

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW.

The ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW is published by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, and can be obtained through any bookseller or news-agent. Annual Subscription, 1/6, post free.

The OFFICES of the LEAGUE are at 515 Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.
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No. 44.

LONDON, JUNE 1ST, 1912.

PRICE 1d.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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The terms of Membership are:—Vice-Presidents, single donation of £25 or annual subscription of not less than £5; Members of Council, £1 is.; Members of the League, 5s.; Associates, is. (Branches can arrange for the collection of smaller subscriptions.)

The Annual Meeting of the Council of the League will be held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on June 21st, at 3 p.m.

Communications intended for publication in "The Anti-Suffrage Review" should be addressed to the Editor and should not be included in letters (on other subjects) to the Honorary Secretary.

The next number of "The Anti-Suffrage Review," which will be issued on July 1st, will contain a report of the Annual Meeting of the Council of the N.L.O.W.S.

MEETINGS IN JUNE.

- JUNE 4TH, WELLS (SOMERSET).—Small Town Hall, 3.30. Mrs. Greatbatch.
WINSCOMBE (SOMERSET).—Bird's Assembly Rooms, 8 p.m. Mrs. Greatbatch.
WHITBY.—Mrs. A. Colquhoun, 8 p.m.
FULHAM.—Drawing Room Meeting. Mrs. Oskar Fox, 3 p.m. Miss Donaldson.
JUNE 5TH, CLEVEDON.—Wickenden's Room, 5.15. Mrs. Greatbatch.
FULHAM.—Kelverton Hall, 8.30. Mrs. Harold Norris.
JUNE 8TH, ANERLEY.—Drawing Room Meeting, 3.30. Mrs. Denton, Miss Gladys Pott.
JUNE 10TH, WINSFORD (CHESHIRE).—8 p.m., Mrs. Harold Norris.
JUNE 12TH, HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.—Garden Meeting at the residence of Mrs. Mitchell Innes, Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C., in the chair; Mrs. A. Colquhoun, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.
JUNE 14TH, SOUTHWOLD.—8 p.m., Mrs. A. Colquhoun.
JUNE 21ST, COUNCIL MEETING, WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL.—3 p.m.
N.L.O.W.S. CONVERSAZIONE. — Grafton Galleries, 9 p.m. The Countess of Jersey, Lady Tree, Lord Weardale.

NEW BRANCHES.

The following New Branches have been opened during May:—

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Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (pro tem.): John W. Brown, Esq., Crynllys, Buarth Road, Aberystwyth. (After June 12th, Ty Hedd, North Road, Aberystwyth.)

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Branch re-organised.
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District Hon. Secretary: Miss L. Bennett, Parkleigh, Elms Road, Heaton Chapel.

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Hon. Treasurer: Miss Evers.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Timmis, Pedmore, Stourbridge.

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President: Lady Ramsay-Fairfax Lucy.
Hon. Treasurer: N. Carter, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: G. Wells Taylor, Esq., Avon Cottage, Stratford-on-Avon.

MAYFAIR & ST. GEORGE'S BRANCH CONVERSAZIONE

AT THE

GRAFTON GALLERIES

ON

FRIDAY, JUNE 21st, at 9 o'clock

THE COUNTESS OF CROMER,
THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF ANCASTER,
and
THE COMMITTEE OF THE MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S BRANCH

will receive

THE PRESIDENTS, MEMBERS OF COUNCIL AND DELEGATES OF THE N.L.O.W.S.

Speakers:

THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY.
LADY TREE. LORD WEARDALE.

THE COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS

OF THE

KENSINGTON BRANCH

WILL BE

AT HOME

TO

THE DELEGATES ATTENDING THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE N.L.O.W.S.

AT THE

QUADRANT RESTAURANT, EARL'S COURT,

ON

THURSDAY, JUNE 20th. 4-5.30 p.m.

ALL MEMBERS OF THE KENSINGTON BRANCH ARE INVITED TO BE PRESENT.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

THE "name" of the Woman Suffrage societies is "Legion." The morning paper is scarcely complete without the announcement of the birth of a new one, either of men or of women, under one new title or another. If it is not wholly a new creation, it is a propagation by way of a split, due to the innate fissiparousness of organisms which are unable to obey the apostolic injunction, "Be not many masters." So the Women's Freedom League has recently proved fissiparous. Sometimes an old organisation, formed for another purpose, has been captured by its Suffragist members and transmuted into a Suffrage society. This has happened to the Women's Liberal Federation under Lady Carlisle and Lady Aberconway; it now refuses to work for any Liberal candidate, however Liberal he may be, unless he is also a Suffragist; and it has driven out its more consistent members to form a Women's National Liberal Association. Other Suffrage societies, such as the notorious Women's Social and Political Union, filled with spite against a Cabinet which declines to make Woman Suffrage a Government question, with their characteristic substitute for logic oppose even those Liberal candidates who swallow their programme whole. But at the present time Mrs. Fawcett and her ally, Lord Lytton, are engaged in finding what they take to be a more excellent way. Their organisations have hitherto been (as Mrs. Fawcett says) "non-party" organisations, in the sense that they have had "friends and workers in and out of Parliament belonging to all parties." But now Mrs. Fawcett (and Lord Lytton agrees) has "appealed to all their friends in all the Societies in the Union to consider whether they would not do well to modify their existing election policy, and give definite support to Labour candidates who are officially approved by their party" (the Independent Labour Party), because "the Independent Labour Party has from its formation promoted the enfranchisement of

women." This lead has been accepted by the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and that organisation now stands pledged to the policy. At elections, therefore, these Suffragists are no longer to be mere propagandists of their "Votes for women"; they are definitely and expressly to support the official candidates of the Independent Labour Party.

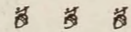
Could any pronouncement more clearly show that Mrs. Fawcett and her noble ally are ready to throw over political convictions for the sake of their pet crank? The Independent Labour Party, with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Keir Hardie at their head, are nothing if not a Socialist Party, and it is because they hope to increase the Socialist vote that they desire to break down the sex barrier which blocks the way to Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Fawcett and Lord Lytton, Unionists and "Constitutionalists," fling themselves into the arms of Socialism, prepared to buy Woman Suffrage at any price, even at the cost of what they have hitherto deemed a deadly peril to Constitution and country. Onlookers, who see most of the game, will speedily put their own estimate upon the level-headedness and patriotism of these Suffragist leaders. They will be likely to ask whether this is what such Unionists come to when by the fanaticism of one idea they are colour-blinded to the red light, and, like buffaloes with their heads down, make straight for it.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Annual Meeting.

As will be seen from a notice in another column, the annual meeting of the Council of the League will be held on June 21st, at 3 p.m., in the Westminster Palace Hotel. Lord Curzon will be in the chair. In the evening, Lady Cromer, Lady Ancaster, and the Committee of the Mayfair Branch will be "At Home" to the delegates at the Grafton Galleries. Speeches will be made by Lord Wear-dale, Lady Jersey and Lady Tree. On the previous day the Kensington Branch will be "At Home" to the Delegates at the Quadrant Restaurant, Earl's Court.

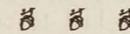
It is hoped that it will be possible to offer hospitality to delegates from a distance who may desire it for the night that they will spend in London. Arrangements to this end are being made, and it would assist those in charge of the matter, if delegates would kindly notify the Honorary Secretary whether they would wish to be offered hospitality.



"Political Prisoners."

A PUBLIC Meeting was held on May 16th, in the London Opera House, "to protest against the treatment of prisoners committed for political offences." It was, as a matter of fact, a demonstration in favour of Woman Suffrage hung upon the peg of the forcible feeding of Suffragists in prison. For once, we are glad to see, Lord Robert Cecil found it advisable to introduce some discrimination into his support of a movement that is capable of embracing anything from the "burning of a palace" to the extremist doctrines of Feminism. "Though I do not feel able," he wrote, "to subscribe to any general principles with regard to the treatment of political prisoners, it seems clear that if the allegations made by some of the Suffragist prisoners are true, their treatment has been indefensible." Most of the speakers at the meeting were less squeamish. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., asked:—"With what face can the present Government approach the Russian Government about Miss Malecka, when there are women suffering injustice in our own prisons at home equal to anything that is likely to befall Miss Malecka?" The Rev. F. M. Green is reported to have said that by their present rate of progress, the Star Chamber would soon be in operation again and Magna Charta be repealed. Not the least pernicious element in the Woman Suffrage movement is the eagerness with which Suffragists endeavour to belittle their own country in the eyes of foreigners. Anyone ignorant of the actual circumstances who listened to the speakers in the London Opera House could not be blamed for imagining either that England was still in the Middle Ages in regard to prison organisation or that the Government was resorting to Star Chamber methods to suppress the Woman Suffrage movement. But what are the facts? In the first place, there is no ground for regarding some of the Suffragists as

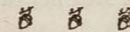
political prisoners. A.R. was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for breaking C.D.'s window, and for no other reason whatsoever. In regard to that specific act, A.B.'s views on Tariff Reform or Woman Suffrage are absolutely immaterial. She has no more claim to be considered a political prisoner than a man who might assault the Prime Minister because he disapproved of Home Rule. Lady Selborne has classed the Militants with the Jameson raiders. There can be no analogy between them. Dr. Jameson made war upon the Transvaal Government; he did not destroy the property of De Beers at Kimberley and say to President Kruger "There, now, won't you redress our Uitlander grievances in Johannesburg?" As for the forcible feeding of "hunger-strikers," the remedy lies in their own hands. The doctrine preached by the Suffragists in this connection would compel the prison doors to be thrown open to any and every inmate who chose to refuse food for two or three days.



Woman Franchise in Parliament

ON May 21st, in the House of Commons, the Speaker refused to allow Mr. Lansbury to introduce the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. He pointed out that the House had already discussed a Bill bearing the same title, and that it could not consider again a precisely similar Bill.

The incident has given rise to some speculation regarding the possible fate of any amendment to the proposed Reform Bill dealing with Woman Suffrage. It was made plain by the Speaker, however, that Mr. Lansbury's Bill was ruled out of order because its terms raised substantially the same question as the Conciliation Bill. Only the spokesmen of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association have ever supposed that Conciliation Bill terms could crop up again in connection with the Reform Bill. The fate of Mr. Lansbury's Bill shows that only a much wider extension of the vote to women has even a chance of being discussed in this Session.



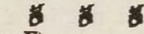
The Vote Cannot Come.

ONE of the fatal weaknesses of the Woman Suffrage movement is that it is based NOT on an appeal to the intelligence and sober sense of the nation, but on the intimidation of those temporarily in power. The

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies claims to be non-militant, and the most constitutional of the Suffragist organisations; but this is the method by which it hopes to compel the United Kingdom to adopt Woman Suffrage:—

"Inspiring in the Government and the Nationalist Party a fear lest the consequences of further evasion and delay should be more damaging to their interests than a speedy settlement of the question."

The above is quoted from the official statement of the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The sentence by itself is enough to condemn the whole movement. People who approach great constitutional changes in that spirit are not fit to have a voice in the government of an Empire.



Suffragist Propaganda.

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a copy of a circular, dated April 22nd, 1912, purporting to be issued from the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, Within Bishopsgate, E.C., and signed by the Rev. W. F. Cobb, D.D. This document is enclosed with a Memorandum on the "Treatment of the Women's Deputations of November 18th, 22nd and 23rd, 1910, by the Police," compiled by Mr. H. N. Brailsford in December, 1910, which was sent to the Home Office, "accompanying a request for a public inquiry into the conduct of the police." Attached to this Memorandum are copies of letters from Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., and Mr. Ellis Griffith, K.C., "which appeared in the daily Press, March 24th, 1911." The circular is headed "Fellow Citizen," and is therefore presumably intended for the widest possible distribution. In it Dr. Cobb points out that "though the events referred to took place so long ago as November, 1910, all endeavour to secure an impartial and independent inquiry has been up to the present unsuccessful." He adds that "it is against the public weal to leave large numbers of women rankling under a bitter sense of injustice"; but just when we are expecting to learn this evangelist's proposal for bringing about a remedy, the circular ends:—

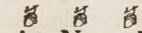
It is hoped that after reading the Memorandum, you will give it what further publicity you can, and will endeavour to point the moral—which almost shouts aloud—from the contrast between the silence which ensued when women were "broken" and the outcry which followed when windows were broken.

Suppressio Veri.

A CIRCULAR of this nature can only be described as grossly misleading and lacking in common honesty. The events that it deals with were street brawls which took place sixteen months ago. On three separate occasions the subject was discussed in the House of Commons, and the grounds on which the responsible Minister refused the inquiry demanded at an interval even then of three months from the events were fully set forth. From the replies made in the House we may quote the following sentences:—

I have received the Memorandum referred to and considered it. It contains a large number of charges against the police of criminal misconduct, which, if there were any truth in them, should have been made at the time, and not after a lapse of three months, and should, if they could be supported by evidence, have been preferred in a police court. I may add, however, for the information of the House, that I have made inquiry of the Commissioner with regard to certain general statements included in the Memorandum, and find them to be devoid of foundation. There is no truth in the statement that the police had instructions which led them to terrorise and maltreat the women. Of the 200 women arrested, not a single one complained of being hurt or made at the time any charge against the police of undue violence or of misconduct. If any charge can be made against any named individual, it can even now be investigated either by the courts or by the Commissioner of Police; but I am not prepared to order an inquiry into vague and general charges collected in response to advertisements in *Votes for Women*, and brought forward by irresponsible persons long after the event.

I have given the noble lord a full answer on the subject of his question, but I cannot conclude it without reaffirming my conviction, that the Metropolitan Police behaved, on November 18th, with the forbearance and humanity for which they have always been distinguished, and again repudiating the unsupported allegations which have issued from that copious fountain of mendacity, the Women's Social and Political Union.



The Vote in New Zealand.

WRITING to the *Nation* from Opatiki, Mr. Morton Aldis makes some interesting remarks on the subject of Women's Franchise in New Zealand. "I do not write," he explains, "as an opponent of Women's Franchise. To my mind, there are one or two good reasons why women should have the vote, and none at all why they should not; but nothing but harm can come of refusing to face facts and indulging in dreams, however beautiful, which have no foundation in reason or experience." The letter is a reply to the claims of Suffragists, voiced by Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus.Doc., among others, that Votes for Women will

revolutionise party politics, eliminating or modifying "the blatant unscrupulousness of the political conscience, the calm cynicism of the party spirit," and that "women will always care more for principles than for party, for the character and record of a representative rather than his qualifications as a pawn on the party chess-board." Unfortunately, says Mr. Aldis, the experience of New Zealand does little to justify these sanguine anticipations, and while he may be of opinion that, as far as the Dominion is concerned, there is no good reason why women should not have the vote, he would probably have to acknowledge that, in the very different conditions prevailing in the Mother Country, there are substantial reasons against Woman Suffrage. ❧ ❧ ❧

The Dominion's Experience.

We would commend the whole of Mr. Aldis's letter to the careful study of Suffragists. "During the last twenty years," he writes, "a great many laws of an advanced Radical (or, as some would say, Socialistic) character have been placed on our Statute Book. Many of us believe this legislation to have been, on the whole, beneficial; but it was bitterly opposed, and is still vigorously denounced, by a considerable section of the community, women as well as men; and there is nothing to show that the women's vote has had anything to do with the matter. The New Zealand Liberal party were in power, and had begun to carry out their programme before the Women's Franchise Act was passed, and I do not know of any reason to suppose that their tenure of office would have been any shorter, or their policy materially different, if women had never obtained the vote." As for the blatant unscrupulousness of the political conscience, and the calm cynicism of the party spirit, "any public speaker in New Zealand who should venture to assert that the Women's Franchise is a cure for these would be laughed down." The condition of things in New Zealand, he continues, is such that motives much less worthy than party spirit often play a considerable part in determining the choice of the electors, and the chief evil he refers to is corruption, the "barracking" for themselves and their relatives on the part of both women and men.

Mr. Aldis goes on to refute, from the experience of New Zealand, the statement that the Women's Franchise will put an end to immorality or promote

idealism. Finally, he says that, while a proposal to repeal Woman Suffrage in the Dominion would not be taken seriously, he thinks that "during the last two or three years there has been a perceptible reaction of public feeling against it." In New Zealand, it will be remembered that there are only a million inhabitants in all, and only 89 females to every 100 males.

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The Suffragist-Socialist Alliance

As all the indications led us to expect, the Special Council Meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has thrown in its lot with the Labour Party. The step has been duly wrapped up in a mass of words, in order to obscure as far as possible its real inwardness. Mrs. Fawcett urged that if the resolutions of the Executive Committee were adopted, it would not be a departure from the non-party attitude of the Union, and it would not be an alliance between the National Union and the Labour Party. The fact, however, remains that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is now pledged to support Labour candidates, even against a Liberal or Unionist Suffragist. There is an obvious contradiction in the *Communique* on the subject issued by the National Union, inasmuch as in one paragraph it says that "account shall be taken when judging between candidates not only of their individual opinions, but also of the official attitude towards women's enfranchisement of the Party to which they belong"; while in another paragraph it adds, "It is, of course, not the intention of the National Union to oppose either a Liberal or a Conservative who has proved himself a tried friend of women's enfranchisement." This contradiction concerns the Union and the Labour Party alone. It is made clear that official Suffragedom has deliberately set both feet on the sharp decline leading to Socialism, to which the Labour Party stands committed. For the present we may exclude from this category the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, which, while still coquetting with the movement, has refrained from any definite declaration of policy since the defeat of the Conciliation Bill; and it is hardly to be supposed that this organisation will allow its name to be linked with the doctrines that are held by the Labour-Socialist Party.

idealism. Finally, he says that, while a proposal to repeal Woman Suffrage in the Dominion would not be taken seriously, he thinks that "during the last two or three years there has been a perceptible reaction of public feeling against it." In New Zealand, it will be remembered that there are only a million inhabitants in all, and only 89 females to every 100 males.

LIBERALS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

AN APPEAL TO MANCHESTER.

As a Liberal worker who is opposed to Woman Suffrage, I should like to protest against the present attitude of the Party (particularly in Manchester) to this question.

As a result of the great prominence given to the question during the last six months, large numbers of Liberals of the rank and file who had not previously studied the proposals for Woman Suffrage have had to make up their minds definitely on the subject.

They find it is not a question of votes for some women only, but that Woman Suffrage actually means, or involves, votes for all adult women, and means women M.P.'s. There is not the slightest doubt that a great many Liberals have just lately realised that their former idea of a mild form of Suffrage was a deception and a delusion. Even Liberal Members of Parliament have had to change their attitude of sympathetic support to that of unqualified opposition, and I would mention Mr. George Harwood, Liberal M.P. for Bolton, as an example.

We Liberal Anti-Suffragists in Manchester feel very strongly that it is high time the Liberal Associations of the city invited competent speakers to place before us the case against Woman Suffrage.

There surely is a case against, when our great leader, Mr. Asquith, grown grey in the business of Government, tells the country that, as a result of his experience of Parliamentary life, he is convinced that Woman Suffrage would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind, not only to the State, but to women themselves.

The present leader of our Party is not alone in this opinion, because, when we look back, we find the bearers of some of the greatest names in Liberal history strongly opposed to Woman Suffrage—John Bright, W. E. Gladstone, and Sir Wm. Harcourt, who once said: "On the day on which women first give a vote for a Member of this House I go out of it."

We Liberal Anti-Suffragists cannot understand why the local leaders of the Party listen with such open-mouthed sympathy to Miss Pankhurst & Co., and are so ready to swallow all their lucubrations, because they bear the forged label of "democratic."

It is about time we Manchester

Liberals were giving just a little attention to what Mr. Asquith has to say. What has he done that his teaching and experience of this question should be thrown overboard for the fantastic doctrines of the Pankhursts?

I wonder what he thinks when he hears of us welcoming Suffragettes into our Councils to propagate their doctrines and denying the same privilege to Anti-Suffragists. The following is an extract from the Annual Report of the Manchester Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage; "In October, 1911, we wrote to various political associations in Manchester asking them to receive deputations from our Committee. We were particularly anxious that the Manchester Liberal Federation should receive us, as they had passed a Woman Suffrage resolution (after having heard the Suffragists twice) by a very small majority. Our request, however, was refused, and all correspondence from the official of the Manchester Liberal Federation was marked 'private.' Our request that the stipulation of privacy be waived was also refused, so that we were unable to explain our views in any way at all."

I would appeal to those Liberals who have a doubt about Woman Suffrage to give the benefit of it to Mr. Asquith, and not to the Suffragettes.

I would also appeal to the ever-increasing body of Liberals opposed to this question to bestir themselves, and to make their opinions known in their local associations, and we shall soon disillusion the Suffragists of their cherished idea that Liberals are almost unanimously in favour of Votes for Women.

I should like to remind Liberals what the Suffragettes think of them as a Party, and Manchester Liberals in particular. The principal paper of the Women Suffragists, *Votes for Women*, in a leaderette on March 8th of this year, unburdened itself in its usual polite and ladylike language, of the following statement. It is headed "A Deadly Blow," and goes on to say, "We rejoice exceedingly at the overwhelming defeat of the Government in South Manchester. The bitterest enemy of this so-called Liberal Cabinet could not have wished them a more shameful and inglorious defeat, and we rank ourselves without reserve among their bitterest enemies. False to their boasted love of democracy, false to their central doctrine of taxation and representation combined, false to their

former repudiation of the Referendum, false to every principle and every pledge, the present Government is crumbling month by month before the indignation of people of every party, Liberals and all, but especially of the women whom they have insulted and ignored from year to year."

That, my fellow Liberals, is what the Suffragettes think of us. Let us, therefore, rouse ourselves, and let them know what we think of them, by giving our heartiest support to Mr. Asquith and the other prominent Liberals who are opposed to Woman Suffrage.

T. MACPHERSON,
Vice-Chairman of the South Manchester Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

BY-ELECTIONS.

NORTH-WEST NORFOLK.

THE late Member for this Division (Sir George White) was an ardent Suffragist, as he voted in every recent division on the question in the House of Commons, but in spite of that, the Suffragettes were an unknown quantity in the Constituency before the by-election came on. A few of our subscribers reside in the Division, and it is hoped, as a result of the work done in the campaign, that a good Branch may be formed. We have held open-air meetings in all the important centres, including King's Lynn, Fakenham, Hunstanton, Walsoken, Heacham, &c.

The Conservative Candidate, Mr. N. P. Jodrell, is not only strongly opposed to the granting of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, but had a special paragraph in his Election Address saying so. The Liberal Candidate, Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, says he is in favour of Adult Suffrage, and when Member for East Denbighshire voted against the Conciliation Bill of 1910 because "it not only failed to conciliate, but infuriated me."

SOUTH HACKNEY.

MR. HORATIO BOTTOMLEY, the late Member, voted for the 1910 and 1911 Conciliation Bills, so we would have gained two on a Division as a result of this by-election, whoever of the two Candidates had been successful, because both Mr. J. A. Gibson, the Conservative Candidate, and Mr. Hector Morrison, the Liberal Candidate, are Anti-Suffragists.

Our League opened a Committee Room at 36, Amhurst Road, from which a very extensive campaign was carried on. Open-air meetings were held all over the district, and our speakers were listened to most attentively. This was in marked contrast to the meetings of the various Suffrage Societies, where audiences gathered more for sport than anything else.

A very great number of residents, mostly electors, signed our Petition against "Votes for Women," and several new members joined the League, and in consequence, a Branch will be started here shortly.

Over 50,000 leaflets and postcards were distributed free, and many of our publications were sold.

SEX EQUALITY AND A SWEDISH WRITER.

By MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN.

AMONG the advanced feminists of the day Ellen Key, the Swedish writer, holds a foremost position, and that her work is comparatively little known in this country is due chiefly to the difficulties of translation from a tongue so little known as Swedish, but also because her political, as apart from her social theories are of such an original character that they do not fit in with the propaganda of any established school of thought. With many of these theories the present writer is not in sympathy, though they appear to her to be making in the right direction, because they concentrate on motherhood and its protection as their basis. But the object of the present article is not to criticise Ellen Key, but to introduce to the readers a striking passage from a work of hers entitled (in the German translation) "The Misuse of Woman's Strength." Incidentally also the reader shall be introduced to the lady who translated these extracts, because her experience may be of value and encouragement to other women.

Miss X. is an accomplished linguist, and for many years has made a study of feminist literature in several languages. Like most of the women of her youth who took an interest in the progress of their sex, she accepted the Suffrage theory without question—it did not play an active part in the very real educational and moral emancipation of women which marked the latter half of the nineteenth century. When, however, the militants took the field, Miss X., and many other women like her, were troubled in their minds, not by "ladylike" scruples, as our opponents pretend to believe, but by intellectual doubts. The appeal to force in militant methods aroused the train of reasoning on which Anti-Suffrage arguments are based; the constant reiteration of the word "equality" awakened slumbering doubts as to the ethical basis of the claim for the vote. Miss X. took a severe course of Suffrage meetings, and listened to every exponent of the doctrine from Mrs. Fawcett downwards. The more she heard the more she doubted, for instead of closely-reasoned argument

she heard assertions, often unsupported, or chains of reasoning built up on hypotheses which begged the whole question at issue. Then she came to an Anti-Suffrage meeting, and following up the practical objections there put forward she became convinced: (1) That adult suffrage and the political predominance of women are the inevitable result of Woman Suffrage, and (2) That the suffrage propaganda has diverted women from the true path of progress, because they now regard the vote as an end, rather than a means—a point often made by Mrs. Billington Greig since her secession from the ranks of the militants. Suffragists make a fetish of the vote, and having become fetish worshippers, they have actually retrograded from a moral, spiritual, and intellectual point of view. No amount of devotion to their fetish, or even of self-sacrifice, can undo the evil caused by this attitude.

THE MISUSE OF WOMAN'S STRENGTH.

Miss X. joined the N.L.O.W.S., and continued her feminist studies. Here is her translation from Ellen Key:

"Women of to-day are mathematically and scientifically educated. They believe in the unchangeable laws of nature, amongst others the law according to which a man who gives the fullest of his life's strength to one great aim cannot give the same amount to any other in his life. They see clearly that the muscles of the athlete are developed at the expense of brain power; that the intellect of the learned is at the expense of his muscles; that the abilities of the merchant lessen his powers of contemplation; that the inspiration of the artist hinders him in his ordinary daily duties. But, in regard to her own sex, woman expects a miracle; that Nature, this time, will not take away with one hand what she gives with the other.

"Upon this illusion is grounded the boldness of woman, and through which her own particular (peculiar) strength has been misused. But such an illusion shows itself, sooner or later, pregnant with fate. 'Woe be to them who say that the necessities of their nature are accidental,' says a poet.

"Freedom of personality can be achieved only by the working of an inward force towards a definite aim, impelled by some inherent necessity.

"Thus, through their insisting that

the necessities of woman's nature are accidental, women have formed the abstract ideal of equality of the sexes, and desire to set up complete and perfect equality between man and woman, just as the French Revolutionists, upon the same grounds, set forward an ideal equality between the classes. In her zeal for this artificial equality woman has brought forward examples from Evolution, overlooking the fact that a degenerate process goes on as well as an evolutionary process. And while women hope that their intelligence may undergo a wider evolution, they do not consider the possibility that other capacities may become weakened. Already the evidence obtained from the countries where the woman question has been most successful seem to show that women have grown weaker in the claims of maternity and have less inclination towards it.

"At times, even, one hears that celibacy is the most worthy state for women—even that it is a remnant of lower instincts if a woman prefer maternal development to intellectual development, if she cannot combine the two. It is this feeling which is rooted in nature—the difficulty of reconciling dualism in the person of the woman, that, in our time, incites women to study and picture to themselves a superior life destiny. Some hope to see, through this, woman's genius triumph over love, others would prefer the two in better harmony; others, again, to see the heart assert its rights at the cost of production; but all hope to be able to set the horoscope of the woman question by these feminine stars. If, however, we read the stars aright, we shall find that public efficiency—be it in mercantile life, in statesmanship, science, art or literature—equally in the woman accustomed or unaccustomed to such a life, demands unceasing sacrifices. Countless impulses of refinement and delicacy must be conquered by these working women, or kept under; endless must be the putting aside of all personal care for the happiness of their own flesh and blood. Such a woman will be forced to harden her heart against the daily calls upon her; daily must she free herself from the hands of little children who cling to her; or leave the home where she, as daughter or as wife, has had loving duties to fulfil daily. Already the greater number of women are doing this, but even the most talented, with a feeling of privation and regret.

"But when this public work which women have slowly taken up has gone on for five or six centuries, then will women become unconditionally modified, spiritually. Then will their judgment that $2 \times 2 = 4$ be like a man's, clear and sure. But it may also be that the sum of happiness and culture then attained becomes only an addition of the same value and no organic product arising out of the harmonious agreement of beings of dissimilar formation."

THE FELIXSTOWE FESTIVAL.

THE Exhibition and Festival of Woman's Work, which was opened on May 9th by Lady Beatrice Pretzman in the Spa Pavilion, Felixstowe, has attracted considerable attention from the visitors and residents alike of that coast town. Every branch of women's industry and work in the world is represented, from butter-making to social reform.

Both sides of the Woman Suffrage question have entered the field, and the bright little stall at which the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage is represented has proved a great attraction. A committee of the Local Branch has worked very hard in decorating and stocking the stall, and it is satisfactory to learn that it is proving an unqualified success. The Anti-Suffrage stall is decorated with the colours of the League, and literature, badges, and picture postcards are being sold and distributed. As a result, many new members have been enrolled and public attention has been drawn to the objects of our League.

On the afternoon of May 14th, a public meeting was organised by the Felixstowe Branch, and Miss Gladys Pott addressed a very large audience in the Pavilion. The Countess Dowager of Ancaster was in the chair, and was supported by a number of influential local residents. At the close of her able speech, Miss Pott was subjected to vigorous heckling from a number of Suffragists who were present. Miss Pott's dexterous handling of the objections raised by her questioners and her excellent arguments were thoroughly enjoyed by the audience.

On the motion of Miss Rowley, seconded by Lady Farran, Lady Ancaster and Miss Pott were cordially thanked.

In the evening, an enjoyable concert and entertainment were given.

THINGS THAT COUNT.

"I CAME to London from Cardiff, and broke a window . . . It was the window of a gentleman who had made what I thought was the most objectionable remark about the Women's Suffrage question that has been made. He said that he would be very happy to give the vote to women if all women were as intelligent, well balanced, and as admirable in every way as his own wife. I thought that was the most impertinent thing I had ever heard, and also the most fatuous, because it was as if he thought he had got the pick of the basket. So I said to myself, 'That's the window I'm going to break,' and that was Mr. Lewis Harcourt's window."—MISS ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc.

WAGNER'S DREAM.

"As I have never in life felt the real bliss of love, I must erect a monument to the most beautiful of all my dreams."

Wagner wrote this to Liszt in 1854, before ever the latter's daughter, Cosima, had come in to change the current of his life; it was out of the half-realised tragedy of these words that he has built up those radiant visions of love and womanhood for which men and women together have thanked him the whole world over. It is worth noticing that in his early days, during that first unhappy visit to Paris, Wagner produced a "Faust" symphony of which only the overture ever saw the light. It would almost seem as though his whole work were coloured and inspired by those closing lines, in which Goethe has for all time enshrined the spiritual message of womanhood.

Again and again we find Wagner making the love, the sacrifice, the purifying influence of a woman stand as the redeeming force of his drama, the power that uplifts. To fully appreciate this, we must remember that Wagner was dramatist as well as composer. His mighty creations came to him as a whole. He took the old legends of the people, the folk-song, the saga, the mediæval tale; but it is the deeper significance of the harmonies with which he has clothed them that makes them the world-dramas of to-day.

Take, for instance, "Tannhäuser." The legend of the knight in the cave of Venus, the refusal of absolution by the Pope, the blossoming staff—all these things Wagner found in one set of old ballads, the contest of song at the Wartburg in another. These he combined—Elizabeth he created. Whatever suggestion for her character he may have found in St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the conception of her as the soul of the drama is Wagner's, and Wagner's alone. She is his message to the world of what woman may do for man.

"Tannhäuser" is familiar, but "The Flying Dutchman" is seldom heard, and Senta comparatively little known. We all know the wild legend which Wagner first discovered in Heine, but heard again in the spring of 1839, during the stormy weeks of a voyage from the Baltic to London. Van der Decken, taken at his own word, is doomed to beat about Table Bay till the Day of Judgment, unless he can find a woman faithful till death. Once in every seven years the devil cynically

permits him to go ashore to see if such a woman can anywhere be found. But it is those who expect small things of women who are the oftenest deceived. The devil was no exception to the rule, and the Dutchman did not long for his deliverer in vain.

Senta, the daughter of a Scotch merchant, had heard the story of this homeless man of the sea, had pitied him and loved him. When he comes to the house he finds his picture on the wall; she had dreamed strange dreams about the face that she had never seen, and she dies at last to make the dream come true. Senta, from her high rock, facing unafraid the grey, cold death beneath her, that the man she loved might win the power to die; Senta giving herself to the purposeless sea that her lover might find a haven—she is the very type and expression of a woman's blind instinct of sacrifice, of instinct that is transcendental, of blindness that is in itself a vision.

Wagner himself wrote of her: "She is no longer the home-tending Penelope of Ulysses, as courted in the days of old, but the quintessence of woman-kind, and yet the still unmanifest, the longed-for, the dreamt-of, the infinitely womanly woman. Let me out with it in one word—the Woman of the Future."

To Wagner, the woman of the future was the woman of sacrifice. This was the womanhood out of which he could shadow the most beautiful of all his dreams, the vision at whose shrine he consistently worshipped—dimly sometimes, and from a long way off; but what he offered was worship, none the less. We do not know if this will be described as Early Victorian; it is an adjective not usually connected with Richard Wagner. The warrior maiden of the Valkyrie Rock hardly comes into line, for instance, with the "antimacassar" ideals of womanhood.

But in any case, Wagner's Woman of the Future is not without interest just now for the Woman of the Present.

ELEANOR M. MOORE.

SUFFRAGISTS have discovered a source of great satisfaction in a new "poser" to their opponents—Are there as many "revolting daughters" of Suffragist as of Anti-Suffragist mothers? There seems to be some confusion of thought here between the old children's riddle, "Why do white sheep eat more than black?" and the new Suffragist riddle (propounded to Lord Cromer), "What would have happened if you had never had a mother?"

A SUFFRAGE CAUSERIE.

"Let him that pays the piper call the tune."

"WHY on earth are you against women having votes, Grannie? Everybody says you ought to have a vote, with your property and all."

"That's not much of an argument now," said Mrs. Dene, taking up her knitting. "If the Plural Voting Bill is passed, the last remnants of a property qualification will disappear."

"Well," said Marjory, "I don't see that we are not as good as men; why should not we have a vote; we are quite intelligent enough?"

"I should hope so, indeed," retorted Grannie, "it's not claiming much. Intelligence is not conspicuous in voters, or, for that matter, in candidates. Quite the biggest fools I have known have been members of Parliament; why not, there is no entrance examination to pass; no professional skill to gain; no professional difficulties to test a man, nor professional opinion to judge him. A stick that called itself Liberal or Conservative could sit for many constituencies, and once in, all that is wanted is to know your way into the right lobby. The claim that the House of Commons represents the intelligence of the nation is the most amusing of its pretensions. No, if we haven't wits enough for political life, heaven help us and our children!"

"But if you don't need property, and don't need intelligence," said Eustace, "why shouldn't poor Marjory, who hasn't either—don't pinch, Marjory!—have a vote if she likes; what does she need?"

"Physical strength," said Mrs. Dene, shortly.

Eustace rubbed his arm, and felt his sister's biceps approvingly, and Marjory pushed him away and said, "Why? That sounds a curious qualification."

"Only because you don't realise what it implies. I don't know whether you young people read history, or only 'get up' certain periods, but if you look back on English history, you will find that political powers and privileges don't drop from heaven like manna, and are not generally won by talk, or even by breaking windows; they have always been bought and paid for; and the price, in one form or another, has always been the sweat of man's brow.

"The nobles paid for Magna Charta with their swords and those of their vassals; the townsmen paid for their right to hold markets and levy tolls, to

wall their city and administer its affairs by the money their toilsome and adventurous trade had bought. By and by, knights of the shire and burgesses from the towns met in Parliament and demanded redress of their grievances in exchange for grants of money. It was hard bargaining all through; each side had something to sell and something to buy. What place was there for women in these transactions? What had they to sell?"

"But things are different now," said Marjory, feebly.

"Are they?" said her grandmother. "Do not Governments still require soldiers, sailors and policemen; men to build their ships, coal to work them, iron to cover them, money to pay for them; and to get all this must they not make their bargain with men?—ironworkers, coal-miners, engineers, bankers and financiers. All this arrangement of votes and Acts of Parliament is only the outer clothing; underneath is the naked fact that men have their labour to sell, and can claim its price. Every now and then the essential fact breaks through the modern disguise, as in the recent coal strike, and the men who bring their labour to market find fault with the price, and refuse to sell. Where do women come in? Have we control of any market? Can we stop the trade of the country?"

"That sounds rather sordid," said Eustace; "reminds one of that old beggar—I forget his name—who said that every man had his price."

"You mean Sir Robert Walpole, and he didn't say it, but never mind. If he had said that every *thing* had its price, he would have spoken the truth. Nothing for nothing and very little for sixpence is a sound moral rule. The question for all of us all through life is whether we will pay honestly, or try to beg and steal. And everything has its *own* price; you can't pay for churches and expect ironclads too, and *vice versa*. The price of votes is strength to labour and fight. Women cannot pay that price, because they are bearing the cost of that greatest service—bringing men into the world, perpetuating the race that is 'the roof and crown of things.'"

"But that is a supreme service to the State," said Eustace.

"Yes, but it is not for sale," said his grandmother, "it is given freely. Mothers cannot strike work, they ask nothing from Government and tolerate no interference by Government. Motherhood has its price, indeed, like

love and faith and all high things, but they can only be bought, not sold; each pays the price, but what he gains he must keep or give. Bargains are made on the lower level. The life is more than meat, and the body than raiment; we have the life to guard, man the food and raiment to provide; he has a right to choose his own way of doing so; to bring the sweat of his brow to the best market."

"But many women don't have children."

"No, more's the pity; but if they miss the great service and the supreme anguish, they pay the price of potential motherhood in their physical disqualifications. It is this that gives women their claim to the support and protection of men; a claim so nobly honoured in the face of death."

"Still, there are matters of State in which women are as much concerned as men."

"Yes; I admit the Suffragette point there, and if it were possible in this world of compromise to divide up our administration of affairs into different compartments, it would be fair to give women a voice in some matters; but it is not fair to let them help to make wars that men must fight, or fix the conditions of the many forms of labour that only they can attempt. We cannot always have the ideally just; the least unfair is often the best we can attempt. In this case, you must remember that while all the harder forms of labour belong exclusively to men, there is no occupation or profession that belongs exclusively to women; they work with men in shops and factories and in domestic service, and all these professions are represented by men. It is less unfair that men should speak for both where both are interested than that women should speak for men where men alone are interested, especially as these last cases are in the great majority. If you take the trouble to analyse the work of Parliaments and Governments, you will find that in nine cases out of ten it is concerned with matters which are exclusively in the hands of men; so I revert to my original proposition, that we have a right only to that for which we pay the price. Home and children are ours by right of purchase, and innumerable opportunities of service are open to all women who will give the cost of thought and trouble and sympathy. We cannot pay the price of Empire, cannot fight enemies, clear forests, water deserts, build cities, and

the government of the Empire must in justice be left to those whose graves all over the world testify to its heavy cost. It is degrading to us who in our own realm 'keep our lot and pay our scot,' as the old burgher oath ran, to come into man's sphere as beggars, extorting by clamour and importunity what we have not earned. What we *buy* is honourably ours; it is only daughters of the horse-leech that cry, 'Give, Give!'"

A LOCAL REFERENDUM.

WHILE the opinions of municipal electorates have been freely canvassed on the subject of Woman Suffrage, there has as yet been no general attempt to anticipate the verdict of a referendum on this question. It was, therefore, a happy idea on the part of the Weybridge and District Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to carry out on its own account a referendum among all the Parliamentary electors in the area covered by the Branch, which includes the wards of Weybridge, Otlands, Adlestone, Byfleet, and Shepperton. Clearly an undertaking of this nature entails a considerable expenditure of time, trouble and money, and the League is indebted to the officials of the Branch, and particularly to the Honorary Treasurer, Mrs. Gore-Browne, for the work done and the precedent they have set. The results, which were communicated in due course to the Members of Parliament concerned (for the constituencies of Chertsey, Epsom and Uxbridge), showed a heavy percentage of apathetic electors, while the remainder voted against Woman Suffrage in the proportion of over 4 to 1.

The question asked was: "Are you in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women?" and the result of the poll was as follows:—

Cards sent out	...	...	3850
Answers received	...	...	1371
Replies—			
"No"	...	...	1102
"Yes" (unqualified)	...	...	194
"Yes" (qualified)	...	...	68
Neutral	...	...	7

Of the 2,000 who did not reply it is probably the fact that the vast majority resent the intrusion of this Woman Suffrage question into their daily lives. While sympathising with their attitude, we can only impress upon them the necessity of showing once and for all their hostility to the movement by joining the League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

AFTER a hearing which had occupied six days, the trial for conspiracy of the Suffragist leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, closed on May 22nd. The jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*, with a recommendation to clemency in consideration of the "undoubtedly pure motives" underlying the Woman Suffrage agitation. Mr. Justice Coleridge passed sentence of imprisonment for nine months in the second division, making Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst jointly and severally responsible for the costs of the prosecution in the case.

THE PRESENTATION TO LORD CROMER.

ON Thursday, May 2nd, Lord Cromer visited once more the Headquarters of the League, where he spent so much time as President, to receive from the Executive Committee a token of their esteem and of their gratitude for the invaluable work that he had done during his term of office. The presentation was made by Lord Curzon in the presence of Lady Cromer, members of the Executive Committee and the Headquarters Staff. Among those who were present were Lady Robson, Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Henry Wilson, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Miss Pott, Lord Haversham, Lord Charnwood, Colonel Le Roy Lewis, Messrs. Arnold Ward, M.P., J. Massie and A. Maconachie. Letters expressing regret for their absence were read from Lady Biddulph of Ledbury, Miss G. Lowthian Bell, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., and Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C.

LORD CURZON'S SPEECH.

In making the presentation, Lord Curzon said: Ladies and Gentlemen, As the clock strikes, with the punctuality to which Lord Cromer has accustomed us, we begin.

We are assembled here together, members of this Executive Committee, of both sexes, in order to make a presentation of this silver inkstand and these candlesticks, to our late President, Lord Cromer. I am sure there is no function, large or small, at which we have attended which will have given more pleasure to the donors, and, I hope I may add, it will not be without pleasure to the recipient.

When a few months ago the bombshell fell that we were to lose the services of Lord Cromer as our President, no sooner had Lord Cromer left the room than someone rose to his feet and suggested that some testimony of our feelings of respect and admiration should be made to him, and the idea was mooted that we might hold a public banquet in his honour. I mentioned this idea to Lord Cromer, but he at once stamped it under foot. I have never been able to understand why, when we want to honour a man in this country, we inflict upon him the tedium of having to listen to a number of speeches which he probably does not want to hear. Anyhow, our President, with characteristic modesty, asked leave to decline the compliment. It was on the same occasion that, in his house at 36, Wimpole Street, I happened to see upon the table an inkstand, which, if I may say so, was unworthy both of its owner and its object. I suggested that by way of a gift we might be able to replace it with something better. Lord Cromer was kind enough to fall in with the suggestion, and so here we have the inkstand and candlesticks, which I am about to present.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, what are the circumstances in which we ask leave to give, and we beg Lord Cromer to accept, this present? It is now nearly three years since I was brought into close personal touch with Lord Cromer in connection with this League. He was already President of the Men's Anti-Suffrage League, and there was a Ladies' League, of which Lady Jersey was the valuable head. Discussing the fortunes of the movement, we came to the conclusion that the main desiderata were three in number—

- (1) Amalgamation of the two existing bodies.

- (2) The creation of a first-class organisation working at the Headquarters of the new League.

- (3) Money.

I was personally associated with Lord Cromer in the last-named object. We undertook to raise a certain amount of money, which has been of great use to us since. But for the amalgamation of the two Leagues and for the starting of an efficient organisation, Lord Cromer was almost entirely responsible. If it had not been for his faculty of conciliation, his prestige, his power of compelling everyone to work for him, that difficult operation would never have been carried out. It was a difficult operation. To create of two bodies with separate rules and organisation a single body which should combine the energies and aspirations of both was not an easy task. However, the abilities and the genius which Lord Cromer placed at the service of the nation for the great work of his life in Egypt were equally at our disposal for this smaller undertaking. Wherever a speech had to be made, Lord Cromer was willing to make it. Whenever a letter had to be sent to the papers, he was willing to pen it. Whenever there was oil to be poured on troubled waters, Lord Cromer had an inexhaustible cuse. He gave an immense amount of devotion to our needs. He was constantly in the office here.

Such is the experience of the last three years, for it is only three years since the events of which I speak to you began. Do you not think Lord Cromer has a right to be proud of his work, and have not we a right to be proud of him? We have now no division in our ranks. We are making great way. The recent meeting at the Albert Hall excited our opponents to a series of acts of misconduct which certainly have not advanced their cause; nay, I think, have permanently retarded it. Lord Cromer resigns the command of the ship at a moment when she is sailing steadily in, port in sight.

With regard to the considerations which have compelled him to retire, anyone who knows Lord Cromer would know that he would be unwilling to abandon any work that he can do for the good of the nation. His health, however, has been failing; we have even noticed it here at times, and we deeply deplore it. We hope that, having resigned this and other public work, and taken more rest, he will be spared for many years of service to the State. He has certainly not resigned interest in our cause, and we, his unworthy successors, may still go to him for counsel. In the matter of money contributions we shall particularly need his advice and influence, and Lord Cromer has already promised his help.

It is with sentiments of sincere gratitude and respect that, on behalf of the Executive Committee whose proceedings he has guided with so much skill and success, I now make this little presentation. No public man could have given a greater stimulus to our cause than we have derived from the name, the ability and the untiring zeal of Lord Cromer.

LORD CROMER'S REPLY.

Lord Cromer, in reply, said: I daresay some of you may be familiar with a story which used at one time to be a good deal current in military circles. It is related that on the occasion of a Colonel retiring from the command of his regiment, the officers wished to present him with a piece of plate. He was warned beforehand that a speech would be made on the occasion of the presentation and

that he would be expected to reply. When he was told this, he said "Certainly! I will make you a capital speech; I know exactly what to say." When, eventually, the officers met in the mess-room, all that the senior Major, who was rather overcome with his feelings, could say was "Colonel, here is the jug." And all that the Colonel, who was also overcome, could reply was "Oh, that's the jug, is it? Thanks." That was the whole of the ceremony.

I can assure you that on the present occasion I feel almost as much embarrassed as that laconic Colonel. But my thanks, however imperfectly expressed, are none the less heartfelt and sincere.

It is always a difficult matter to run any political association, and the difficulties are very considerably enhanced when, as in the present case, the association is of a purely non-Party character. It is no easy matter, under our political system, to isolate any special question, and to treat it wholly irrespective of all Party considerations. As we know from experience, many hopeful proposals of activity in various directions have had to be negatived, because their adoption would involve bringing in collateral issues as to which all the members of the Association are not fully agreed. These difficulties can only be overcome, if the President of the League possesses the confidence, the good-will and the friendship of all those with whom he is associated. That good-will, confidence and friendship have been extended to me in a very bountiful degree, and for this I wish to express to you my very sincere gratitude.

I think that between us we have really managed to give a very considerable set-back to this pernicious Female Suffrage movement. All the symptoms are at present favourable. Consider what happened at the recent Nottingham election. Where on that occasion was Christabel and all her friends? They were unable to do much to help their cause at Nottingham. One of the candidates was a strong Suffragist and the other a strong Anti-Suffragist. But the election was fought on the ordinary Party lines, without the Suffrage question having, apparently, exercised the smallest influence upon the result. I do hope that the result of this election will encourage those who are candidates for Parliament in all cases to vote as they think, and if they do this, I have very little doubt of the result.

Then, there is another very encouraging symptom. You will remember that before the Albert Hall meeting we were frequently told that our Association was practically defunct. Mrs. Fawcett said that we were "extinct volcanoes." Very different language is used now. Immediately after the Albert Hall meeting, I was inundated with letters, many of them anonymous. Apparently from angry ladies. One of them asked me the appalling and somewhat irrelevant conundrum, what would have happened if I had had no mother, a question to which I am wholly unable to reply. Another addressed me as "You old villain!" and said that it was perfectly well known that I kept a harem when I was in Egypt; she then asked me how many of my black wives I drowned, and for how much I sold the remainder. I think it is a very fair inference to draw that when people use angry language of this description and also smash windows, it is beginning to dawn upon them that they are associated with a losing cause.

I most earnestly hope, therefore, that this Association will continue its efforts to rouse the public to the gravity of the issue. For my own part, I may say that, important as I think would be the political consequences, should votes be given to women, I consider that, from a social and domestic point of view, the results would be even more disastrous.

Lord Curzon, in the very kind remarks which he has just addressed to you, asked me to continue to give my assistance. I fear I cannot do very much, but what help I can afford will be most willingly given. I hope that one of the first uses that I shall make of the inkstand which you have been so kind as to give me will be to write letters in support of your cause.

I shall always keep that inkstand and the candlesticks, and I shall hand them down to my children as a memento of your kindness to myself and of the very pleasant relations which I have been able to entertain with all the members of this Association.

YE FOLK GUILD TO WITHSTAND YE RULE OF FEMINYE.

"SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND."

The significance of the words that are emblazoned on the sign hanging outside a quaint brown and white gabled house in the heart of the shopping centre of "Shakespeare's England" (Earl's Court Exhibition) is not lost on many passers-by. "Ye Folk Guild to Withstand ye Rule of Feminye"—the words are read slowly, meditatively, and then, "Ah! the League for Opposing Women's Votes" is the immediate comment—and there is another signature to our petition, a demand for literature, and in many cases, a new member for the League!

There is no doubt of the extreme popularity of 56, Staples Inn, the official address of Anti-Suffragists in "Shakespeare's England." The bright little house is gay with our colours in banners and ribbon favours; bowls of rose-coloured tulips have been standing in the lattice windows, and inside there is plenty of literature, photographic post-cards of well-known Anti-Suffragists, &c., &c., all of which have to be replenished frequently, so great is the demand for them. The giant badge that dangles from the wrought iron sign, and the single syllable "Anti," reassures many visitors who eye doubtfully the word "Suffrage." A day spent in charge of the house supplies ample evidence to bear out the challenge that the N.L.O.W.S. has flung down—"Women do not want the Vote," nor do many men or women desire Woman Suffrage.

During the first week of the opening of the doors of 56, Staples Inn, 2,354 men and women signed the petition against Votes for Women, between three and four hundred new members joined the League, over 200 REVIEWS were sold and 270 badges. This is a very satisfactory week's record, and we have every reason to expect splendid success during the next few months in the Exhibition.

From just after 11 in the morning until closing time—between ten and eleven at night—there is no lack of visitors, and often the house is uncomfortably crowded. The majority of visitors are no mere idle inquirers either; they are keenly interested in our League. Many who have not so far seriously

considered the question of Woman Suffrage, who have "sat on the fence," have taken an inquiring step over the threshold of 56, Staples Inn, and have come out wearing the Anti-Suffrage badge!

The crowds of passers-by are exactly representative of public opinion, and are all anxious to hear our side. How widely diversified is our public is best realised by a glance at one of our petition forms. Just below the laboured writing of one working man (who, by-the-by, also bought a penny badge "to take home to the missus") appears the signature of a well-known peer. Immediately after two fashionably attired women had inscribed their names as members, a toil-worn laundry hand came in and said, "I'd like to sign my name *against* votes for women, please, if you will tell me how to spell ironer!" The intricacies of this word having been successfully dealt with, she deposited a penny in the fund box, and went away well pleased that she had done her little share.

Of humour there was plenty to be found, but I have only space to record two small instances. First of the smiling-faced young man who came in and said he would like to join our League because he had seven sisters and they were all Suffragists; and, secondly, of the pretty girl who signed her name, and then remarked mischievously, "I am the only one of our family married—five girls—I'm the only 'Anti'!"

There is no better place to obtain a bird's-eye view of the state of the Woman Suffrage question than from the doorway of 56, Staples Inn, "Shakespeare's England."

L. V. M.

"THE STANDARD" AND THE "TITANIC" DISASTER

We have been asked by Miss Gladys Pott to publish the following letter, copies of which have been sent to the Honorary Secretaries of the various Branches of the League:—

7, Queensborough Terrace,
Hyde Park, W.

DEAR MADAM,—The following letter was sent to the *Standard* on April 22nd, but owing to the refusal on the part of the Editor to publish it, or to print (as I subsequently asked him to do) a notice to the effect that I had withdrawn from "Woman's Platform," I am compelled to send the letter to all those with whom I have in any way communicated upon the subject of Woman Suffrage, in order that they may be informed of my severance from the *Standard*.

Yours truly,
GLADYS POTT.

"April 22nd, 1912.

"To the Editor of the *Standard*."

SIR,—I have just received your issue of April 18th and find upon one of its leading pages a column containing a series of interviews sought for by a representative of your paper with persons interested in the question of Woman Suffrage, who were invited to express their views upon the conduct of the victims of the appalling catastrophe of the wreck of the 'Titanic' in connection with the subject of Suffrage. The calamity of the 'Titanic' disaster is so awful that the

whole civilised world stands aghast at the tragedy, which was well described by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on April 16th, as 'one of those terrible events which make us feel the inadequacy of words to do justice to what we feel.' English people are accustomed to regard such national misfortunes as being outside the realm of party or personal strife; to look upon a common sorrow as the healer before whom differences of opinion sink into obscurity, and to unite in honouring the heroic conduct of those who in the face of peril conduct themselves in accordance with the noblest traditions of their race by the silent homage that is but seemly in the presence of the majesty of death. But that a leading London paper should have treated the calamity as an incident fit to be dragged into the field of political and sex controversy and have invited discussion upon the bravery of those who by their heroism have, at least, earned the right to escape such contemptible criticisms from those whose views are bounded by narrow partisanship and petty prejudice; and that, further, this should have been done even before the accurate knowledge of the details of personal self-sacrifice was forthcoming, is to my mind an absolute outrage upon all good taste and proper feeling. I can only show my abhorrence of such action by publicly withdrawing from any further part as a contributor to your columns in which, by your invitation, I have recently taken a share: and I ask you, in courtesy and fairness to those with whom I have corresponded in 'Woman's Platform,' to publish this letter, in order that they may be informed of the fact that I am unable to continue such communications.

"Yours obediently,

"(Miss) GLADYS POTT.

"Hotel Roma Gardone Riviera,
"Lac de Garda, Italy."

CORRESPONDENCE.

POLITICAL PRISONERS, OR COMMON CRIMINALS?

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

SIR,—What is a political prisoner? Hitherto, the term has been understood to mean a person who advocates, or himself impersonates, political changes or opinions which are regarded by the State as so obnoxious or dangerous as to justify the arrest and imprisonment of that person. The Window-Smashers have gone far beyond such advocacy—they have proceeded to a wholesale destruction of the property of innocent persons, against whom they have no grievance, in order, as they allege, to put pressure on the Government. And yet they pretend that such destruction is, by reason of its alleged motive, only a political offence. But if wholesale destruction of property may be so exercised, why not, also, wholesale robbery, and even murder? Such talk is too absurd. The truth is, that the Window-Smashers are common criminals and nothing else.

I am, &c.,

E. PAGDEN.

140, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

"NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION."

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

SIR,—A political shibboleth is sometimes very like a lie. Give it a sufficient start and it is difficult to overtake. A great many men, and a great many more women, have been going about vaunting this phrase as an established principle of the Constitution, and insisting that it implies of necessity the inherent right of every tax-paying woman to the Parliamentary vote.

The argument may be fairly stated thus:—"No taxation without representation" is an established and incontrovertible principle of our Constitution. Therefore, every taxpayer has a right to representation. But many women are taxpayers, and representation means the right to vote for a member of Parliament. Therefore, every tax-paying woman has a right to a vote.

But the whole soundness of the proposition vanishes if it can be shown that the so-called constitutional principle in its origin did not bear, and was not intended to bear, the meaning which has been imposed upon it in these loose-speaking days.

Who first laid down the principle, and what was the meaning in which he used the phrase? It is often attributed to the elder Pitt during the debates on the stamp duties on the American Colonies in 1766. But as a matter of fact the first appearance of the phrase that I can find is in a speech of Lord Camden in the House of Lords on January 14th of that year in the opening debate of the session. "My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature, nay more, it is of itself an eternal law of nature." (See Lord Stanhope's "History of England," Vol. XLV., and "Political Register," Vol. I., p. 282.) Pitt was ever pressing the essential difference between the legislative and the taxing functions of Government. Legislation, he argued, was imposed by the Government upon the people; and in this case, the term "Government" included not only the House of Commons, but also the House of Lords and the King. On the other hand, taxation was not imposed, but, in a free country, proceeded voluntarily from the people to the King through the Commons. Thus he stated that he was in favour of maintaining over the American Colonies "every kingly power except the power of taking money from their pockets without their consent."

And it was in this sense that Lord Camden, one of Pitt's few supporters in the House of Lords, used the phrase quoted above. But the great point to be observed is that whenever the phrase was used it was always used in respect of the taxation of nations and communities by an outside authority—never of the relations between individual taxpayers and their own governing body.

The attempt by King George III. to tax another nation without their consent cost him the loss of the American Colonies. But it is a mis-reading and a mis-use of the phrase to quote it as implying a right in any individual taxpayer, male or female, to the Parliamentary vote.

Yours faithfully,

S. H. WHITBREAD.

11, Mansfield Street, W.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

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

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me to trespass on your valuable space in order to appeal strongly to all women to use their influence to ensure the passing of Mr. Lee's Bill (Criminal Law Amendment) through Parliament this Session? This Bill will do much to put down white slave traffic, and it can be easily passed through Parliament now if it is sufficiently backed by public opinion. At a specially convened committee meeting of the Irish Branch of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage the following resolution was passed unanimously, and copies of it have been sent to all the Irish members of Parliament:—

"That this Committee is of opinion that every member of Parliament, irrespective of party politics, should use his best endeavours to secure that Mr. Arthur Lee's Criminal Law Amendment Bill (White Slave Traffic) should be dealt with this Session and passed into law without further delay. This Committee appeals to all electors to urge upon their members to support this Bill by every means in their power."

Yours faithfully,

AMY H. MURRAY,

Hon. Secretary,

Irish Branch, N.L.O.W.S.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

Whose Children are These? By Ethel M. Naish. (Cornish Bros., Ltd., Birmingham.)

Report of the Conference of Rescue Workers (N.U.W.W.).

Statistical Analysis of Infant Mortality and Its Causes in the United Kingdom. By Helen M. Blagg. (P. S. King & Son, Westminster.)

QUESTIONS connected with the birth and support of illegitimate children and infant mortality deserve the most careful attention of all thinking women, but constitute some of the most puzzling and difficult subjects with which to deal practically, and at the same time to avoid the dangers attendant upon hasty or insufficiently considered legislation. To take the one just mentioned; it is only necessary to compare the bad results of the law by which, prior to the Poor Law Reform of 1834, the uncorroborated statement on oath of an unmarried mother was admitted as sufficient evidence that the man she accused was in fact the father of her child, with the complaints often to-day brought forward of the undue leniency of the present law to the putative father of an illegitimate child, to realise the difficulties surrounding legislation upon this and kindred subjects, and the necessity for extreme caution in such matters. It is fatally easy, when attempting to remedy injustice in one direction, to create an equally undesirable evil in another.

The study of reports and recommendations by those who are doing useful work amongst mothers and children is always interesting, and three such publications are now before the writer, viz., the Report of the Conference of Rescue Workers amongst the N.U.W.W.,

held in Glasgow last autumn; a pamphlet by Miss E. M. Naish, entitled "Whose Children are These?"; and a "Statistical Analysis of Infant Mortality and Its Causes in the United Kingdom," by Miss Blagg. With regard to the conclusions given on the final page of Miss Naish's pamphlet, it would be interesting to know what accurate evidence is available to show that the "physical, mental and moral calibre" of illegitimate children is so greatly lower than that of children born in wedlock, as to justify the proposals of the author that the State should legally incur the large expenses involved in some of her suggested remedies. Such evidence may be forthcoming, but is not given by Miss Naish. She proposes that the collection of periodical subsidies due from a putative father to the child's mother should be undertaken by the State, saying, "It is the duty of the State to enforce its own mandates." But hitherto it has not been held desirable for a Public Department to be responsible for the collection of debts due between private individuals, and if public policy on this point is to be reversed, it should only be so dealt with after mature and grave consideration.

Miss Clifford's admirable speech, at Glasgow, is prefaced by the remark that "Anything like a State provision and recognition of illegitimacy is likely to confuse the public standard." Her splendid work amongst the poor and unfortunate in one of our great crowded centres is so well known that any words from her upon such questions command our respect and attention; and her warning seems not only excellent in itself, but specially necessary in these days when compassion for individual sufferers often blinds well-intentioned sympathisers to the peril of urging legislation in the interests of the few to the future detriment of the many.

Miss Blagg's careful and useful statistics and remarks upon Infant Mortality are to be recommended to all who wish to study the subject. As she observes on the opening page, it is one of the most complex and difficult of modern social problems; the more deeply it is studied, the more difficult it seems of solution. Only those ignorant of the question, or those who have only studied it superficially, are ready to attribute it to one cause, or profess to be able to deal with it simply and effectively. Miss Blagg's analysis of facts teaches us that the problem is of a very different nature.

"ANTI" ARGUMENTS.

SPEAKING at Glasgow on May 21st, Mr. Bonar Law used, in regard to the Home Rule question, several arguments which apply with unanswerable logic to Woman Suffrage. He said:—

"All government in the last resort rests upon force, but representative government, government by a majority, rests upon the assumption that the majority at any time is fairly representative of the balance of forces in the country. That system which in its nature is artificial can continue, in my belief, only on two conditions . . . And the second is, that no vital change—and, above all, no change which, when once made, can never be reversed—should be made until it is perfectly clear that the majority of the people of this country desire it."

WHERE WOMEN MEET.

By Miss Edith Long Fox.

FROM the burden of contending factions in the women's world, and from the turmoil of party politics in the men's, it is refreshing to turn one's attention to a field of work about the necessity for which a large number of women holding widely different opinions on other subjects agree so emphatically, that through their instrumentality societies have been formed, such as the Women's Local Government Society, with its affiliated branches in the provinces, and the younger, but very energetic, Women's Local Government Advancement Committee, which has for its object the "substitution for interference in the Parliamentary and Imperial work of men of a just insistence upon those powers in the domestic administration of the nation which are rightly shared by women."

In addition to these, there are various provincial associations formed by representatives of various bodies of women engaged in religious, social, or political work who, holding that union is strength, work harmoniously together with one aim in view, that of securing by every means in their power the election of suitable women to fulfil the duties of good citizens of the State.

Suitable women candidates for Borough Councils are preferably those who have had experience in municipal work. Co-opted members of the education committee, lady guardians, school managers, health visitors, have all made their work known to the Council and that portion of the general public who take an intelligent interest in municipal matters. These stand the best chance of being elected, because their work has been sampled and found excellent, while men have learnt that they are women whom it is both possible and good to work with. Half the prejudice which exists against electing a woman on a Town Council arises from her being an unknown quantity. Men think that she will quarrel or fuss, and they shrink from electing a stranger, while they would willingly help in the election of one whom they already know. As regards character, it is pre-eminently important to find a level-headed reasonable woman with perfect self-control and blessed with a sense of proportion which will restrain her from trying to grind her own particular axe at inconvenient moments. There is little need to emphasise the necessity for the higher qualities of devotion and self-denial; we see it in the work of the women who are already elected, and it is obvious that those who love their own ease and pleasure would never be willing to take up their share of the heavy burden of municipal affairs, because the rewards which the deeply interesting nature of the work brings would not appeal to them.

WOMAN'S HELP.

Women are born helpers, and it comes very hard to them to have to look-on while a whole body of busy men are struggling not only with commercial problems connected with the trade and port and safety of their city, but with matters in which they, too, long to have their say and in which their personal experience would not be unwelcome. Dear to their hearts, because so intimately connected with their home experience, are the arrangements which the Town Council have to make for all the elementary schools

in the borough, including the education of the blind, deaf, and mentally deficient and crippled children and of that difficult class who are committed to the industrial schools. Its members have to arrange for the medical inspection and feeding of necessitous school children, and have to regulate the employment of children and to see that the provisions of the Children's Charter and Acts for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children are enforced; they begin their care over them from birth, for they have to keep a Register of Midwives and to see that no unqualified women practise in that capacity, and in boroughs where they carry out the Act, health visitors are sent to report on the condition of every mother and infant.

Public lunatic asylums and infectious hospitals are all under their care, so are baths and wash-houses. They are responsible for the better housing of the working classes, and have to carry out the provisions of the Act which embraces the proper ordering of common lodging-houses, and they have authority for enforcing the Sanitary Acts both there and in dwelling-houses and factories. The Old Age Pensions and Unemployed Workmen's Acts are also dealt with by the same body. It speaks well for the devotion of its members when we realise that, engaged as many of them are with their business concerns, they tackle this vast amount of work without complaint, and often with marked success. No one wishes to take it out of their hands. We know that men can do anything they set their minds to, but we venture to offer the help of some of our women citizens, because we think that the children of the State and the great number of women employed by municipal bodies require the assistance of women experts, who can more readily understand the drawbacks and difficulties of their position than men, who have not the advantage of bringing to this municipal "housekeeping" all the facility gained by their fellow women, who have engaged in work of more or less the same character since the days when they kept school for their dolls and the kitten.

With this end in view, we must endeavour to develop the work of women in Local Government, and if we succeed in impressing upon their minds some knowledge of the moral responsibility and self-forgetfulness which good citizenship entails, we shall at least have done something towards benefiting the commonwealth. It is useless to disguise the fact that the task before us is a difficult one. The women we want often lack the necessary legal qualification, or are already so taken up with useful work that they cannot be persuaded to come forward as candidates for election to the County and Borough Councils, and while the men are as a body prejudiced against their advent, the woman municipal voter meets our missionary efforts with a stolid indifference which is far more difficult to contend against than active opposition.

EXPERIENCE IN BRISTOL.

I, who am a member of the Advancement Committee, am also Treasurer of the Bristol Women's Local Government Association, and as some of our experiences may possibly help other beginners, I propose, if you will allow me, to give a few practical details of our methods of work. The object of the Association is to bring forward women

candidates for the Town Council and Board of Guardians, and to educate public opinion for that end by means of meetings, public discussions, and the distribution of literature. It is independent of all party politics; in fact, all political discussion is rigorously excluded, as is any allusion to Woman Suffrage or to the League against it. The only time it is mentioned at all is when at a meeting of working women the Honorary Secretaries of these two opposing forces meet on the same platform and agree to explain to their interested audience that they are working together in this Association, because the municipal vote is distinct from the Parliamentary one, about which they hold such widely different opinions. Such an explanation is very necessary, as many working women have signed a petition to Parliament against Woman Suffrage, and they, in common with many others, understand so little about the municipal vote, that if a lady candidate asks them to vote for her, they are very apt to shut the door firmly in her face. To get all qualified women to look upon the use of this vote as a sacred duty is one of the objects of this Association, which is doing all in its power to let a great deal be heard on this subject by holding constant meetings, often addressed by lady town councillors from other towns, who come to give details of their work and to urge other women to offer themselves for election. Since its formation two-and-a-half years ago, the Committee have worked hard, the combination of members of the two Societies, Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage, has been an incentive for work, the only rivalry being which should do the most. We have done heavy spade work in preparing wards in which we knew a vacancy was likely to occur by holding public and private meetings, and getting qualified women voters to see that their names were on the Register, and we have found excellent candidates, co-opted members of the Education Committee, whose families represent both political parties—we have run one splendid lady for election who nobly came forward for the second time; but, alas! those iron-bound doors of the Council house are still firmly closed, and, while the policy of the militant Suffragettes continues, I fear they are not likely to open. That we have their tactics to thank for this state of affairs I am firmly convinced.

(To be continued.)

CLASSES IN ANTI-SUFFRAGE WORK

WILL BE HELD AT THE

Head Offices, 515, Caxton House,

On Thursday Afternoons at 3 o'clock, beginning THURSDAY, JUNE 6th.

The next Six Classes will be addressed by MISS GLADYS POTT.

Practical Instruction will be given in CANVASSING, ORGANISING, DEBATING, Etc.

Fee for Single Lecture, 1/-; or 5/- for the whole Course.



THE FALL OF THE FLAG.

SCIENCE OF CHARITY.

II—POOR LAW.

By LADY ROSE WEIGALL.

By English law no person may be allowed to starve. The Poor Law, dating in its origin from the days of Queen Elizabeth, is the machinery by which this object is attained. Naturally, in the course of time, many changes in its mode of administration have become necessary, as habits and conditions of life have altered; the greatest change was made in 1834, when many abuses were rectified and the lines laid down on which substantially the law is now administered. In former days, when parishes were practically self-contained and people moved about less, and the squire and the parson and the "poor people" all knew each other, co-operation between the parochial authorities and dispensers of private charity was (certainly in villages and small towns) quite easy and natural. But now all this is changed; and especially in large towns, the practical divorce between Poor Law and private charity has produced many evils. About forty years ago, the Charity Organisation Society was started in London to try to rectify these evils, and in many large towns similar organisations have been established. But there is still a lamentable want of organisation and co-operation between private and public charity. The barrier is caused very much by official routine on one hand, and on the other by ignorance of how much the Poor Law can do to help private charity and by a certain amount of narrow parochialism among workers among the poor. All would profit if these barriers could be broken down, and the first step would seem to be to dispel the ignorance which seems to prevail so generally as to what the Poor Law can do.

Its first principle is, as already mentioned, that no person shall be allowed to starve—the condition of poverty making such a catastrophe possible is called *destitution*. Every destitute person has a claim on the Poor Law. But such a claim may easily be abused by the idle and thriftless, who may drift into destitution, relying on this claim. Therefore, it is necessary to have a very careful definition of the term "destitute," and to see that the relief afforded to the able-bodied pauper does not put him under as good or better conditions than the industrious workman who preserves his independence by his own exertions. The two forms by which the Poor Law gives help are *indoor* and *outdoor* relief, *i.e.*, shelter in the workhouse, or an allowance in money or kind to maintain the pauper outside. Medical relief in case of sickness can always be obtained, if destitution is proved, and it should be borne in mind that the medical officer has power also to order any nourishment he considers essential for the patient (milk, meat, &c.); but he has not power to order coals or warm clothing.

CO-OPERATION.

Ignorance of this fact is the cause of well-meaning visitors often bestowing milk and meat where the patient's wants in this respect are already provided for, and the same amount spent on coals or blankets would supply his further needs. Every application for relief must be made through the relieving officer (no application to individual guardians is of any use), and by a recent order of the Local Government Board, the

case-paper system is made compulsory; this is a paper containing elaborate questions to be answered by applicants for relief. In the filling in of these papers, district visitors could render very great service both to the poor and to the guardians by making the people understand that these questions are asked simply for the purpose of obtaining the most effectual help for them, and that it is a positive sin not to answer them truthfully; and, further, that so far from imagining (as many do) that they will help their case by making themselves out to be absolutely friendless and concealing any little assistance they have had, the evidence that they have been thought worthy of some help would tell in their favour. And this brings us to the great question of all—the chief object is to relieve destitution *adequately*. In a sense, the Poor Law is bound to do this, but not to the extinction of private charity. It would be disastrous indeed and an intolerable burden on the State, if (as some extreme Socialists would seem to advocate) all charity were taken over by the State; but it is quite obvious that, in the present day, private charity, to be effectual, must cease to be irresponsible and independent, and must work hand in hand with State charity. For that reason, every worker among the poor should make it his or her duty to become acquainted with the outlines at least of Poor Law, to know the inside of their own workhouse, and to have some acquaintance with the Poor Law officials, especially the relieving officers and parish doctor. Of course, the ideal is to have in every parish or district a Relief Committee, on which guardians, relieving officers, and clergy and parish workers of all denominations could meet regularly; but, failing this, an immense amount of good could be done privately in every parish by those equipped with the necessary knowledge co-operating heartily together.

The parish worker's knowledge of individuals would be of great service to relieving officers and guardians in deciding how to deal with cases. And if the workers, on their side, were thoroughly acquainted with the rules laid down by their guardians (which vary in different places) for the administration of relief, they would be able to judge when an application for relief is desirable and legitimate or not, and to give advice accordingly, always bearing in mind that Poor Law relief is *not* a charitable dole, and that for the able-bodied and independent man, pauperism should always be regarded as a stigma.

Views on the Vote.

JOHN BRIGHT.

THE following letter (previously unpublished) of John Bright appeared in *The Daily News* and *Leader* of May 20th:—

"Llandudno,

December 12th, '71.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Pray don't send me any Petitions. I cannot tell when I can present them; for it is not very likely, or it is not at all certain, that I shall be in London at the meeting of Parliament. I think, too, it is better to send Petitions to members who *entirely* agree with the object sought, if such are to be found.

"I voted with J. S. Mill three or four years ago, but I am never free from doubt as to whether my vote was a wise one.

"I do not think the bestowal of the Suffrage on women will be of any advantage to *them*, and I fear at present, and perhaps always, that it will tend to strengthen the Party which hitherto has opposed every good measure passed during the 30 years in which I have taken part in political affairs. I think it would add to the power of Priestcraft in every part of the Three Kingdoms.

"I hope this view of the question may be a mistaken one—because it does not seem very unlikely that the Suffrage will be granted to women.

"Forgive my doubts, and believe me always sincerely,

Thy friend,

"JOHN BRIGHT.

"To Eliza M. Sturge, Birmingham."

THE MAN IN THE STREET.

If any proof were needed of the general antagonism of the "man in the street" to the Woman Suffrage movement, it would be afforded by the attitude of good-humoured banter or of downright hostility with which Suffragist speakers at street corners and other open-air meetings have to cope. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that at a meeting held last month in the Canteen Room, Coringham Road, Golder's Green, at which between eighty and a hundred working men were present, a resolution to the following effect was passed unanimously, to be forwarded to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.:—"That this meeting objects to the Labour Party making Woman Suffrage a plank of its Platform." Mr. Charles Brown, Vice-Chairman of the Tottenham District Council, presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mrs. Gladstone Solomon. A resolution to the effect that the meeting was opposed to Woman Suffrage was also passed, to be forwarded to Mr. H. C. Mallaby-Deeley, M.P.

WE have received a copy of the "Reading Standard" containing an admirable article by Mrs. John Stocks on the subject of Woman Suffrage. It would be well if Anti-Suffragists would undertake from time to time to set forth in the local Press the reasons for the faith that is in them.

A Lady wishes to recommend

Miss SUMNER'S SCHOOL,
"THE EYRIE,"
WESTGATE-ON-SEA.

Good teaching, and special training of the girls in every way. Languages, bathing, and riding. An ideal home for a delicate and refined child.

*THE VOTE IN AMERICA—III.

Idaho, where women have voted for 14 years, is the only State in the Union lacking a law to compel railroads to provide suitable segregated toilet-rooms for women and children.

Eight of the Eastern States have recently passed laws abolishing the common-law marriage. This is perhaps the most important step possible toward the conservation of the home. Colorado, Idaho and Wyoming, where women vote, have not passed such a law.

I asked a woman legislator why none of these laws had either been originated or copied in the Woman Suffrage States, "Oh," she replied, "we don't believe in *fad* legislation!"

THE WAGES QUESTION.

One of the strongest promises made by the advocates for "votes for women" is that if Suffrage were given them by the men they would have the weapon in their hands that would compel men to pay women higher wages.

My next investigation was to see how this promise had been fulfilled in the four States where women had voted 14, 15, 16 and 41 years.

You can hire plenty of girl stenographers just out of school, in Denver and Salt Lake City, for \$5 and \$6 a week. You cannot hire even the greenest boy for less than \$7.50 a week. This ratio of male to female wages extends pretty generally throughout the scale of skilled labour.

The cashgirls and salesgirls of these two cities are paid exactly the same as similar girls are paid in the department stores of Chicago. And it costs more to live in Denver or Salt Lake City than it does in Chicago.

In the four States where women vote there are comparatively few girls in domestic service, and domestics are much in demand, but great as that demand is the Swedish and Norwegian hired girls get from \$18 to \$25 each a month, where the Japanese "boy" gets from \$25 to \$40 a month.

Newspaper women are paid less than newspaper men, just as they are in the East. One curious fact must be noted in this connection: among the newspaper women of Denver I found that two out of every three did *not* believe in Woman Suffrage.

VIEWS ON THE SUFFRAGE.

In none of the four States did I find a woman in executive management of a corporation. There are no women real-estate operators or promoters. I did not even find a woman cashier of a bank, though I inquired for one.

In school-teaching it is the same as in the East. The grades are taught by women, the high schools and universities largely by men, while the principals are, nine times out of ten, men. And the men are paid more than the women!

In Denver there are eight woman attorneys, or one to every twenty thousand of the inhabitants, which is just half as many, according to the population, as there are

* This article, the first and second parts of which appeared respectively in our issues of April 16th and May 1st, is taken from *The Ladies' Home Journal* (U.S.A.). It was written as the result of "a personal investigation into the Laws, Records and Results of the four Equal Suffrage States: Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming."

in Detroit, for example, where women do not vote. I asked one of these women, an excellent attorney who has fought her way valiantly to the top and who is a credit to the bar and to womanhood, how Suffrage had helped her. (She is a voter, too!)

"Helped me!" she said. "It is not a help, but a hindrance. Woman's political enfranchisement does not aid industrial equality. The attitude of men has been (and I quote the words that one of them used to me once): 'There! You've got your rights! Take them!' It could not possibly have been any harder to succeed in New York or in Philadelphia than it has been in Denver. Men give women 'rights' here, not privileges. The business woman here does not meet courtesy, chivalry, or justice. I do not expect the courtesy and chivalry in business, but if I could get within long-distance-telephone reach of justice I would be satisfied; plain, simple justice as between man and man. Not flattery, not charity, only justice!"

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

Another positive claim made by the advocates for "votes for women" is that if women were given the ballot they would uplift and purify politics.

I was in Denver at the time of the last election, and had, therefore, a first-hand opportunity to study the question of woman's honesty in politics. I saw scores of women accept money for the election held in Denver on May 17th, 1910. An incalculable amount of money was spent on that day. In my own very restricted sphere I saw about \$17,000 paid out to women in five, ten and twenty dollar lots.

Two issues were before the people. First, the temperance question: should the town be wet or dry? Second, the water-franchise question: should the city own its own water plant or let a corporation have it?

On the temperance question every one of age could vote and the ballots were about half male and half female. On the franchise only taxpayers could vote and the ballots were about two-thirds male and one-third female. The great bulk of the money was spent by the saloonkeepers to keep the town wet, and by the corporation to get the franchise.

The corporation, though it spent hundreds of thousands of dollars, could not purchase the male electorate. Municipal ownership won by a comfortable majority.

But on the temperance question the vote was: For the dries, 17,237; for the wets, 33,191; the wets' majority, 15,954. With the votes half female and half male the saloonkeepers won almost two to one.

For two weeks before that election the women and children of the working classes paraded the streets making strenuous appeals for a "dry" town. Three nights before the election the Auditorium held 5,000 people, largely women, fighting desperately for temperance.

That same day I sat in the office of the campaign manager of the "wets" and saw a stream of "political" women pass in and out. Each woman took with her a \$10 note and instructions how to work her precinct. There were 211 precincts and four women workers to each precinct. The night before election each of them got another \$10; the committee-women \$25 and the chairwomen \$75 apiece.

One woman came for her ten dollars and was rudely shown the door.

"Why?" I asked the manager.

"She double-crossed me last election," said he. "I paid her, then she sold out to the other side and worked for them. Two days ago I gave her \$10. Now she is back for more. I throw her out. To-day or to-morrow she will go to the other side and get paid. The night before election I'll hunt her up and slip her another ten, or maybe fifteen. Then I stand a chance that she will work for me, but I will not be sure."

"Are many of these women like this?"

"Nine-tenths of them."

"Why do you continue employing them?"

"Because the other side does. I don't dare neglect them. I would rather spend the money and take a chance on half or more of them working for me than to freeze up and have the whole pack on me. Besides, they are often useful. Where there is an ignominious job I can't get a man to do I can always get a woman."

"What kind of an ignominious job?"

"Well—last election there was a district I knew was against me. The polling place was in a schoolhouse. I gave a woman ten dollars and told her to go there when the polls opened and challenge everybody, to delay the election in every possible way. I wanted to keep the vote down. That woman certainly earned her money. She held up everybody. She made them go back and get their certificates from the County Clerk. She almost tried to make them produce their birth certificates. The first three hours of the morning only 14 votes got through. About eleven o'clock she held up the alderman from that ward. The policeman on the beat hunted me up and told me to take that woman out or he would arrest her.

"You'll not arrest her," said I; "if you do I'll have the polls closed and notice posted 'Closed, Women Intimidated by the Police.' Then the election will swing my way. You'll not dare make a martyr of that woman."

"You know that woman is crazy," said the policeman.

"Certainly," said I.

"Then why have you got her there?" said he.

"Because she's crazy," said I.

"Then we went off and left her to her work."

SOMETHING LOST.

A little later, in one of the most exclusive polling places, I talked with one of the highest officials in Denver. The votes were being cast in a garage. Women were driving up in their automobiles, and were being escorted to the ballot-box by their husbands, brothers, fathers and friends. All looked perfectly orderly and respectable. But out in the street, two girl workers, smartly dressed, were seated in a carriage with their feet poised on the opposite seat, nibbling the candy just handed them by the manager on his rounds, and chatting familiarly with every male hanger-on that came along.

"Don't fail to look below the surface," said the official. "When anyone tells you that women mixing in politics help any tell him he has no real knowledge of the subject. In this election about 1,000 women are being paid as workers, and 422 more women are sitting as officials at the polling places. Every single one of those women have lost something, that indefinable something that ought to set her apart. I would no more

think of letting my wife or daughters come here to work than I would think of taking poison into the kitchen.

"It is inevitable," continued this political manager, and I may well close with his words, as the man stands high in Denver's political circles, and voices the opinion that I found was held by many—"It is inevitable," he said, "that women should lose not only their fineness but also their characters when they mix in politics. They cannot see the game as we do, not because they are mentally inferior, for I do not believe they are, but because they lack the experience in affairs. So men do not treat them seriously. Woman Suffrage in this State is a joke, when it is not a shame. High-minded men ignore the woman voter; to low-minded men she is—well, the less said about that the better."

WORK FOR CONSTITUENCIES.

At a recent meeting of the Primrose League in Hampstead, Mr. J. S. Fletcher, M.P., gave his reasons for withholding his vote at the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in March. He refrained from voting, he is reported to have said, not because his opinion had changed, as he firmly adhered to household suffrage, but because of his loyalty to the Party who sent him to Parliament. The Conservative and Unionist Association, which had hitherto left him free upon the question, a few weeks previously called a meeting and requested him not to vote. He wished the matter to be left to his own discretion; but, as this was not granted, he could but fulfil the wishes of those whom he represented, who had so staunchly supported him.

It is to be hoped that other constituencies will follow the example of Hampstead and urge upon their Members of Parliament the necessity of voting on the question of Woman Suffrage in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the electorate.

MR. J. MASSIE, Honorary Treasurer of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, was returned on May 10th at the head of the poll for the new Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation at Rugby.

BRANCH NEWS-LETTER.

THE Honorary Secretaries of Branches are particularly asked to be good enough to see that, when Anti-Suffrage meetings are held in their districts, a brief report is sent without delay to the London Press. It will generally be possible to arrange beforehand with the reporter of the local newspaper attending the meeting that a summary of his report should be prepared for this purpose immediately after the conclusion of the proceedings.

A fuller report should also be sent as soon as possible to Headquarters.

NOTE.—The latest date for receiving reports of meetings, &c., to be included in Branch News is the 22nd of each month. MS. reaching the Sub-Editor after that date is liable to be held over until the following number. It is particularly requested, however, that all Branch News be sent in as early as possible, addressed to the Sub-Editor. So many meetings have been held this month, and so many interesting speeches have been made, that we regret that it is not possible to give fuller reports of all. Space is, however, limited, and the Branch

Letter must be held to have fulfilled its duty, if it indicates the importance of the work of our branches, and how rapidly the opposition to Woman Suffrage is spreading under the League's direction throughout the country.

The Branch Secretaries and Workers' Committee.—The next meeting of this Committee will be held (by kind permission of Mrs. George Macmillan) on Friday, June 14th, 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 attend these meetings. Chairman, Miss Gladys Pott; Hon. Secretary, Miss Manisty, 33, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.

Abergavenny.—Miss Gladys Pott was very well received when she spoke on the afternoon of May 6th, at the Corn Exchange, Abergavenny. Mrs. W. L. Thomas, of Tredilion, presided, and there was an influential gathering on the platform.

Miss Pott placed before the meeting, in a very clear and logical manner, the woman's point of view, and the points which she made from time to time in the course of a brilliant speech were loudly applauded.

The Anti-Suffrage resolution put by Miss Pott and seconded by Mr. W. L. Thomas was passed without a single dissentient, and Mrs. Bircham proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the speaker.

Bristol.—This large Branch continues to flourish. Its activities are constant, and the total membership is now 2,155.

On May 2nd, by the kind permission of Mrs. Showell, a successful drawing-room meeting was held in Bristol South. Mrs. H. C. Trapnell spoke on the laws which men had made for the benefit of women. At the conclusion of the meeting all those present joined the League.

On May 15th, at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Bull, a large number of people attended a meeting in St. Philip's. After able speeches had been heard from Mrs. H. C. Trapnell and Miss Sanders, there was open discussion, and twenty-three members joined the League.

Canterbury.—A most interesting meeting was held in connection with the Canterbury Branch on May 9th, in the Foresters' Hall, Canterbury.

Aldebury Sub-Branch.—At a meeting held under the auspices of the Salisbury and South Wilts Branch on May 8th, in the Aldebury Village Schoolrooms, Lady Pender moved the Anti-Suffrage resolution and gave a short and comprehensive address.

The Countess of Radnor had been expected to preside, but was unavoidably detained in town, and Mr. Ralph Macan took the chair in her absence. After Mr. Chapman Huston had seconded the resolution, it was carried with only four dissentients.

Mr. A. T. Freeman moved a vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers.

The Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Wace) was in the chair, and the speakers were Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. Mitchell Innes, K.C. The Dean's views on the question of Woman Suffrage proved exceedingly interesting. Any policy, he said, which tended to equalise and render precisely similar the functions of men and women must be wrong by the nature of the case. His profound conviction was that the function of women was that which they had practically occupied and adorned from the very beginning of the world, and that the attempt to place them as nearly as possible in the position of men was

destroying that great office of theirs for the good of mankind. If they gave them the work of men it stood to reason that they would not be able equally to fulfil the work of women. In order to get into politics the women had found it necessary to resort to force, and in that way they had, in his judgment, proved the absurdity of their position. What did women mean if they resorted to force? Did they mean that they were willing for questions to be settled by force? If so, there was an end of the controversy. If that question of Woman Suffrage was to be settled between women and men there could be only one issue, but if women meant they were to use force and men were not, then he could only say they were putting men into a radically false position.

Mr. Mitchell Innes denied the existence of "the right to vote." Alluding to conditions in earlier times, the speaker said it was difficult to put one's finger on a difference between men and women in the matter of property and contract to-day, except to say there existed a perfectly rightful and undoubtedly a great balance in favour of the married woman as opposed to the married man. Who had done that? A parliament of men. He contended that the low wages of women—comparatively low as compared with men—were due to physiological and economical causes; and if they ignored them by over-riding them by legislation, it would come home to roost, as curses did, in the shape of economical ruin.

Miss Pott spoke with her accustomed ability, giving the "woman's point of view."

Mr. Fortescue West, J.P., rose to controvert the opinions of the speakers, and engaged in a brief debate with Miss Pott, whose answers were received with applause. Several further questions were ably answered, and the Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

Cardiff.—The Cardiff Branch held a most successful meeting on May 7th at the Carlton Hotel. Mr. F. L. Beddoe presided over a large and representative audience, which included some local Suffragists. Miss Gladys Pott delivered a well-reasoned and logical address, and at the conclusion invited questions. The Suffragists responded, and Miss Pott won hearty applause by her clever and convincing answers.

Mr. W. Austin Harries (Hon. Secretary of the Branch) proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Pott, and Miss Linda Price seconded. A challenge was thrown out to the Suffragists to debate the question of Woman Suffrage with one of our representatives, and the Cardiff Branch may probably arrange a debate later on.

Croydon.—The third annual "At Home" of the Croydon Branch was held at the Small Public Hall on May 15th, and was well attended by members and friends.

Mr. William Cash was in the chair, and speeches were made by Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. Arthur Pott.

The Hon. Treasurer, Miss B. Jefferis, submitted a short statement of the year's work, and reference was made to the flourishing new branch started last year at Purley with a membership of 100. This branch is growing rapidly.

At the close of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers and chairman was proposed by Sir Whateley Eliot and seconded by Mr. R. Cory.

Tea was served to the visitors, and the names of new members were given in to the Secretary.

East Dulwich.—Mr. A. Maconachie and Miss Mabel Smith were the speakers at a public meeting, held in the Lordship Lane Public Hall on May 17th, under the auspices of the East Dulwich Branch. Mr. J. G. Dalzell was in the chair. Mr. Maconachie proposed and Miss Smith seconded the resolution against extending the Parliamentary Franchise to women, and after questioning and objections from various Suffragists present, it was well carried.

Glasgow.—A debate on Woman Suffrage took place between Miss Maude Adams (Anti-Suffrage) and Miss Jenny Wallace (Pro-Suffrage) on April 3rd under the auspices of the Democratic Unionist Association. Such extraordinary remarks were made by the Suffrage speaker regarding militant methods that it is not remarkable that the vote of the audience, after hearing the speeches, was 80 against, and only 35 for, Woman Suffrage. Miss Wallace is reported by the local press to have said that "there was at the present time a Bill before Parliament which would never have been there had not the Irish Party realised the value of militancy. Had they not maimed cattle and killed a Chief Secretary, Home Rule would probably never have come before Parliament. Yet here were men who reproached women who used militant methods."

Mr. P. G. Thomson occupied the chair, and a number of ladies and gentlemen in the audience took part in the general debate which followed the principal speeches.

Hampstead.—A well attended drawing-room meeting was held on April 30th, by kind permission of Mrs. Candler, at her residence, 7, Platt's Lane. Mrs. R. Blomfield took the chair in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Pinchney. Interesting addresses were given by Mrs. Greatbatch and Miss Mabel Smith, and some points of opposition raised by Suffragists in the audience were very ably answered. As a result of the meeting seven new members joined our Hampstead Branch.

Harrow.—The nucleus of a branch has just been formed in Harrow, as a result of our organisation in this rapidly growing district. The branch, which already has a good membership, will be amalgamated with Pinner. This is the result of a debate arranged by the Women's Freedom League at Harrow on May 3rd. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon spoke clearly and well on the principles of Anti-Suffragism, and was opposed by Miss Alison Neilans, of the W.F.L. The chair was taken by Mr. Ernest Young, B.Sc.

Leicester.—A debate took place at the Foresters' Hall, Leicester, on May 17th, between Mrs. Stanbury and Miss Sinclair.

Mrs. Stanbury set forth the Suffrage arguments, and Miss Sinclair replied with a brief explanation of the Anti-Suffrage position and principles.

Questions, invited from the audience, were put freely, and answered by both speakers.

No vote was taken at the close.

Leyton.—An interesting debate took place on April 28th at the Leyton District Jewish Social Union, Essex Hall, Leyton. Mrs.

Stanbury, a member of the Executive of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, appealed to the audience for sympathy and support in the Woman Suffrage movement. Mr. M. G. Liverman in opposing dealt fully with the various points put forward by the advocates of the vote.

A vote which was then taken amongst the audience of about 60 resulted in a victory for the Anti-Suffrage cause.

Manchester.—The chief event of interest in the Manchester Branch during the last month was the Annual Meeting, on May 13th, at which the annual report and balance sheet were passed.

The retiring officers and members of the Executive Committee were eligible for re-election, with the exception of the Hon. Secretary (Mrs. Henry Simon), who is obliged to give up all public work for some time by the doctor's orders. The meeting passed a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Simon for the invaluable work she has done for the cause in Manchester. The Branch is glad to learn that Mrs. Simon will remain a member of the Executive.

Mrs. Arthur Herbert was elected Hon. Secretary in place of Mrs. Simon, and the other officers were re-elected.

In re-electing the President and Vice-Presidents, special mention was made of the invaluable help which is given to the work in Manchester by the President, Lady Sheffield. Our Manchester Secretary writes: "It would be impossible to over-estimate the help Lady Sheffield has already given, and our sense of gratitude is very deep."

Canon Paige-Cox, of Alderley Edge, and William Bell, Esq., have consented to become Vice-Presidents.

Mr. Philip Glazebrook, M.P. for the division, has consented to be President of the South Manchester Branch.

Some time has been devoted lately to the formation of working committees in each Parliamentary Division in and around Manchester. About 20 of these have been formed, or are in process of formation.

At the general meeting, the following resolution was proposed by Mrs. P. W. Craven, M.Sc., and seconded by Mr. T. McPherson:—"That it is desirable that each Sub-Branch send one representative to the Executive Committee of the Manchester Branch." This was carried unanimously.

Several meetings of the newly appointed districts secretaries have been held, and many new members have joined in different districts.

A large number of open-air meetings have been arranged to take place in Manchester during June and July. Two very successful ones were held outside Crowcroft Park, Longsight, on May 21st, Messrs. W. M. C. Martin, E. A. Jennings, and A. S. Salmon, were the speakers, and Mr. H. W. Barber was in the chair. Twenty-six members joined the League, and a number of REVIEWS were sold.

A successful public meeting was held in the Literary Institute, Cheadle, on April 26th, in connection with this growing Branch of the League.

Mr. R. G. Owen presided over a large audience, and addresses were given by Miss Cordelia Moir (Manchester) and Mr. W. M. C. Martin. A number of questions were put to both speakers, and ably answered.

Mayfair and Westminster.—Sir Henry Craik presided over a crowded meeting held in the Knightsbridge Hotel on May 8th.

The Chairman urged that all Anti-Suffragists should take care to let their Members of Parliament know the strength and intensity of their opposition to Woman Suffrage, and remind all concerned that in questions of great constitutional change it was the business of representatives to represent their constituents.

Mrs. Norris moved, and Mr. A. Maconachie seconded, the resolution protesting against the passage of any Bill involving Woman Suffrage before it had received the sanction of the electorate.

The resolution was carried almost unanimously, five only voting against it.

Lord Charnwood made an interesting speech in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and speakers, and Lady Ancaster seconded.

Sir Henry Craik said that he would communicate the opinion of the meeting to his friend and colleague, the Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P. for St. George's, Hanover Square.

Newport.—The mass meeting held in the Temperance Hall, Newport, on May 6th, under the auspices of our Newport Branch, was an unqualified success. The hall, gaily decorated with flags in our colours, was crowded, and the speakers, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., and Mr. Arno'd Ward, M.P., were given an enthusiastic reception.

Miss G. Pott presided, and made a brief but interesting speech. She read letters of congratulation from Mr. L. Haslam, M.P., Monmouth Boroughs, and Sir Ivor Herbert, M.P., Southern Monmouth.

Mr. MacCallum Scott said that he was opposed to Woman Suffrage because it was illiberal, and he believed that it would undermine the foundations of democracy. He found that the fundamental argument for Woman Suffrage was that women should have the vote because they were human beings. But they shifted their ground when the argument was carried to its logical conclusion. They would not, for instance, give the vote to the 300,000,000 inhabitants of India.

The only stable basis of government was one that secured that the balance of political power was in the same hands as the balance of physical force. Women were physically less powerful than men, and if they included women in an election, the result would not be an index of the balance of physical force in the country. It was a confusion of ideas to say that the physical force idea was immoral. Physical force was not moral or immoral, that depended on the motive behind it. It was a confusion of ideas, too, to say that it was immoral for a State to be based on physical force, as all States were. In the long run, men's votes were given at the dictates of moral ideas. The strongest form of action was the moral idea; it was the most powerful thing in the world. Men were in moral nature what women made them, and in that way the women had a greater influence than any vote could give them. He would say to the women of the country, "Let the men make the laws, and let the women make the men." Mr. Scott then proposed the resolution objecting to the Parliamentary franchise for women.

Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., seconded, and in the course of a very able speech asked whether anyone could say that a Parliament elected by men as men lent a less sympathetic ear to the grievances of women and children than to those of men? In the days of John Stuart Mill there was a great deal to be said on the subject of the grievances of women, but nearly all the more substantial of those grievances had been remedied by a Parliament of men. They might have every confidence that every question in which women were interested would have the best possible consideration from a Parliament elected under the present system.

An argument which was commonly used was that, if women had the vote, the wages of women in the labour market would be increased. It was absurd. If there was an atom of truth in it, how was it that the wages of women without the vote had increased in the last generation faster than the wages of the men with the vote? They often heard of the woman who could not vote when her gardener could. If they admitted that argument, then, when they gave that woman the vote, they must give it to her gardener's wife also. Could they possibly call it practical politics to give a vote to women upon a property qualification or upon an educational qualification?

The militant—the hysterical—behaviour was inseparable from the Woman Suffrage movement, and even if the vote were given to women, it would not mean the extinction of the militant and lawless spirit. As far as granting votes for women was concerned, the time was certainly not ripe for an experiment so rash or a movement so fraught with danger.

After questions had been asked and answered, the resolution was put to the meeting and carried by an overwhelming majority.

An excellent musical programme was given before the speeches of the evening began.

Salisbury.—Considerable public interest was shown in a debate which took place in the Assembly Rooms, Salisbury, on May 2nd between Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Abadam (President of the Norwood Suffrage Society). Mr. W. H. Jackson was in the chair and was supported by Lady Muriel Herbert, the Hon. Lady Hulse, Lady Grove, and officers and members of local Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Societies.

Miss Abadam moved "That the political enfranchisement of women will be a benefit to them and to the State."

Miss Gladys Pott in opposing, said that Suffragists had not proved that the existing order of things was unsatisfactory so far as the interests of women were concerned, nor that their proposed remedy would make the conditions of things better. Miss Pott opposed the assertion that votes and wages had a close connection, arguing that there was no proof that the coal miners secured the Minimum Wage Act through their votes—it was only because they said they would not work at the wages they were receiving.

When Miss Abadam's resolution was put to the meeting it was lost by a majority of 23.

Lady Muriel Herbert proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers and Lady Grove seconded.

Lady Hulse in seconding the vote of thanks to the Chairman said that she firmly believed that, if the same energy displayed by thousands of women up and down the country on behalf of Woman Suffrage had been used in

wise combination to advance social reforms, no Government could have disregarded them.

Tadworth (Sub-branch Epsom).—A very interesting debate took place in the Tadworth Village Hall, on May 20th, between Miss Gladys Pott and Miss Kate Courtney. Miss Pott put the Anti-Suffrage case very logically, and Miss Courtney's opposition raised a good many points for the questioning from the audience which followed. Amongst these was the question of women's work and wages, with which time did not permit the speakers to deal. It has been arranged, therefore, that at a later date Miss Gladys Pott will meet Miss Maude Royden at Tadworth, when the subject will be fully discussed. Mr. E. Pooley occupied the chair.

Wanstead (Woodford).—Mr. Wintringham Stable presided over a well attended meeting held under the auspices of the Woodford Branch at the Grove Hall, Wanstead, on May 13th.

Miss Sinclair, who was the speaker, pointed out and disproved some of the most popular Suffrage fallacies. At the conclusion of her remarks the opposition were invited to speak, and Mrs. Lister gave a short address in support of the Suffrage movement. A good many questions were then put by the audience and ably answered by Miss Sinclair.

As a result, a resolution was carried in favour of Anti-Suffragism. Votes of thanks to the speakers and chairman concluded the meeting.

Watford.—A successful meeting arranged by this Branch was held on May 2nd, at the Co-operative Hall, Callowland. The chair was occupied by Mr. H. Pulman, who at the outset read a telegram from Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P. for the constituency, wishing the meeting success.

The speakers were Mrs. Harold Norris and Mr. H. S. Sainsbury. As this was the first Anti-Suffrage meeting held in the district the speeches were of an instructive nature and no resolution was put. The usual votes of thanks were passed on the motion of Mr. Saunders, seconded by Colonel Cresswell.

Wilton (Salisbury and South Wilts).—Lady Pender and Miss Gladys Pott were the speakers at a successful public meeting held in the Talbot and Wyvern Hall on May 3rd under the auspices of the Wilton Sub-Branch. Lady Muriel Herbert, President of Salisbury and South Wilts, was in the chair, and gave a brief address. The Anti-Suffrage resolution put to the meeting was carried, and much interest has been aroused in the district as a result of the proceedings.

Wimbledon.—The season's outdoor campaign was opened at Wimbledon by a very successful meeting on the Common, on Sunday afternoon, May 19th.

The speakers were Miss Mabel Smith and Mr. Ernest Williams, and both were fortunate enough to be able to hold the attention of an audience of over 200 during the whole of the proceedings.

Several questions were asked, and at the conclusion of the meeting some new members were enrolled.

A debate between Mr. Williams and Mr. Ralph Pond will be held at the same place on Sunday, June 2nd.

Winchester.—The Right. Hon. The Earl of Northbrook presided over a public meeting held on April 26th in a room in Winchester Guildhall. Miss Sinclair and Mr. A. Maconachie were the speakers, the latter moving the resolution that "the extension of the Franchise to women was contrary to their own interests and to those of the Empire."

Lord Northbrook asked his hearers to bear in mind that a question such as Woman Suffrage, of importance as affecting the government of the country, could not be dealt with entirely on logical lines; they must look at it from the point of view of common sense and the actualities of life. He had read and studied most of the arguments put forward by the Suffragists and he was bound to say that some of them seemed logical enough, but he did not think that anyone would contend that they were such as to justify a revolution in the established principles of our Constitution.

The Conciliation Bill was, in his opinion, a bogus Bill, and it would satisfy but very few in this country. That Bill had been defeated. So far so good; but we were not out of it yet, because undoubtedly a serious attempt would be made to include women when the promised Electoral Reform Bill came before the House of Commons. He appealed to all who agreed with him not to relax their efforts, to do everything in their power by influencing their friends and Members of Parliament, in order to prevent a change which they were sincerely convinced would be disastrous to the country, disastrous to the Constitution, and disastrous to the Empire.

Miss Sinclair said the truly patriotic woman cared nothing for what was called Woman Suffrage, but only for what was good for the country. There was only one party that as such had given its blessing to the Woman Suffrage movement, and that was the Socialist party. This was sufficient to condemn it in itself. They did not want Socialists, they wanted Imperialists and patriots. The mere possession of the vote by women would not improve their condition. Wages, for instance, were not governed by the possession or absence of the vote, but by the law of supply and demand. In England there were a million more women than men, with the result that so many women applied for one post that the wages naturally went down. The wages of domestic servants were going up, because the supply was not equal to the demand.

Mr. A. Maconachie then put the resolution to the meeting, with a clear and concise comment on the present state of the Suffrage movement. The resolution was declared carried by a large majority. A number of questions were put by members of the audience and answered.

Windsor (East Berks).—The first public meeting in connection with our new Sub-Branch at Windsor was held in the Guildhall on April 26th, and was a great success. Mr. G. H. Peters, J.P., presided over a crowded audience, and the speeches of both Mrs. Greatbatch and Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes, K.C., aroused the liveliest interest.

Mrs. Greatbatch after a thoughtful and convincing address on what we may call the "truths" of Anti-Suffragism, proposed the resolution—"That this meeting pledges itself to resist the proposal to admit women to the Parliamentary Franchise and to Parliament."

Mr. Mitchell Innes in seconding, said that he did not think that women were of the stuff which politics, certainly not international politics, were made of. They were apt to talk as if the matter were going to end with the concession of the Suffrage to women; that was entirely false. Everyone knew that in a comparatively short time it must lead to the admission of women to Parliament and Executive office. One was the logical result of the other. The only right possessed by either men or women in matters political was to occupy that position in the State which would best secure the cohesion of their social life and give health to their political system. If they tried to transfer—as their Suffragist friends asked them to do—women's influence from the home to politics, they would awake too late to find that the social cohesion and stability of political freedom were lost.

Questions asked by a number of Suffragists present were answered, and the resolution put by Mrs. Greatbatch was carried almost unanimously.

The progress and growth of this Sub-Branch is very satisfactory. Although it has been established only two months, there is a membership of 234.

Wokingham (E. Berks).—A very successful public meeting was held in Woking Town Hall on May 1st in connection with the Wokingham Sub-Branch. Mr. Wilson Noble was in the chair, and Miss Gladys Pott and Mr. A. Maconachie were the speakers.

Miss Pott's logical address was heard with the deepest interest. Mr. A. Maconachie in the course of his speech said: "For any politician, Liberal or Conservative, to join in bringing about so vast and so novel a change without allowing the country an opportunity either to sanction it or to forbid would be treachery to the people." The Anti-Suffrage resolution was carried by a large majority.

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Bo'ton (Sub-Branch)— District Secretaries (pro tem.): Hon. T. F. M. Podmore, Miss M. Podmore, Bolton; H. Taylor, Esq., 9, Henry Street, Bolton. Didsbury (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Henry Simon, Lawnhurst, Didsbury. Lancaster (Sub-Branch)— District Secretary: J. W. Chalmers, Esq., 43, Balmoral Road, Lancaster. Levenshulme, Burnage, Heaton Chapel, and Heaton Moor (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. N. Smith, 9, Roseleigh Avenue, Burnage. District Hon. Secretaries: Levenshulme and Burnage: Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Barber, 15, Roseleigh Avenue, Burnage. Heaton Chapel and Heaton Moor: Miss L. Bennett, "Parkleigh," Elms Road, Heaton Chapel. Oldham (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Leonard Schofield. District Secretaries (pro tem.): Mrs. Watson-Harrison, 209, Manchester Road, Werneth, Oldham; William Schofield, Esq., Waterhead, Oldham. Preston (Sub-Branch)— District Secretary: P. Counsell, Esq., 11, Knowles Street, Preston. Prestwich (Sub-Branch)— District Secretary (pro tem.): Miss L. Butcher, 105, Clifton Road, Prestwich. St. Anne's and Fyde (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Miss North Waechter. Hon. Secretary: W. H. Pickup, 28, St. Anne's Road, West, St. Anne's. Salford North (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Miss Amelie Usher. District Secretary: Mrs. Williams, 60, Leicester Road, Higher Broughton. Salford South (Sub-Branch)— District Secretary (pro tem.): Mr. Gray, 23, Alfonsus Street, Brook's Bar, Manchester.

Salford West (Sub-Branch)— District Secretary (pro tem.): James Dewhurst, Esq., 16, Hayfield Road, Pendleton. Stretford (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Robert Holliday, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. R. Holliday, 31, Henshaw Street, Stretford. Urmston (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Jackson. Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Nall, Bruntwood, Urmston.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

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

LONDON.

BRIXTON— President: Hon. Treasurer: Hon. Secretary: CHELSEA— President: The Hon. Mrs. Bernard Mallet. Hon. Treasurer: Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, G.C.B. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Myles, 16, St. Loo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.; Miss S. Woodgate, 68, South Eaton Place, S.W. CROUCH END— President: Lord Ronaldshay. Hon. Treasurer: G. H. Bower, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Miss Rigg, 29, Haringey Park, Crouch End. DULWICH— President: J. G. Dalzell, Esq. Vice-President: Mrs. Teall. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Dalzell. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Carr, 5, Carston Road, Dulwich. East Dulwich (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Batten, 2, Underhill Road, Lordship Lane, S.E. FINCHLEY— President: The Countess of Ronaldshay. Hon. Treasurer: A. Savage Cooper, Esq. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. A. Scott, Glenroy, Seymour Road; Mrs. E. Burgin, Halesworth, Seymour Road. FULHAM— President: Mrs. Richard Harrison. Hon. Treasurer: Miss King. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wintthrop, 36, Fitz-George Avenue, W. GOLDSMID GREEN AND GARDEN SUBURB— President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Buck. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Miss Duncan, "Penarth," North End Road, Golders Green; Miss Buck, "Domella," Woodstock Avenue, Golders Green. HAMPSTEAD— President: Mrs. Metzler. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Squire, 27, Marlborough Hill, Hampstead. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Talbot Kelly, 96, Fellows Road. Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss M. E. Allsop, 19, Belsize Park, N.W., to whom all communications should be addressed. North-West Hampstead (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Reginald Blomfield, 51, Frogna. NORTH-EAST HAMPSTEAD— President: Mrs. J. W. Cowley. Hon. Treasurer: Colonel J. W. Cowley. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Van Ingen Winter, M.D., Ph. D., 326, Philip Lane, South Tottenham. HIGHBURY— President: The Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K.C. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Wagstaff. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Clarke, 89, Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N. KENNINGTON— President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Millington, 101, Pentimian Road, Clapham Road, S.W. KENSINGTON— President: Mary Countess of Ichester. Hon. Treasurer: Miss Jeanie Ross, 46, Holland Street, Kensington, W. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, 25, Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W. Asst. Hon. Sec.: Mrs. de l'Hopital, 159, High Street, Kensington, W. Mrs. Colquhoun is at home to interview members of the Branch, or inquirers, on Tuesday mornings, 11-1. MARYLEBONE— President: Lady George Hamilton. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Alexander Scott. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jeyes 11, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

MAYFAIR AND ST. GEORGE'S— President: The Countess of Cromer. Chairman of Committee: The Dowager Countess of Ancaster. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Carson Roberts. Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Helen Page, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, to whom all communications should be addressed. PADDINGTON— President of Executive: Lady Dimsdale. Deputy President: Lady Hyde. Hon. Secretary and Temporary Treasurer: Mrs. Percy Thomas, 37, Craven Road, Hyde Park. The Hon. Secretary will be "At Home" every Thursday morning to answer questions and give information.

ST. PANCRAS, EAST— Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. Briggs. Hon. Secretary: Miss Sterling, 14, Bartholomew Road, N.W. STRATHAM— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Winkoski, 31, Hopton Road, Stratham. UPPER NORWOOD AND ANERLEY— President: The Hon. Lady Montgomery Moore. Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. H. Tiplle. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Austin, Sunnyside, Crescent Road, South Norwood. WESTMINSTER— President: The Lady Biddulph of Ledbury. Hon. Secretary: Miss L. E. Cotesworth, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W. WHITECHAPEL— Hon. Secretary: Lady Wynne, St. Thomas' Tower, Tower of London, E.C.

MIDDLESEX.

EALING— President: Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh, Kirkcanel, Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing Common. Hon. Secretary: Miss McClellan, 35, Hamilton Road, Ealing. All communications to be addressed to Mrs. L. Prendergast Walsh for the present. EALING DEAN— Joint Hon. Secretaries: The Misses Turner, 33, Lavington Road, West Ealing. EALING SOUTH— Mrs. Ball. All communications to be addressed to Miss McClellan as above. CHISWICK— Chairman: Mrs. Norris. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Greatbatch. Hon. Secretary: Miss M. Mackenzie, 6, Grange Road, Gunnersbury. HAMPTON AND DISTRICT— Hon. Treasurer: H. Mills, Esq. Joint Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Ellis Hicks Beach and Miss Goodrich, Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court. HARBROW— President: Sir J. D. Rees. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs. Worthington, Kingsleigh, Peterborough Road, Harrow. PINNER— Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Gardner Williams, Invergarry, Pinner; Miss K. Parkhouse, Mayfield, Harrow Road.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

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

NORFOLK.

NORFOLK COUNTY BRANCH— Vice-President: Lady Mann. Hon. Secretary: Miss Dorothy Carr, Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk.

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WELLINGBOROUGH— President: Mrs. Bircham of Chepstow. Hon. Secretary: Miss Prothero, Malpas Court. OUNDLE— President: The Hon. Mrs. Fergusson. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Coombs. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newman, Bramston House, Oundle.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

NEWCASTLE AND TYNESIDE— President: Miss Noble, Jesmond Dene House, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Hon. Treasurer: Arthur G. Ridout, Esq. Secretary: Miss Harris, 9, Ridley Place, Newcastle.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

NOTTINGHAM AND NOTTS— President: Countess Manvers. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. T. A. Hill. Hon. Secretary:

OXFORDSHIRE. GORING— Hon. Secretary (pro tem.): Miss Evans, Ropley, Goring-on-Thames. OXFORD— Chairman: Mrs. Max Muller. Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Massie. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gamlen. Hon. Secretary: Miss Tawney, 62, Banbury Road, Co. Hon. Secretary: Miss Wills-Sandford, 40, St. Giles, Oxford. Hook Norton (Sub-Branch)— Hon. Secretary: Miss Dickens.

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LEEK— President: Mrs. Sleigh. Hon. Sec.: SUFFOLK. FELIXSTOWE— President: Miss Rowley. Vice-President: Miss Jervis White Jervis. Chairman: Mrs. Jutson. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Howard, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Haward, Priory Lodge, Felixstowe. WOODBRIDGE— Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Ogilvie. Hon. Secretary: Miss Nixon, Priory Gate, Woodbridge.

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EWELL— President: Mrs. Auriol Barker. Cheam— Hon. Secretary: Miss West, Cheam. Worcester Park— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Auriol Barker, Barrow Hill, Worcester Park. LEATHERHEAD— President: C. F. Gordon Clark, Esq. Fetcham— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. C. F. Gordon Clark, Fetcham Park, Leatherhead. Bookham— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pick, The Nook, Great Bookham. SUTTON— Hon. Treasurer: Col. E. M. Lloyd, Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Prance, "Abalare," Cedar Road, Sutton.

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KEW— Hon. Secretary: Miss A. Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Road, Kew. KINGSTON-ON-THAMES— Hon. Treasurer: James Stickland, Esq. Hon. Secretary: MORTLAKE AND EAST SHEEN— President: Mrs. Kelsall. Hon. Treasurer: George W. Moir, Esq. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Franklin, Westhay, East Sheen; John D. Batten, Esq., The Halsteads, East Sheen.

PURLEY AND SANDERSTEAD— President: The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, P.C., M.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Doughty. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Atterbury, Trafoi, Russell Hill, Purley. REIGATE AND REDHILL— Hon. Treasurer: Alfred F. Mott, Esq. Reigate— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Rundall, West View, Reigate Redhill. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Frank E. Lemon, Hillcrest Redhill.

RICHMOND— President: Miss Trevor. Hon. Treasurer: Herbert Gittens, Esq. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Willoughby Dumergue, 5, Mount Ararat Road, Richmond. SHOTTELMILL CENTRE AND HASLEMERE— Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. H. Beveridge, Pitfold, Shottermill, Haslemere. Asst. Hon. Secretary: Arthur Molyneux, Esq., Downleaze, Grayshott.

SURBITON— Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Dent, Chestnut Lodge, Adelaide Road, Surbiton. WEYBRIDGE AND DISTRICT— President: Mrs. Charles Churchill. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Frank Gore-Browne. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Godden, Kincairney, Weybridge; Miss Heald, Southlands, Weybridge.

WIMBLEDON—

President:
Vice-President: The Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: F. Fenton, Esq., 20, Ridgway Place,
Wimbledon, S.W.

WOKING—

President: Susan Countess of Wharnclyffe.
Vice-Presidents: Lady Arundel, H. G. Craven, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer: The Hon. R. C. Grosvenor.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Peregrine, The Firs, Woking.

SUSSEX.**BRIGHTON AND HOVE—**

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

CROWBOROUGH—

Hon. Treasurer: Lady Conan Doyle.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Rawlinson, Fair View, Crow-
borough.

EASTBOURNE—

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

EAST GRINSTEAD—

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

HASTINGS AND DISTRICT—

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

Bexhill (Sub-Branch)—

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

HENFIELD—

President: J. Eardley Hall, Esq.
Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: Mrs. Blackburne,
Barrow Hill, Henfield.

MIDHURST—

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Vigers,
Ambersham, Midhurst.

LEWES—

President: Mrs. Powell.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. R. Parker.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Lucas, Castle Precincts, Lewes.

WEST SUSSEX—

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

WORTHING—

Chairman: Miss Boddy.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cooper, 5, Bath Road, West
Worthing.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Olive, "Cliftonville,"
Salisbury Road, Worthing.

WARWICKSHIRE.**BIRMINGHAM—**

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

Handsworth (Sub-Branch)—

President:
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. C. A. Palmer, Park Hill,
Handsworth.
Hon. Secretary: Miss H. Berners Lee, The Pool
House, Great Barr.

Solihull (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Maud Pemberton, Whitacre,
Solihull.

Sutton Coldfield—

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Muriel Addenbrook.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Grinshill, Combermere, Mere
Oak, Four Oaks.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON—

President: Lady Ramsay-Fairfax Lucy.
Hon. Treasurer: N. Carter, Esq.
Hon. Secretary: G. Wells Taylor, Esq., Avon Cottage,
Stratford-on-Avon.

WARWICK, LEAMINGTON AND COUNTY—

President: Lord Algernon Percy.
Hon. Treasurer: Willoughby Makin, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: C. W. Wrench, Esq., 78, Parade,
Leamington.

WILTSHIRE.**SALISBURY AND SOUTH WILTS—**

President: The Lady Muriel Herbert.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Fussell.
Hon. Secretary for South Wilts: Mrs. Richardson,
The Red House, Wilton.
Hon. Secretary for Salisbury: Miss Ethel Cripps,
Hillbrow, Fowler's Road, Salisbury.

Alderbury (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Mrs. Ralph Macan.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Hill, Avonturn, Alderbury.

Chalk Valley (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Miss R. Stephenson, Bodenham
House, Salisbury.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Hulbert, Bodenham, Salis-
bury.

Wilton (Sub-Branch)—

Vice-President: Mrs. Dubourg, The Mount, Wilton.
Secretary: Miss Q. Carse.

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Vice-President: Mrs. Kruser.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary: J. E. Grosvenor, Esq., Blakebrook,
Kidderminster.

MALVERN—

President: Lady Grey.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Monckton.
Hon. Secretary: Wright Henderson, Esq., Abbey
Terrace, Malvern.

STOURBRIDGE—

President:
Hon. Treasurer: M. S. Evers,
Hon. Secretary: Miss Timmis, Pedmore, Stourbridge

WORCESTER—

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

YORKSHIRE.**BRADFORD—**

President: Lady Priestley.
Vice-Presidents: Mrs. G. Hoffman, W. B. Gordon,
Esq., J.P.

Hon. Treasurer: Lady Priestley.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Halbol, 77, St. Mary's Road,
Manningham, Bradford.

District Secretaries: Mrs. S. Midgley, 1071 Leeds
Road; Miss Casson, 73, Ashwell Road, Manningham,
Bradford; Mrs. G. A. Mitchel, Jesmond Cottage,
Toller Lane, Bradford.

BRIDLINGTON—

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

HULL—

Chairman:
Hon. Treasurer: Lady Nunburnholme,
Hon. Secretary:

ILKLEY—

President: Mrs. Steintal.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Newbound, Springsend.

LEEDS—

President: The Countess of Harewood.
Chairman: Miss Beatrice Kitson.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss E. M. Lupton.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. M. Wall, 3, Woodsley
Terrace, Clarendon Road, Leeds.

District Secretaries: Miss H. McLaren, Highfield
House, Headingley; Miss M. Silcock, Barkston
Lodge, Roundhay.

METHLEY—

President: Mrs. Armstrong Hall.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Shepherd.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Armstrong Hall, Methley
Rectory, Leeds.

MIDDLESBROUGH—

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

SCARBOROUGH—

President: Mrs. Cooper.
Hon. Treasurer: James Bayley, Esq.
Hon. Secretaries: Clerical, Miss Mackarness, 19,
Princess Royal Terrace; General, Miss Kendell,
Oriel Lodge, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD—

Vice-Presidents: The Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady
Bingham, Miss Alice Watson.
Hon. Treasurer: G. A. Wilson, Esq., 32, Kenwood
Park Road.

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

WHITBY—

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

YORK—

President: Lady Julia Wombwell.
Hon. Treasurer:
Hon. Secretary:

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.

ISLE OF WIGHT—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Wheatley, The Bays, Hayland
Ryde, Isle of Wight.

NEWPORT (Mon.)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Sealy, 56, Risca Road, Newport.

OXFORD—

Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary: Miss Jelf, 34,
Norhan Road, Oxford.

IRELAND.**DUBLIN—**

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

SCOTLAND.**THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.**

(In affiliation with the National League for
Opposing Woman Suffrage.)

President: The Duchess of Montrose, LL.D.
Vice-President: Miss Helen Rutherford, M.A.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Aitken, 8, Mayfield Terrace,
Edinburgh.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Gemmell, Central Office, 10,
Queensferry Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCHES:**BERWICKSHIRE—**

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

DUNDEE—

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Young.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Craik, Flight's Lane, Lochec.

EDINBURGH—

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

GLASGOW—

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

Camachie and Dennistoun (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Paterson, 32, Belgrave
Street, Camachie.

Kilmacolin (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. D. Ferguson, Lynnden,
Kilmacolin.

Tradeston (Sub-Branch)—

Hon. Secretary: Miss Ainslie, 76, Pollok Street.

INVERNESS AND NAIRN—

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

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Vice-Presidents: Miss Oswald and Mrs. Hutchison.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Pye, Bogie, Kirkcaldy.

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President: The Countess of Glasgow.
Vice-President: The Lady Kelvin.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Andrews.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Jeanette Smith, Litteraith, Largs.

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Vice-President: Mrs. Hamar.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Burnet.
Hon. Secretary: Miss Playfair, 18, Queen's Garden;
St. Andrews.

WALES.**ABERYSTWYTH—**

Hon. Treasurer and Secretary (*pro tem.*) John W.
Brown, Esq., Crynllys, Buarth Road, Aberystwyth
After June 12th, Ty Hedd, North Road, Aberystwyth.

CARDIFF—

President: Lady Hyde.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss Linda Price.
Hon. Secretary: Austin Harries, Esq., Glantaf, Taff
Embarkment, Cardiff.
Assistant Hon. Secretary: Miss Eveleen Hughes,
68, Richards Terrace.

NORTH WALES (No. 1)—

President: Mrs. Cornwallis-West.