Edwin Montagu, came up to remonstrate and implore."

"WOMAN ADRIFT."

"WOMAN ADRIFT: THE MENACE OF SUFFRAGISM," is the title of a new work by Mr. Harold Owen announced for immediate publication by Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co. Mr. Owen deals vigorously and comprehensively with the political side of the woman's movement—first with the political and Parliamentary position, then with the question of the suffrage itself, and, finally, with feminism.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN MANCHESTER.

It has been claimed on behalf of Manchester that this great industrial centre is one of the chief strongholds of Suffragism, and advocates of the mis-called "emancipation movement" are prone to insist that the support given to their cause by the working folk of Lancashire is a proof that the enfranchisement of women is a proposal which is backed by the electorate.

The writer of these lines, having heard much to this effect in the past, fully expected that the Anti-Suffrage meetings held in the Manchester district would be marked by strong opposition to the views set forth by the speakers of the N.L.O.W.S., and was therefore surprised, and, in a fashion, disappointed, to find that such opposition as was manifested was chiefly of that feeble kind to which Anti-Suffragists are accustomed in the smaller towns and country districts of the South. This is not to say that the Suffragist bodies were either silent or inactive, for the presence of an organised body of vociferous opponents was clear enough, but the audiences for the most part listened attentively to the argument, and in the great majority of cases showed by their votes the desire that no measure of Woman Suffrage should pass the House of Commons until the question had been submitted to the electorate; and all the auditors, save extreme Suffragists, were orderly and courteous to the speakers.

Ten meetings were held in all, and at eight the resolution supported by the Anti-Suffrage speakers was carried, in several cases by an overwhelming majority, although the Suffragist Press, whose representatives were never in a position to judge of the result, endeavoured to discount the defeat of their partisans by denying patent facts; but this manoeuvre was, of course, harmless to the Anti-Suffrage cause.

At those meetings at which membership cards were available, a large number of professed adherents were gained by the League, and it was noticed that the number of these was in direct proportion to that of the interruptions caused by a small band of noisy Suffragettes. A noteworthy feature was the very small number of men who voted on any occasion for the Suffrage cause, and it was abundantly clear that, if the issue were left to electors only, the support afforded to Suffragism would be negligible.

Questions were, as usual, an interesting feature, and these were handed in in unusually large numbers, although the majority evidently came from the little band of Suffragettes already mentioned; but no new, and very few important, points were raised, the Suffragists showing, as usual, that ignorance of the facts which alone can explain their attitude towards the question.

A considerable number of the questions were evidently put by Marxians and other

Socialists, and these were seldom relevant to the issue; many were amusing, and many more enunciated ancient fallacies that were long since exploded, *e.g.*, the (non-existent) sweating in Government factories, the inapplicability of the Fair Wages Clause to women (who, in point of fact, are as much entitled to its protection as men), and so forth. The speakers had no difficulty in dealing with their would-be hecklers, and questioners who put their points in good faith generally appeared to be satisfied with the replies.

On the whole, Anti-Suffragists ought to feel quite satisfied with the progress made, and if Manchester is indeed a Suffragist stronghold, that cause must indeed be weak in the country generally.

At most of the meetings at which the writer was present, the bulk of the audience consisted of men and women of the working classes, and the opposition, such as it was, appeared to proceed almost entirely from persons of another social position.

In connection with the campaign organised throughout the North of England, public meetings and debates have been held in Leeds, Bradford, Oldham, Preston, Bolton, Wigan, Manchester, Hulme, and Altrincham. The speakers have been Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Harold Norris, Miss Harrison, Mr. George Hamilton, Mr. W. M. Martin, Mr. A. Maconachie, Miss Cordelia Moir, Mr. F. H. Templer, Mr. Holford Knight, and Mrs. Craven. Much interest has been evinced in the Anti-Suffrage cause at all these meetings, and in almost every case the Anti-Suffrage resolution has been carried by a sound majority.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

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

SIR.—The Suffragist experts have made a historical discovery, and all their following are talking about it. Some one "gave the word, and great is the multitude of the preachers." Here is a representative formulation of the product :—

"The Duke of Wellington, though opposed to Catholic emancipation, carried that measure, feeling that the majority of the House of Commons, backed by their constituents, were in favour of it. Why does not Mr. Asquith do the same? Because he is doubtful whether the majority in the House of Commons in favour of Woman Suffrage is sincere, and, if sincere, whether it is backed by the feeling of the country."

This is a superficial and inadequate description of the facts. The two historical positions are not parallel.

It is well known that it was no apparent Parliamentary or alleged electoral situation, but the fear of civil war in Ireland that led Wellington and Peel to give up their personal aversion to Catholic emancipation. So says Peel's biographer, Mr. Charles Stuart Parker:—"Even now [*i.e.*, in 1829] he only yielded 'to a moral necessity which I cannot control,' that is to say, to anticipated

rebellion in Ireland." And Peel himself wrote thus to his friend Gregory (Vol. II., p. 108):—

"I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God 'to Whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from Whom no secrets are hid,' that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829 I was swayed by no fear except the fear of public calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general welfare, but that they had become imperatively necessary." But Mr. Asquith's conviction is quite the contrary. He believes that Woman Suffrage would be a "public calamity," and would be "disastrous to the country," instead of "conducive to the general welfare."

Neither is there any parallel between the emancipation of the Catholics and the admission of women to governmental power. The new voters were not, as women are, disqualified by sex from enforcing law and defending the Empire.

There is yet another marked and significant difference. The Catholics were not divided on the question. Their demand for the vote was unanimous; whereas, in the present case, the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women is opposed by a large (it may be the largest) portion of the sex as not "conducive to the general welfare," and as detrimental to the sex itself. The late Mr. Gladstone used to say that in these circumstances the extension of the franchise would be entirely unprecedented.

I am, Sir, &c.,
JOHN MASSIE.

Old Headington, Oxford,
February 17th.

A CORRECTION.

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

SIR.—My attention has been drawn to a letter appearing in this month's number of your paper, above the signature of Mr. D. Austin Harris (who was the local Secretary of your League in Cardiff). He states that during my campaign as a candidate at the recent Municipal election in Cardiff, I denied that I was a Suffragist.

As the local Hon. Secretary of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies (which is affiliated to the National Union) and for some time Organising Secretary of the Cardiff and District Society, I think it is scarcely necessary for me to say that such a statement is absolutely untrue.

I denied that I was a *Suffragette*, also that I was not the nominee of the Suffrage Society, but of a committee representing various women's organisations in the town, and existing solely for the purpose of securing a woman representative on the Council.

I hope your readers are intelligent enough to see the difference between the two terms.

I have no wish to enter into a correspondence with Mr. Harris, so will not go into details. Thanking you for inserting this.—I am, yours &c.,
JANET PRICE.

[We regret that, owing to the early date at which our January number went to press and pressure at the last minute on the space of our February number, this letter had to be held over. "This month" in the second line refers to December.—ED., A.-S. REVIEW.]

OXFORD AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

A REPLY.

We reprint the following from the "Isis":—
TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ISIS."

SIR.—May I beg space from you to reply to the letter in your last issue from Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, "W.S.P.U. Organizer for Canterbury and South Kent," who glories in the "double privilege of being an old Somervillian and a militant Suffragist." She thinks little of the judicial ability of that eminent judge, the late Mr. Justice Willes (not Mr. Justice Wills, with whom she confuses him), whose "expert knowledge of the subject [of women's electoral rights] was probably," she suggests, "extremely limited." She will, I dare say, think as little of the judicial ability and legal knowledge of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Robertson, and Lord Collins. But here is an extract from their judgment in the case of *Nairn v. the University of St. Andrews*, as delivered by the Lord Chancellor in December, 1908. Your less confident and more teachable readers will find it interesting and instructive:—

"It may be that in the vast mass of venerable documents buried in our public repositories, some of authority, others of none, there will be found traces of women having taken part in Parliamentary elections. No authentic and plain case of a woman giving a vote was brought before your Lordships. But students of history know that at various periods members of the House of Commons were summoned in a very irregular way, and it is quite possible that, just as great men in a locality were required to nominate members, so also women in a like position may have been called upon to do the same; or other anomalies may have been overlooked in a confused time. I say it may be so, though it has not been established. A few equivocal cases were referred to. I was surprised how few. And it is the same in regard to judicial precedents. Two passages may be found in which judges are reported as saying that women may vote at Parliamentary elections. These are dicta derived from an ancient manuscript of no weight. Old authorities are almost silent on the subject, except that Lord Coke, at one place, incidentally alludes to women as being under a disqualification, not dwelling upon it as a thing disputable, but alluding to it for purposes of illustration as a matter certain. This disability of women has been taken for granted. It is incomprehensible to me that anyone acquainted with our laws, or the methods by which they are ascertained, can think—if, indeed anyone does think—there is room for argument on such a point. It is notorious that this right of voting has, in fact, been confined to men. Not only has it been the constant tradition alike of all the three kingdoms, but it has also been the constant practice, so far as we have knowledge of what has happened from the earliest times down to this day."

Personally, as one who has been through the Honour History School here, there are other bones I should like to pick with Miss Macaulay with regard to her historical facts. As an Anti-Suffragist, I find much to dispute in her general remarks, but I feel I have already trespassed more than enough

on the hospitality of your paper.—I am, yours faithfully,

MARY A. WILLS-SANDFORD,
Hon. Sec. Oxford Branch of
the National League for
Opposing Woman Suffrage.
St. Giles', Oxford,
February 5th.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We reprint the following letter from the "Times."

SIR.—Sir Edward Grey not long ago gave it as a reason why the Government had felt bound to accord facilities to a Woman Suffrage Bill, that they could no longer ignore the large majorities by which the second readings of such Bills had been passed of recent years; and this fact furnishes the Woman Suffrage Party with matter for continual boasting. These majorities, however, invite a little comment and merit a little exposure.

It is well known in the House of Commons that to refer a private member's Bill to a Committee of the whole House is a gentle but effective expedient for giving the Bill its quietus. When Woman Suffrage Bills were brought in—in 1908 by Mr. Stanger, in 1909 by Mr. Geoffrey Howard, and in 1911 by Sir George Kemp (all of them on a Friday, when few but the enthusiastic or the subjugated were likely to be present)—it was clearly understood beforehand that the proposer in each case would himself move this euphemistic extinction. If the promoters of the Bill did not obtain their majority by this tactical manoeuvre they undoubtedly swelled it. I think I can show good reason for this contention. When in 1910, on July 11th (a Tuesday), Mr. Shackleton had carried the second reading of the "Conciliation" Bill for the enfranchisement of women, he subsequently resisted the motion of Mr. Lehmann (an Anti-Suffragist) for a reference to a Committee of the whole House; with the result that while the majority for the second reading had been 109, the majority for the quietus was 145; and the "Times" report of that date records that, whereas the announcement of the 109 was "followed by some cheers," the declaration of the 145 was "greeted with loud cheering"—that is, with a palpable and extremely audible sigh of relief. So much for the vaunted majorities and the sincerity of the House of Commons in voting for government by women.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN MASSIE.

Old Headington,
January 29th.

BRISTOL GIRL GUIDES.

THE Bristol Girl Guides are to be congratulated on their strong Anti-Suffragist views. We quote with pleasure a letter from one of our workers:—"We had a great success on Saturday. The Girl Guides came over to our side *en bloc*, and cheered lustily as I drove away. All their officers were Suffragist." Another writes in connection with the same meeting:—"All the girls were with her and even the Suffrage 'Captains' of the Guides who got up the debate said they felt shaky!"

BRISTOL MEETING.

A GREAT demonstration, under the auspices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was held last month at the Colston Hall. The Earl of Cromer, presided, and his supporters included Mrs. Humphry Ward, the Right Hon. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., and Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P.

The Earl of Cromer said that there were welcome symptoms throughout the country that whatever apathy and indifference existed was passing away. Were the electors of the country prepared to add to the electorate an enormous number of women—between 6 and 12 millions—and thereby swamp the male electors. ("No.") His opinion was that when the people of the United Kingdom really woke up to the issue and understood it, they would reject the proposal in the most decisive manner. (Hear, hear.) Further, he maintained that it would be a monstrous abuse of power if the present House of Commons were to force through this momentous issue without having a distinct mandate from the electors. (Hear, hear.) That mandate they had not received, and he did not believe they would ever receive it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hobhouse said it was his privilege to propose the following resolution:—"That this meeting requests the members of Parliament for this city to oppose any measure extending the Parliamentary franchise to women until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country." (At this point there was prolonged disturbance, uproar, and laughter, caused by the voices of several women, one being apparently hidden somewhere in the organ, where quite a large number of stewards went to seek her.) When the speaker was able to continue, he said he was there to suggest reasons why, before any decision was come to by Parliament on the issue, the electorate of the country should first be consulted. (Hear, hear.) They could not limit the demand for the Parliamentary Suffrage for more than a few passing years to the propertied among women. (Hear, hear.) It must spread, as it had spread among men, until it was broad-based upon a democratic principle, which would include all ranks and all sections of women, as it did of men.

THE ADULT SUFFRAGE.

If they gave Adult Suffrage to women as it was given to men, and they passed it in the lifetime of the present Parliament, they would add immediately to the electoral roll three millions of men and about twelve millions of women. (Laughter.) And when the electoral roll was complete upon that basis women would be in the majority of above a million. (Hear, hear.) That was a serious step to take, and a more serious vista to contemplate. (Applause.) In regard to men, to add four millions of voters to the electorate had required three general elections and sixty years of Parliamentary life and striving. (Hear, hear.) Yet those who represented the Suffragettes in that hall asked that twelve millions of women should be given the vote without any reference to the electorate, without any consent from them, without any mandate, and with a total disregard of their wishes, their hopes, or their desires. (Applause.)

We had had most-skilfully directed and controlled noise—(laughter and hear, hear)—but these noisy demonstrations were not

really evidence of what was working in the minds of the people. (Hear, hear.) The majority of the people were unquestionably either indifferent or were hostile. (Hear, hear.) Remember this, that if we were to accede to the request of the Suffragists, and grant without any reference to the people their demands, we would have created a precedent which every political party hereafter might justly quote and copy, and which every political party, reactionary or revolutionary, might justly dread its application to them in their own case. (Applause.) Those who stood on that platform, and those whom they represented, were quite prepared to submit this case to the opinion of the people. (Hear, hear.) Parties were divided on this issue. The leaders were no less divided than the parties. (Hear, hear.) He pointed out that they would never get a party to stake its existence on this question of Woman Suffrage, and they would never be able by a general election to place the issue before the people so that their verdict should be concentrated upon the Suffrage to the exclusion of all those other questions which must be subsequently affected by the decision which was given on the Suffrage. They must in some way, by what was called the Referendum or some other way, lay the matter before the people, so that their verdict should be upon it, and it alone. (Applause.)

A REFERENDUM?

He knew it would be said that a Referendum is impossible, because one must consult men and women on this question, and there was no machinery for the consultation of women. But what were they going to do if they passed a Suffrage amendment by the votes of the members of the House of Commons who were not able to consult the women who had never consulted the men? (Applause.) He contended that Suffragists should show first that the great mass of women desired the vote, and not only that they desired it, but that they were qualified so to give the vote so that it should be to the advantage of the State. They must show that the Legislature had been blind to the interests and deaf to the cries of women, and that reforms which were of advantage and of necessity to the sex had been unattainable or had been denied. Also, that women were able and capable of sharing in all the burdens as well as in the full control of the affairs of the State. (Applause.) Those were the conditions upon which men had the Suffrage, and the electors had a right to demand compliance with those conditions by the women. (Hear, hear.) They believed that absorption of women in politics would prejudice the numbers, character, and vigour of the race. (Applause.)

A WOMAN'S PROTEST.

Mrs. Humphry Ward seconded the resolution, and said the addition of women to the Parliamentary electorate, by the mere fact that their vote had no physical force sanction behind it, would weaken the whole basis of government, and affect the prestige of England in the eyes of dependent and other nations. Giving the vote to women would lead to the diminution of the stock of political knowledge and experience. She believed that from the day woman was given the Parliamentary franchise would begin the decline of the nation. (Applause.)

Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., supported the resolution, which was carried amidst enthusiasm, Lord Cromer announcing that there were about a dozen persons against.

Questions were invited, and one lady Suffragist, wearing her "Votes for Women" riband, advanced to the edge of the grand tier and asked if Mr. Hobhouse's view with regard to the Referendum was the view of the Cabinet or his personal view.

Mr. Hobhouse: I never give away a Cabinet secret, but it is entirely my own view. (Applause.)

In reply to another question, as to whether the Referendum would not mean that a split in the Cabinet was inevitable, Mr. Hobhouse replied: "No, not at all inevitable."

Mrs. Dove Willcox asked if Mr. Hobhouse was willing to submit Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment to the Referendum?

Mr. Hobhouse replied that the lady could not have paid attention to his speech. He said that the Referendum was only possible in those cases where a party and its leaders were not willing to stake their existence upon the results of a general election. The present Government had repeatedly staked its existence on Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule.

MRS. PANKHURST'S VIEWS ON THE EMIGRATION OF WOMEN.

MRS. PANKHURST, in a recent visit to North Shields, said she had just come from a part of the Empire where they saw it was high time for women to begin to understand Imperial politics. She had been through Canada and had found that every effort was being made to encourage emigration from this country, more particularly of women. The idea was to get women there as wives and as domestic servants and drudges. She thought it was one of the greatest insults to their womanhood, and it was not only an insult but it was very short-sighted. In reply to this ridiculous criticism of the magnificent work done by the emigration societies, we quote this letter from one of our members:—

"I hope you can allow me space to call attention to part of Mrs. Pankhurst's speech at North Shields. She is reported to have said, regarding the emigration of women to Canada: 'The idea is to get women there as wives, domestic servants and drudges,' and that this idea is an 'insult to their womanhood.'"

"I hope this strange utterance will lead women to ascertain the truth from those who follow the splendid and respected callings of 'wives, domestic servants and drudges' in new countries, and compare this with the Pankhurst ideals."

"The only drawback to the life of women in new countries is that there are not women enough there, where our race needs them, and most of the ethical and industrial drawbacks to the lot of women in England proceed from there being too many here. Having studied this matter both in old countries and in new, I feel it cannot be left to the distorted medium of professional grumblers."

A CANVASS OF WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS IN 103 DISTRICTS.

Electorate.
136,400

Anti.
47,795

Pro.
22,176

Neutral.
9,404

No Reply.
57,025
(Include deceased, removed and ill.)

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
South Kensington ...	4,728	1,183	671	33	2,841
Croydon ...	4,080	1,575	606	30	1,869
North 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 ...	2,254	643	588	513	510
Carlisle ...	1,792	514	448	11	819
Hammersmith ...	2,987	855	512	39	1,581
Hastings ...	2,610	921	425	20	1,244
North 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 (Liverpool Division)	2,188	316	239	—	1,633
North 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
North-West 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
Sidmouth ...	268	97	44	26	101
Berkhamstead ...	265	88	36	1	140
Tonbridge ...	189	66	33	—	90
Kew ...	155	96	21	23	15
Aldeburgh ...	114	36	18	—	60
Total ...	70,229	20,560	11,767	2,046	35,856

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

District.	Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No Reply.
Nottingham ...	8,398	2,300	1,536	884	3,678
Liverpool (8 Divisions)—					
Walton...	2,609	1,053	298	—	1,258
West Derby ...	1,844	434	559	—	851
Kirkdale ...	1,541	386	122	—	1,033
West Toxteth ...	1,138	180	338	—	620
Abercromby ...	1,090	260	231	—	599
Everton ...	1,018	173	352	—	493
Exchange ...	728	168	141	—	419
Scotland ...	716	160	185	—	371
Bristol ...	7,615	3,399	915	2,004	1,297
Hampstead ...	3,084	1,288	405	233	1,158
Fulham ...	2,971	941	265	830	935
South 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
South-West 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
Dorking ...	290	116	50	31	93
Shanklin ...	283	163	48	34	38
Camberley and Frimley ...	271	119	38	21	93
Sandown and Lake, I. of W. ...	270	162	49	8	51
Wigton ...	224	203	13	2	6
Woodbridge ...	212	118	11	29	54
Ashbourne ...	153	107	5	2	39
Crowborough ...	147	100	17	—	30
Cockermouth ...	143	74	49	1	19
Romsey ...	130	64	17	—	49
Hawkhurst ...	95	70	11	—	14
Cranbrook ...	88	52	7	—	29
Midhurst (part reply postcards) ...	73	27	15	20	11
Holmwood ...	69	33	8	14	14
Westcote ...	48	28	10	6	4
Melton ...	42	38	1	3	—
Rogate ...	18	13	1	2	2
Total ...	66,171	27,235	10,409	7,358	21,169

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE

(Affiliated to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage),

CAXTON HOUSE, TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

Chairman:—MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

Hon. Treasurer:—W. R. CAMPION, Esq., M.P.

Executive Committee:

SIR T. DYKE ACLAND, Bt.
MRS. MOBERLY BELL.
MRS. R. T. BLOMFIELD.
MRS. BURGWIN.
W. R. CAMPION, Esq., M.P.

MISS LONG FOX.
LADY GEORGE HAMILTON.
MRS. FREDERIC HARRISON.
J. W. HILLS, Esq., M.P.
MISS L. TERRY LEWIS.

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, Esq., M.P.
MRS. SIMON.
MRS. ARTHUR SOMERVELL.
MISS SOULSBY.

MISS STRONG.
MISS TOMES.
LADY WANTAGE.
MISS D. WARD.

Secretary: MRS. F. T. DALTON (to whom all communications should be addressed). Interviews by appointment.
Bankers: London County & Westminster, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

Telegrams—"Adversaria," London.

Telephone—Gerrard 8472.

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
THE ANTIDOTE TO WOMAN
SUFFRAGE.

A MEETING was held at 25, Grosvenor Place, on January 30th, in support of the Local Government Advancement Committee, affiliated to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Humphry Ward was in the chair. There was a large attendance, and the following resolutions were passed:—(1) "That this meeting pledges itself to support the Local Government Advancement Committee (affiliated to the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage), recognising that in the development of the work of women in local government lies the true alternative policy to that of the Suffrage Societies." (2) "That definite steps be taken for the promotion of the aims of the Local Government Advancement Committee, (a) by pressing forward by every possible means the passing into law of the Women's Qualification Bill, which will be again introduced during the coming Session; (b) by securing as soon as possible suitable women candidates for local elections, and supporting them by the resources of the committee."

Mrs. Ward said that at the present moment the support and extension of the powers of women in local government represented to a great many of those who resisted the grant of the Parliamentary Suffrage to women the true alternative policy to that of the Parliamentary vote, and therefore they felt bound to bring it under the notice of those hundreds and thousands of women who were really ignorant of the great powers women already possessed, and to point out to them that almost every reform for which the Parliamentary vote was generally demanded, on women's behalf, could be got through the energetic and conscientious use of municipal power.

Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., said that what was especially wanted was to extend the residential qualification, now sufficient for election to the boards of guardians and the Metropolitan Borough Councils, to candidates for county and county borough councils, so as to secure a larger supply of women on these local bodies.

Sir Melvill Beachcroft, formerly Chairman of the L.C.C., supported the resolution.

Mr. MacCallum Scott, M.P., drew attention to the services rendered by the Local Government Advancement Committee, not only in endeavouring to spread a knowledge of the power of women in local government, but in helping members of Parliament opposed to Woman Suffrage to make their position clear.

The opposition of those members was based on considerations of Imperial Government, and the physical force necessary to the stability of the State.

A TRIUMPH OF THE WOMAN'S
PARTY.

JUST one fortnight after the Bill extending to Irishwomen the right to sit on borough and county councils became law, the only woman candidate was by a large majority elected to sit on the Dublin Corporation. The election campaign was in many ways remarkable; the question of party politics was completely sunk in the background. At Miss Harrison's public meetings and on her committees Unionists, Home Rulers, Sinn-feiners, Suffragists (both militant and constitutional), Anti-Suffragists, all sank their differences for the nonce and worked together to secure the return of the candidate, who they felt was actuated only by the desire to help in the solution of the many difficult questions requiring woman's tact and insight, which crop up in our municipal affairs.

The Irish Anti-Suffragists welcomed gladly this first opportunity of working for their positive policy, viz., the "principle of the representation of women on municipal bodies," and they decided to help the woman candidate on the condition that the question of Woman Suffrage should not enter into the election.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW.

From the "Catholic Herald."

"We are pleased to observe the activity of the National League for opposing Woman Suffrage, which comprises politicians of all Parties, and many of the chief supporters of which are, themselves, active and energetic women workers.

"We do not believe that the women of this country as a whole want the Suffrage. Even if they did we should still be prepared to maintain our arguments against it. But the movement as we know it is a decadent movement, a movement of a handful of noisy and turbulent individuals who think they will intimidate the country into acceding to their wishes.

"We are satisfied that if the national organisation in opposition to the movement presses forward energetically it will secure an unmistakable triumph, and we heartily commend it to the support of politicians of all Parties."

OUR BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

ALTHOUGH the principal interest of our Branches has been centred in the great Albert Hall Demonstration of February 28th (of which a full report is given in other columns) a great number of important and significant meetings have been held throughout the country, for the most part organised by our indefatigable Branch officials. Debates, annual and organisation meetings have been an important feature of this Branch activity, and the result of the many gatherings has been a general increase in our membership. It is impossible in the space at our disposal this month to insert full reports of speeches made at Branch Meetings by many important men and women, but the brief accounts which we are able to give should prove beyond question the very successful position which our League is now holding.

The Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) on Wednesday, March 6th, at 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W., at 11.30 a.m. It is hoped that all the Secretaries of the League, who are able to do so, will try to attend these meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Alsager (Cheshire).—A most interesting debate that resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of Anti-Suffragism took place at Alsager, near Crewe, when Mr. A. Goss, presided over a gathering in the Council Chamber. After Messrs. Tivey, Duden, and Holland had spoken in favour of Woman Suffrage, and Messrs. Hammersby, Ellis, Lynham, Holdcroft and C. Cooke had advanced Anti-Suffrage arguments, a resolution in favour of the Suffrage was put to the meeting with the result that four only voted for Woman Suffrage and twenty-six against. This at a small private debate is very significant.

Birmingham.—The annual meeting of this Branch of the League was held at the "Plough and Harrow Hotel," Edgbaston, on February 6th.

The report and accounts for the last year were presented by the treasurer, and passed. The Chairman, Mrs. Lakin-Smith, retired, and was thanked for the great services she has rendered to the Branch since its formation.

Mr. Leslie Arthur Smith was elected Chairman for the ensuing year, and the officers of the Society and the Executive Committee were re-elected.

After the meeting, Mrs. Greatbatch gave an instructive speech on the Suffrage question.

A sale of work and concert also took place during the afternoon.

Bournemouth.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held by kind permission of Mrs. Hutchinson, at her residence, on January 26th, when Mrs. Dering White gave a most interesting address. At the close of the meeting 17 new members joined the Bournemouth Branch, which is now going forward steadily.

Bradford.—The Saloon of the Mechanics Institute was crowded on the evening of February 13th, on the occasion of the debate between Councillor Margaret Ashton and Miss Gladys Pott. Dr. Rabaghati in the chair. The voting was very close, and although Miss Pott's resolution was not passed, she has been the means, through this debate, of bringing an enormous increase of members, for which the Branch is deeply grateful to her.

Bristol.—On February 3rd, Miss Barrett and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon held a debate on Woman Suffrage before a large gathering of the "Girl Guides," who expressed great interest in the subject.

On Wednesday, February 14th, at the request of the Norfield and Bishopstone Branch of the League of Young Liberals, a debate took place between Miss Helen Fraser and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. Much to the indignation of many in the room, Miss Helen Fraser indulged in so much laughter while Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was speaking that lady was obliged to ask Miss Fraser to desist. This is the first time that the Bristol Branch have had to report discourtesy from any speaker belonging to the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies.

Burton-on-Trent.—A mass meeting of Anti-Suffragists took place at Burton-on-Trent on January 31st, the principal speakers being Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., Mr. Fred Maddison, ex-M.P., and Miss Gladys Pott. Mr. Murray N. Phelps, LL.B. (Birmingham), presided.

Mr. Arnold Ward, in submitting a resolution protesting against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women until it had been placed as a main issue before the country, said the only way to check many of the young women from being carried away by hysterical influences was to show once for all and by the help of the best women themselves that public opinion was overwhelmingly against the change. Greatly as women excelled in many virtues, such as unselfishness and self-sacrifice, they must admit that men had a better sense of impartiality, fairness, and experience in affairs. By the very nature of their lives men were more to be relied upon than a great many women.

Miss Gladys Pott, in seconding the resolution, dealt clearly and logically with the present situation, and her speech was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The resolution was excellently carried.

Chelsea.—The drawing-room meeting held at 48, Lower Sloane Street, the residence of Mrs. Slingsby-Tanner, on January 31st, was very well attended and interesting. The Hon. Mrs. Mallet occupied the chair, and most able speeches were heard from Mr. Charles Mallet and Sir Dyce Duckworth. The former gave a vigorous review of the present situation of the Woman Suffrage question, socially and politically, and the latter spoke from the point of view of a physician.

Mrs. Day, of the United States, gave an interesting address from an American Anti-Suffrage point of view, and spoke of the conditions prevailing in the five States where women have the vote.

Sir Dyce Duckworth argued that the sexes were "eternally different," and there was separate and distinct work for each—a God-given arrangement that man could not break save at his peril. There were already too many displaced women, and the community was suffering from it. The refining and purifying influence of women upon men was an infinite power; if that influence were to be diminished men must become grosser, and lose their chivalry, and women surely did not realise the disaster all this would incur. Sir Dyce Duckworth also spoke strongly on the proposed Universal Suffrage, and pleaded the immense usefulness of the "well-placed woman" in Local Government.

Mr. C. Mallet, in clear and logical language, argued out three points. First, a limited experiment was impossible; the day of the Conciliation Bill, with its vote for propertied spinsters, was over. The original idea was that every house should have a vote, that was wrong forty years ago and was wrong to-day. The franchise was not based on property, it was founded primarily on manhood. Did they intend, therefore, to find it in the future on womanhood. Secondly, Mr. Mallet dealt with the question of the Referendum; and thirdly, on the question of sex and the Suffrage. The roots of sex, he said, were the roots of nature, and on its manhood and on its womanhood the country made widely different claims. More employment, more wages, and better organisation in the labour field were all wanted for women, and women were wanted to do more public service, but the question to be decided was which kind of duties ought the State to ask women to do.

A resolution put by the Chairman that the question of Woman Suffrage should be submitted to the judgment of the country was carried unanimously, and it was decided to forward a copy of it to Mr. S. J. G. Hoare, M.P. for Chelsea.

Admiral the Hon. Sir E. Fremantle proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Slingsby-Tanner, who afterwards hospitably entertained those present to tea.

Chichester.—Mr. G. K. Chesterton addressed a public meeting at the Assembly Rooms, Chichester, on February 9th, arranged by the West Sussex Branch. Mr. H. L. Staffurth presided, and was supported by an influential platform. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon addressed the meeting on the Suffrage question from what she described as "The plain common-sense aspect," and made a delightful speech.

Mr. Chesterton, in a characteristically humorous address, referred to the vote as a very much over-rated and useless sort of thing—a mechanical method that had broken down. The Suffragists were trying to get hold of something which had already become quite useless to man. They had not got self-government at all. Men could not govern themselves in England, and the vote did not represent any sort of political power.

Captain E. H. Hills, R.N., J.P., moved the resolution that the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare, and the question should be referred to the electorate before so momentous a change could be entertained.

Mr. W. R. Laidlay seconded, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

Darlington.—Earl Percy presided at Darlington, on February 1st, over a crowded gathering in the Mechanics' Hall. He said the question of Woman Suffrage had hitherto been regarded either in a half-humorous way or as a matter of comparatively little importance. The question was not whether a woman was as capable as her husband or brothers in exercising the vote. What was sought was that between seven and eight millions of women should be suddenly admitted to the franchise. That was a very serious matter indeed. During the past hundred years the franchise had been extended more and more, and gradually further sections of the population had been embraced. That was inevitable in democracy, but it must be remembered that democracy was on its trial, and it was a disadvantage to admit an enormous number of absolutely uneducated and ignorant people to the exercise of the vote, formerly exercised only by the educated and privileged classes. It was wrong for the privileged classes to have a monopoly of the vote, but at the same time it was wrong that the most ignorant section of the population should outweigh those who were more educated.

Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., in a very able speech moved a resolution in favour of a referendum.

Mr. A. Maconachie seconded, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

Dorking.—A meeting and entertainment arranged by the Dorking Branch attracted a large audience to the Village Hall on January 23rd. Mr. A. P. Percival Keep presided.

Mrs. Gladstone Solomon gave a very able address, and a musical programme contributed by Miss Attwood, Mrs. Sidney Jackson, and Mr. Geoffrey Cumyn was appreciatively received. A comedy, entitled "As you were!" in which the characters were taken by Miss M. Loughborough and Mr. A. H. Loughborough was also much enjoyed.

East Grinstead (Sussex).—The public meeting held in the Public Hall, East Grinstead, on January 23rd, was among the most successful Branch meetings of the month. The hall was filled to overflowing, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. A copy of it was sent to the local M.P., together with a largely and influentially signed petition against the franchise for women, from the ladies of his constituency. Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. A. Maconachie gave very interesting addresses, each touching on a different aspect of the present situation.

An interesting debate at East Grinstead on February 7th was between Mrs. Gladstone Solomon and Miss Cicely Hamilton.

Egham.—Our Branch here is well started and promises to grow rapidly. During the process of organisation one of the most successful meetings was one composed entirely of working women, which was addressed by Miss Page.

At a large public meeting held in the Constitutional Hall on January 30th, Sir Edward Clarke was the principal speaker, and an able address from Mrs. Greatbatch was also much appreciated.

Mr. W. Paice, C.C., was in the chair. Sir Edward in the course of a most lucid and keenly interesting speech said there were many men in the House

who had not the least intention of assisting in the passing of Woman Suffrage. They might have been coerced or tempted but they would not vote for the Bill on its second reading. The measure would double the electorate, and he did not think it likely that members of the House were going to double their expenses and trouble during elections by putting women on the electorate roll. If married women were going to be excluded something further would happen. To expect any Liberal to consent to such would be suicidal, for the political influences would be against them. They had long outlived the idea that there was a "right" to vote. No one in a civilised country had a right to vote unless it was to the advantage of the State.

Glasgow Branch.—A meeting was held at the office of the Glasgow Branch on Monday evening, February 12th, preparatory to forming a debating class. Miss MacFarlane read an interesting paper. A discussion afterwards took place. There was a good attendance, and arrangements were made to continue the class.

Gloucester.—A public meeting organised by the Gloucester Branch was held in the Glevum Hall, Gloucester, on January 25th. Mr. F. A. Hyett, Chairman of the Gloucestershire Education Committee, presided, and was supported by a very influential platform. Mr. A. Maconachie was the chief speaker.

At the conclusion of Mr. Maconachie's address questions were put from the body of the hall and ably answered. Amongst the questioners were Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chessler and Miss Ada Flatman (of the Women's Social and Political Union).

Mr. Waddy proposed "That this meeting requests the Member of Parliament for this constituency to oppose any measure extending the Parliamentary franchise to women until it has been approved by a majority of the electors of this country."

Mr. E. S. Ellis seconded, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

On the motion of Colonel Curtis Hayward, seconded by Mr. Franklin Higgs, a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Mr. Maconachie was accorded.

Mr. Megan Philips Price, prospective Liberal candidate for the city, wrote to the Chairman as follows:—

"I object to the Conciliation Bill, which I consider undemocratic, enfranchising only certain classes. Adult suffrage, which would place the Government of the country in the hands of women, has not been submitted to the country, and I do not believe it has the support of the majority of men and women in the country."

Hampton.—The Hon. C. T. Mills, M.P., made a long and very able speech at a meeting in the Hampton Wick Assembly Rooms, on February 7th, and Miss Gladys Pott's address proved very interesting. Mr. N. D. Allbless, C.C., occupied the chair, and a resolution protesting against granting the Franchise to women was passed by a large majority.

Harrow.—Mrs. Gladstone Solomon was the speaker at a drawing-room meeting held at the residence of Miss Gayford, on February 2nd. Mrs. Horace Dive took the chair.

Hastings.—The first public meeting of this Branch held in Christ Church Public Room on January 26th drew a crowded attendance, and Dr. C. H. Allfrey, J.P., who presided, was supported by a number of well-known local people and officials of the Branch.

Miss Gladys Pott spoke with her accustomed ability, her quiet logic appealing very strongly to her audience.

Colonel H. J. Whittle proposed, and Miss Eyre seconded, a vote of thanks to the speakers.

Higham's Park.—A debate took place before the Higham's Park Women's Liberal Association, on January 25th. Miss Sheepshanks supported a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage and Mrs. Gladstone Solomon opposed. The resolution was lost by a large majority, and many joined our League before leaving the hall.

Kensington.—On January 31st a special meeting was convened in the small Town Hall to discuss the best means of working up the Albert Hall Meeting, and as a result many members of the Branch have been actively canvassing all the month. A most successful public debate took place in Horbury Rooms on February 1st. The Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association declined our invitation to send a speaker, but Mrs. Stanbury, of the London Society, came to oppose Mrs. Norris, who carried the day with very spirited addresses. Mr. Max Rittenberg presided, and a vote of thanks was proposed by Mrs. Malden and seconded by Mr. Arthur Diösy.

On February 19th Mrs. Sandham, of 13, Egerton Place, gave an evening reception, which was largely attended, and Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P., were the speakers, Sir David Sell, K.C.B., presiding.

Leamington.—Lord Algernon Percy presided over a large meeting held in the Leamington Town Hall on January 24th. Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mr. Fred. Maddison, ex-Liberal M.P. for Burnley, were the speakers, and there were a number of well-known people on the platform.

Mr. Ward dealt very lucidly with most of the popular Suffragist arguments in favour of granting the franchise to women, pointing out that the question had never been a main issue before the country, and contended that it should never be passed into law until the definite opinion of the electors had been given.

Mr. Fred. Maddison asked the question, "Do women really want the vote?" and said that while there were undoubtedly many worthy women who did, our League had taken several plebiscites of its own, and these showed that a large number of women did not vote on the subject, and that in almost every case there was a substantial majority against votes for women. Mr. Gladstone, in 1892, had said: "In addition to a widespread indifference, there is on the part of women a positive disapprobation."

A resolution asking that the question of Woman Suffrage should be put before the country was carried by a good majority, and votes of thanks were proposed and seconded by Mrs. Cheshire Molyneux and Mr. Wiloughby Makin.

Leicester.—Another flagrant example of our opponents' utter lack of the sense of fair play was witnessed at a meeting arranged by our Leicester Branch, and held in the Temperance Hall on February 13th. Mr. S. M. Samuels, M.P., was persistently and noisily interrupted by a small crowd of militant Suffragists, whose behaviour was at last severely rebuked by a lady present. "As a Leicester woman, I apologise on behalf of Leicester women," said Mrs. G. S. Rudd from the platform. Mr. Murray Phelps (Birmingham) was the Chairman, and

Mrs. Greatbatch gave a most interesting address.

Manchester.—The strenuous campaign which has been held in Manchester has resulted in a very large number of new members to the League; numerous Branches are in process of formation, and daily we receive letters offering help from Manchester and the surrounding district. A number of district sub-committees are in process of formation. Meanwhile, the ordinary work of the Branch has progressed satisfactorily, simultaneously with the campaign.

On January 10th a large and very successful meeting had been held in Alderley Edge, with Lady Sheffield in the chair, and a number of new members joined as a result of this meeting. These included the Rev. Canon Paige-Cox, who had also kindly consented to become a Vice-President of the Manchester Branch. The speakers were Miss Moir and Mr. G. C. Hamilton. The public hall was crowded and the audience most enthusiastic. Lady Sheffield, in an admirable speech from the chair, spoke of the necessity for Anti-Suffragists to rouse themselves to action.

On January 12th a deputation, consisting of the Secretary, Mr. J. R. Tolmie (who both spoke) and Mr. Farnworth, waited on the Executive of the North Salford Liberal Association. They were warmly received and applauded on retiring, although no vote was taken.

On January 19th the Secretary (Miss Moir) addressed the Altrincham League of Young Liberals, and from the remarks in the open discussion the sympathies of the audience seemed anti-suffrage.

On January 23rd Miss Moir addressed a meeting at the Zion Congregational Church, Stretford Road. There was an audience of about 180, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority. Several persons gave their names as sympathisers.

On January 24th the Secretary (Miss Moir) opposed Miss Williamson, who proposed a Suffrage resolution at the Higher Crumpsall Liberal Club. The Suffrage resolution was lost by a majority of two to one. This is now the second time this club has voted against Woman Suffrage.

On January 26th Miss Moir opposed a Suffrage resolution moved by Miss Toombs at the Cheetham Hill Wesleyan Church. The Suffrage resolution was lost by a good majority.

On January 29th the Secretary debated with Miss Robertson before the Bolton Women's Liberal Association. No vote was taken, but opinion seemed fairly evenly divided.

On February 7th Miss Moir spoke to a large audience at the New Moston Social Union, and was accorded a very good reception.

On February 12th the Secretary was invited to address the St. Clements Literary and Debating Society, Urmston. There was an audience of over 200, and Miss Moir's remarks were received with great warmth. No vote was taken; but although a number of the members of the local Suffrage Society were present, with one exception the speeches made in the open discussion were in support of the Anti-Suffrage case. As a result of this meeting we hope to form a Branch in Urmston shortly.

SHILDON.—On January 25th Miss Moir debated at Shildon with Miss Gordon, M.A., who moved a Suffrage resolution. There was

an audience of about two hundred; the voting was so close that a decision was almost impossible. A number of people present expressed a desire to form a local Branch, and gave their names to Miss Moir.

Marylebone.—Lord George Hamilton was in the chair at a very well attended "At Home," kindly held by Lady George Hamilton on January 24th, on behalf of the Marylebone Branch.

Miss Gladys Pott was the principal speaker, and dealt very cleverly with the present situation regarding Woman Suffrage. She suggested that the recent strikes very well proved that the wages problem was quite independent from the question of franchise, for if men could not remedy labour troubles by the exercise of the vote, how could women expect to solve similar problems for their own sex by possessing electoral powers?

Lord George Hamilton regretted a seeming departure throughout the country from the virile politics of their ancestors. He said he would like to ask seriously—could any reasonable person contemplate the prospect of placing voting power in the hands of some eleven million women at this critical moment of imperial history without feelings of apprehension?

A very enjoyable programme of music was rendered by some ladies and gentlemen at the conclusion of the speeches.

Melton Mowbray.—A particularly interesting meeting was held in the Corn Exchange, Melton Mowbray, on February 5th. The Rev. Canon Blakeney, M.A., Vicar of the Parish, presided.

After Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. J. W. Hills had shown with much clearness and by logical argument why the extension of the franchise to women must prove disastrous to the Empire, a resolution asking the Member for the Division not to vote for a Woman Suffrage measure until the opinion of electors had been expressed, was passed by a large majority.

Newport Branch.—A drawing-room meeting of this Branch was held at Chesterholme on Saturday, February 17th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Wallis. Miss Sealy, the Hon. Secretary, read a short paper outlining the present proposals with regard to Woman Suffrage and showing the dangers arising therefrom. She also discussed the main arguments used by those in favour of the vote being given to women. Several new members were enrolled.

Norbury.—At a meeting of the Norbury Debating Society, in St. Helen's Hall, Norbury, Miss G. de Buriatte (Anti-Suffrage) debated with Mr. H. A. M. Hillman on the resolution that "The Suffrage should be extended to women on the same conditions as it is, or may be, granted to men." After a very animated discussion, the voting resulted in an Anti-Suffrage victory.

North Berks.—We have received the report for the year ending December 31st, 1911, from this important and prosperous Branch, and it contains much that should encourage supporters of our League in this district. This Branch now has a membership of 480, and, to quote from the report, "It is especially satisfactory to notice the large proportion of working-class members amongst our ranks, not only for the reason that we welcome their assistance and interest, but that their adherence disproves the constantly repeated statement of Suffragists that the movement against Woman Suffrage is confined to persons of the rich or leisured classes."

The membership of all classes continues to increase, and the greatest activity has prevailed throughout the year under the able presidency of Lady Wantage and by reason of the enthusiastic work of the Hon. Secretary, Miss Gladys Pott. The latter particularly wishes to tender her grateful thanks to many helpers and officials who have given so much energetic work to the Branch during the past year.

The report concludes with the following paragraph:—

"In view of the critical position of the question of Woman Suffrage in the political world, the gravity of which it would be foolish to ignore, we sincerely hope that those who have so generously supported us in the past will not relax their efforts, but will work with renewed energy during the coming year in the furtherance of a cause which, though less exciting than that of our opponents, we believe to be for the stability and welfare of the Nation and Empire."

A social gathering in connection with this Branch was held in the Victoria Cross Gallery, Wantage, on February 8th. Miss Gladys Pott was in the chair and Lady Hyde gave a most interesting address.

On the same evening Miss Pott debated with Mr. A. D. Lindsay. Mr. P. M. N. Wroughton presided, and Miss Pott's Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Oxford.—An extraordinary Meeting of the Oxford Branch was held on January 25th in connection with the "Campaign." Mrs. Max Müller presided, and Mrs. Massie emphasised the need of action. She invited the members to assist by distributing the League leaflets, and by attending a public meeting to be held in the Town Hall on March 15th.

Professor Dicey, in an admirably lucid speech, dwelt chiefly on the question of the Referendum, of which difficult matter he may justly claim to possess knowledge unique in this country, having studied its problems for 30 years. While admitting frankly that he personally was a fanatic on the subject, he showed pressing reasons for applying it to the present situation, differentiating sharply, however, between the Referendum proper, as employed frequently and advantageously in Switzerland, and that dangerous form of appeal to the democracy, the Plébiscite. He pointed out the danger that, in the present instance, strong effort would be directed to securing the usage of the Plébiscite, *i.e.*, placing before the electors the abstract question of Woman Suffrage, rather than, as in the legitimate use of the Referendum, applying it to the concrete question of an individual Parliamentary Bill. He went on to point out that, as is generally admitted, any small measure of women's enfranchisement must speedily be merged into Adult Suffrage, and that there being a surplus of women over men, amounting roughly speaking to a million, the Government of the country, including complicated international relations, Imperial defence, &c., would be in the hands of women; and moreover of women for the most part of the wage-earning class—probably the class above all others which has least knowledge and least time or taste for the consideration of political questions.

Mrs. Clement Webb also said a few words, and asked those present to send to the Hon. Secretary names of electors whom they know to be Anti-Suffragists, that a list of our supporters may be prepared.

Penge, Anerley and Norwood.—There was a very large audience at the Clarence Hall on February 10th, to hear a debate between Mrs. Hill Hodgson against Woman Suffrage, and Mrs. Wilkinson for the Vote. Mr. T. A. Richardson, J.P., presided. After an animated discussion the voting resulted in fifty-three against Woman Suffrage and only sixteen for.

Rugby.—A very successful public meeting was held at Rugby on January 24th. Mr. C. Meiklejohn presided, and the principal speakers were Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mr. Fred Maddison (ex-M.P. for Burnley).

Mr. Ward said there were many men of both parties who were prepared to sink their party differences to present a national opposition to the proposal of Woman Suffrage, whether it were good or bad. No evidence had been presented to Parliament, or the country that the majority of the women of England and Scotland desired the vote. On the contrary, all the evidence they possessed pointed to a very different conclusion. Over 135,000 female Municipal electors had been asked their opinion on the subject, and of that number only 21,000, or less than one-sixth, answered that they were in favour of the vote.

Mr. Fred Maddison dealt with the fundamental differences of sex, which in his opinion rendered the vote to women inadvisable.

The Earl of Denbigh expressed his uncompromising hostility to the measure foreshadowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the usual resolution in favour of submitting the question to a referendum was passed by a good majority.

Salisbury.—The meeting addressed by the Earl of Pembroke, Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. Holford Knight, at the Salisbury Picturedrome, on February 9th, was very successful, and the large audience represented both sides of the question.

The Earl of Pembroke presided, and was supported by an influential platform. Lord Pembroke said he had always been against votes for women, but he was not going into all the reasons for his opposition; he would only say that he put the sex, woman, upon a high pedestal from which he did not want to drag her down into the turmoil of politics. He also contended that the influence of woman—that sweet influence, if he might call it so, had done much towards moulding the destinies of nations from the time of mythological history, through the classical times up to the present time. That influence had been great, and always would continue to be great, in spite of the fact that woman had not got a vote. He might also point out that if it be a grievance for women to be unable to vote for Parliamentary candidates, he was in exactly the same position. A peer was not able to vote for a member of Parliament, although he had the property qualifications, and possibly all the other qualifications. On the other hand, it might be argued that the peers had their own legislative powers, but they must remember, especially in modern days, it was a number of members of Parliament on the one side or the other which constituted the formation of a Government, and that the peers had little or nothing to do with that formation.

Mrs. A. Colquhoun made an excellent speech in proposing the resolution that "the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women would be hostile to their own welfare."

Mr. Holford Knight, in seconding the resolution, pointed out that he spoke on the subject from the Liberal point of view, and the fundamental principle of Liberalism was that an individual right cannot conflict with the common good; nor can any right exist apart from the common good. This principle involved the dictum that there was no natural right to vote. The State, or the corporate body of citizens, must determine the arrangements which were to come for the ordering of society, and, consequently, so far from the right to vote being a natural right, it was a right which was a grant from the State. There were two essential conditions which should be satisfied before this grant of the right to vote could be asked for from the State. The first was, they should find in the persons who claimed the right to vote competence to discharge the responsibility represented by the vote. He freely admitted that there were many men now entitled to the franchise who were not competent to exercise the vote. He was prepared to admit that the extension of the franchise to such men was a mistake. Until they got the bulk of the country to give a favourable reply to that claim, the Suffrage would be properly withheld from women. The second essential condition was that there should be a general desire manifested among women for the vote.

A series of questions was asked, and the resolution being put to the meeting was carried by a large majority.

Lady Pender proposed and Capt. Dubourg seconded a vote of thanks to the speakers, and Precentor Carpenter thanked Lord Pembroke for presiding.

Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League.—The annual meeting of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League was held in Edinburgh on January 17th—Mr. Boyd Stirling, who presided, said the question was becoming more acute, and everyone should take an interest in it, one way or another.

The adoption of the report of the work of the League for last year was moved by Miss Landale, and seconded by Miss Dick Peddie. Miss Landale said that the canvass in England showed that the majority of women were against the Suffrage. However, a large number were apathetic, and did not vote one way or the other. She was sure that if approached the "apathetics" would be on their side. A special feature of her experience was the number of the working women in their homes who were so much against the granting of the vote to their sex.

Thereafter the Annual General Meeting of the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League was held—Mrs. John MacLeod presiding. The report having been circulated, it was held as read. Mrs. MacLeod said that the year's work had been very satisfactory, and they hoped that very soon they would have branches of the League at all the towns at which meetings had been held last year.

Miss Dick Peddie moved the adoption of the report. Miss Jardine seconded, and it was approved of. The office-bearers, including the President, the Duchess of Montrose, were re-elected.

Mr. A. Maconachie gave an interesting address.

Sevenoaks.—Mrs. A. Colquhoun was the speaker at a very large meeting held at the Club Hall, Sevenoaks, on January 29th, and with Dr. A. Douglas Cowburn readily answered and silenced the objections of

many Suffragists who were present. Mrs. Rycroft occupied the chair.

Mrs. Colquhoun dealt very ably with the fallacies of the Suffragists who declared that the vote would bring in its train so many social and economic reforms.

The resolution requesting the Member for the Division to oppose any measure for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women until it had been approved by the majority of electors, was passed by a large majority.

Shrewsbury.—A largely attended meeting was held in the Music Hall, Shrewsbury, on January 29th, Sir Charles Henry, M.P. for Wellington, Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mrs. Greatbatch being the speakers; Colonel Lovett being in the chair.

Sir Charles Henry said although it was his intention to oppose the extension of the franchise to women, he was not prepared to stultify himself by supporting any proposals which would have for their object that this question, which he considered to be of the greatest national importance, should be decided by a referendum. He was opposed to that machinery, and could not support it, although he believed that if a referendum was taken on the subject, in which women might also have an opportunity of giving expression to their views, that 80 per cent. of those who took part in that referendum would declare themselves opposed to Woman Suffrage. He considered that an extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women should not be granted unless it received the united support of the Cabinet, and who would be prepared to accept the full responsibility for such a drastic change in the franchise?

Mr. Arnold Ward and Mrs. Greatbatch both delivered stirring addresses, and a resolution requesting the Members for Shrewsbury and the County to oppose any measure extending the franchise to women until it had been approved by the country, was carried by a large majority.

Stratford-upon-Avon.—Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., and Mr. Fred Maddison, ex-M.P. for Burnley, were the speakers at a large public meeting in Stratford-upon-Avon Corn Exchange on February 12th.

Councillor J. M. Smith presided, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was passed by a large majority. Space forbids a report of the very excellent speeches made by Mr. Ward and Mr. Maddison, but the Anti-Suffrage cause has received great impetus in the neighbourhood as a result of the meeting.

Streatham.—On February 9th, at the Stanley Hall, Streatham, an enjoyable evening was spent by the members and friends of this Branch. After refreshments had been served, Mr. A. Maconachie addressed an interested audience. The chair was taken by Mr. Edward Pegden, and Mrs. Rutland and Miss Hickling supported the speaker on the platform.

Several new members were enrolled, and the evening was concluded with an excellent programme of music arranged by Miss Margery Hitchins.

Tamworth (Stafford).—A very well attended meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Tamworth, on January 29th. The Chairman was Mr. Murray N. Phelps (Hon. Treasurer Birmingham Branch), and the chief speaker was Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. (Bridgeton, Glasgow).

Mr. Arthur Pott moved a resolution opposing the extension of the franchise to women.

Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., seconding, said all the argument seemed to resolve into the question whether the right to vote was a fundamental human right, part of human dignity and self-esteem, or not. If the right to vote was fundamental, and belonged to every individual, were they prepared to give it to-morrow to every inhabitant of India, to every Kafir, or savage Bushman? If women had a vote, that would not be any guarantee that the majority would be right. They would only be establishing a majority of a different kind.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

Tunbridge Wells.—Our Tunbridge Wells Branch held a public debate in the Great Hall, Tunbridge Wells, on February 2nd, when Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. A. Maconachie advanced the Anti-Suffrage side, and Miss Helen Ogston and Mr. Joseph Clayton argued in favour of the vote. The hall was well filled, and the audience evinced the liveliest interest in the progress of the debate.

A resolution declaring that the inclusion of women in the Parliamentary franchise would be detrimental to the best interests of women and the State was passed by a good majority.

Councillor J. B. Snell made an admirably impartial Chairman.

West St. Pancras.—A very interesting debate on Woman Suffrage took place in connection with the West St. Pancras Liberal and Radical Association in the Liberal Hall, Chalk Farm Road, on February 15th. Miss Mabel Smith (Anti-Suffrage) spoke in opposition to Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and the resolution "That Woman Suffrage is desirable" was negated by a majority of two to one.

The result of this debate has been conveyed to the Prime Minister by the Secretary of the Liberal and Radical Association.

Wilton.—Lady Muriel Herbert occupied the chair at a largely attended drawing-room meeting held at The Mount, Wilton, the residence of Mrs. Dubourg, on February 2nd. Mr. Chapman Huston gave an interesting address, and Mrs. Richardson, Captain S. Dubourg, and the Mayor of Wilton also spoke. The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried unanimously.

Woburn Sands.—Mr. A. Maconachie debated very successfully with Mrs. Rackham at the Institute, Woburn Sands, on January 22nd, the former proposing a resolution in favour of Woman's Franchise.

After both speakers had been heard and questions put and answered, the vote was overwhelmingly against the Suffragists.

Woking.—The first Annual Meeting of the Woking Branch was held at Lismore, Heathside Road, Woking, on January 23rd, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Crockett.

The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor presided over a very large attendance, and in an interesting address congratulated the Branch on its growth and prosperity. Over a hundred new members had joined during 1911, and the local interest was considerable.

Sir Arundel Arundel, J.P., Miss Ogle, and Miss Anstruther also spoke.

LIST OF LEAFLETS.

2. Woman's Suffrage and After. Price 3s. per 1,000.
3. Mrs. Humphry Ward's Speech. 1d. 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.
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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.
- 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. Price 7s. per 1,000.
36. Registration of Women Occupiers. Price 1s. per 100.
37. Why Women Cannot Rule: Mr. J. R. Tolmie's Reply to Mr. L. Housman's Pamphlet. Price 5s. per 100.
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.
40. Woman and Manhood Suffrage. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
41. A Liberal's Standpoint: Women's Suffrage. Price 5s. per 1000.
42. Black Tuesday, November 21st, 1911. Price 5s. per 1,000.
43. Woman Suffrage: The Present Situation. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Price 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

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6,556 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.

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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.

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 - I. Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women. Professor Dicey. 1s.
 - J. Woman Suffrage—A National Danger. Heber Hart, LL.D. Price 1s.
 - K. Points in Professor Dicey's "Letter" on Votes for Women. Price 1d.
 - L. An Englishwoman's Home. M. E. S. 1s.
 - M. Woman's Suffrage from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View. Isabella M. Tindall. 2d.
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- 3. Gladstone on Woman Suffrage. 1s. per 100.
 - 5. Lord Curzon's Fifteen Good Reasons against the Grant of Female Suffrage. 9d. per 100.
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- The Danger of Woman Suffrage: Lord Cromer's View. 3s. 6d. per 1,000.
- "Votes for Women" Never! 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

All the above Leaflets, Pamphlets, and Books are on sale at the offices of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 515, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.

Application for Leaflets for free distribution at meetings, or for any other purpose, should be made to the Secretary.

GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

A MEETING was held at King's College for Women on Tuesday, February 6th, which Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun kindly addressed, and some discussion followed.

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HELP FOR THE HOUSEWIFE.

Once again we approach that disagreeable but inevitable task—"Spring Cleaning." The burden of household cares seems never so great as during this stressful period; yet much of the labour can be lightened, and the whole operation completed in less time, if the problem is dealt with in a systematic manner. Take, for instance, the important question of cleaning your Curtains, Hangings, Table Covers and similar articles. It is impossible to do this work perfectly at home, even with considerable trouble and expense. But it has got to be done. You do not want to buy a new table cover just because it has become soiled and faded, or because some one has had the misfortune to upset the ink over it. And, then, the mere washing of winter curtains will not restore the colour which the rare rays of winter sunshine have removed, to say nothing of the risk of ruin which such a process would involve. Altogether, the renovation of textile fabrics forms one of the principal difficulties with which the Spring Cleaning is beset. Very well, so much the better; because, properly handled, this part of the problem is quite easily solved. And this is the way to solve it. Begin by making a practical list of all those fabrics which have suffered from winter fogs and smoky fires. All Chintzes, Cretonnes, Silks, Tapestries and Serges should be included in this list. Then send a post-card, or call at the nearest branch, asking Messrs. Achille Serre, the well-known Dry-Cleaners and Dyers, to come and collect them. Once this is off your mind you will find your task assume much lighter proportions. The articles mentioned will be out of your way while the remaining operations are in progress, and you can rely upon them being returned in a few days looking as good as new. Messrs. Serre specialise in this class of work and maintain an organisation which enables them to guarantee perfect results. Highly skilled labour and the most up-to-date machinery, combined with progressive methods and careful supervision, ensure absolute satisfaction in every case. This Firm's charges are most reasonable, and whatever they promise they will perform. For the benefit of housewives who wish to do their Spring Cleaning in the modern way they have published a little book full of interesting and useful information. It will be sent post free to any lady who writes, mentioning "The Anti-Suffrage Review," to Messrs. Achille Serre Limited, White Post Lane, Hackney Wick, London, E.

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Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme.
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President: Mrs. Cooper.
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Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Colley, Newstead, Kenwood Park Road.
The Hon. Secretary, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, 26, Tupton Crescent Road, Sheffield.

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THE GIRLS' ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

President: Miss Ermine M. K. Taylor.

LONDON—
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Elsie Hird Morgan, 15, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's 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.

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

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Asst. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Louis Hovenden-Torney.
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(In affiliation with the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.)

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Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmill, Central Office, 10, Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

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Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff Embankment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveline Hughes, 68, Richards Terrace.

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